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the moral world ready to enter into every human heart wherever He finds an opening. If therefore He is in the Christian world more than in other parts of humanity, it must be because He finds there a more abundant entrance. And that, again, must be due to the intrinsic and superior excellence of the Christian Faith. The Spirit of God is a sanctifier in Christendom more than elsewhere because He there has at command the best material for His purpose.¹

A. B. BRUCE.

AGRAPHA.

SAYINGS OF OUR LORD NOT RECORDED IN THE GOSPELS.

II.

A NEW interest has been given to this subject quite recently by a collection which has been published by Professor Margoliouth of the sayings attributed to Christ by Mohammedan writers.² The collection is interesting to Christians because it shows how much more frequent the appeal of Mohammedans to the authority of our Lord is than we had known, and so supplies a fresh hope of approximation in future years. But yet the general type of these sayings is strangely unlike the type of the Lord's teaching in the Gospels, and also the type of the non-canonical sayings retained in Christian tradition. Forty-eight of them are quoted, of which by far the greater number contain wise, shrewd, kindly advice, such as finds its analogy in the sayings of the Jewish Fathers rather than in the Gospels. They are the utterances of a teacher of knowledge rather

¹ The question how far St. Paul recognised a law of growth in sanctification will be considered in another connection.

² *The Expository Times*, November and December, 1893; January, 1894. "Christ in Islam."

than of the revealer of life. Others have a far stronger ascetic tendency than is to be found in the Gospels; they seemed to have passed through a monastic channel before reaching Mohammedanism; thus, "There was no form of address Jesus loved better to hear than 'poor man.'" "O company of Apostles, make hungry your livers, and bare your bodies; perhaps then your hearts may see God." "Jesus was asked by some men to guide them to some course whereby they might enter Paradise. He said: Speak not at all. They said, We cannot do this. He said, Then only say what is good"; or again, "Jesus said, Devotion is of ten parts; nine of them consist in silence and one in solitude." Others have a touch of tenderness for animals, which is absent from the Gospels: *e.g.*, "Jesus passing by a swine, said to it, Go in peace. They said, O Spirit of God, sayest thou so to a swine? He answered, I would not accustom my tongue to evil." Or the story which is already familiar to English readers, through a poetic rendering by Miss Hopkins: "Jesus one day walked with His apostles, and they passed by the carcass of a dog. The apostles said, How foul is the smell of this dog. But Jesus said, How white are its teeth." Others have parallels in the Gospels, but seem to be scarcely more than reminiscences of them, adding however to the Lord's teaching of true love and charity the duty of a true hatred. Thus "God revealed to Jesus, Though thou shouldst worship with the devotion of the inhabitants of the heaven and the earth, but hadst not love in God *and hate in God*, it would avail thee nothing." "Jesus said: Make yourselves beloved of God by hating the evil doers. Bring yourselves nearer to God by removing far from them and seek God's favour by their displeasure." Or again, more akin to the Gospels: "If a man send away a beggar empty from his house, the angels will not visit his house for seven nights." "Beware of glances; for they plant passion in

the heart, and that is a sufficient temptation." In their bearing on the Lord's person, the tendency of these sayings is distinctly humanitarian; thus Jesus is represented as enquiring of Gabriel the date of the day of judgment; and God is represented as saying to Jesus, "Exhort thyself, and if thou hast profited by the exhortation, then exhort others; otherwise be ashamed before Me." A comparison of our Lord's prayer in St. John xvii. with the following, which is here put into His mouth, is very significant. "O God, I am this morning unable to ward off what I would not and to obtain what I would. The power is in another's hands. I am bound by my works, and there is none so poor that he is poorer than I. O God, make not mine enemy to rejoice over me, nor my friend to grieve over me: make not my trouble to be in the matter of my faith: make not the world my chief care, and give not the power over me to him who will not pity me." This is essentially the prayer of a man; certainly not even that of the Son of man, much less of the Son of God.

I have quoted these sayings rather fully, both because some of them are interesting for their own sake, and also because they are a striking illustration of the way in which tradition runs riot when left to itself for centuries, and of the debt which Christians owe to Scripture for stereotyping early the record of the Lord's words, and placing that record in the forefront of that which is necessary to salvation. And this thought leads me back to the main purpose of this article, which is to state and examine the theory which Resch has based upon his collection of Agrapha.

His theory, if true, would emphasize the debt due to a written record, for it is this, that these Agrapha are, in the main, quotations borrowed from an early written Semitic Gospel, which preceded all our canonical Gospels, and which was known to and used by St. Paul and other writers of the New Testament. This is a startling result to have

reached; let us notice the stages in the argument which lead to it. These are three:—

(i.) Several of these sayings are quoted not as mere *sayings* but as *Scripture*, and more definitely still as found “*in the Gospel*.” Thus we find that No. 43, “Prove yourselves trustworthy money changers,” is quoted as from “the Scripture” by Clement of Alexandria, by Origen and by Palladius; as spoken by our Lord “in the Gospel” by Epiphanius; while Cassian calls it “a Gospel parable,” “a Gospel saying.” Again (No. 13), “Cleave unto the saints, for they who cleave to them shall be sanctified” is introduced by Clement of Rome with the formula *γέγραπται*. Other instances could be given, but these are sufficient for our purpose.

(ii.) Further, in addition to the sayings already quoted, Resch has collected a number of others which exist now as parts of the Epistles, but are quoted by Patristic writers as from the Gospels, and sometimes attributed to our Lord. Thus (No. 14) the Apostolic Constitutions speak of our Lord as having commanded His apostles “to make disciples of all nations, and to baptize them *into His death*.” Here the connexion of baptism with the Lord’s death, which for us exists only as a comment of St. Paul’s (Rom. vi. 4) is attributed directly to the Lord.

In an exactly parallel way (No. 22), the Apostolic Constitutions and several of the Liturgies attribute to our Lord St. Paul’s comment on the other Sacrament (1 Cor. xi. 26): “As often as you eat this bread and drink this cup, you show forth *my death, until I come*.”

Again (No. 32), Ephesians iii. 15, “Of whom is every family in heaven and on earth,” is attributed to the Lord by Clement of Alexandria, being quoted as His in connexion with St. Matthew xxiii. 9.

(No 33.) The command of Ephesians iv. 26, “Let not the sun go down upon your wrath,” is quoted by an anony-

mous writer (c. 300 A.D.) as given by "the Lord," and definitely "in a Gospel"; and in a *Life of S. Syncretica* (c. 370 A.D.) as a saying of the Saviour.

Similarly (No. 36a), "Grieve not the Holy Spirit which is in you" (= Eph. iv. 30), is cited in the *De Aleatoribus* as a warning of the Lord: while, lastly, the quotation from Proverbs iii. 24, "The Lord resisteth the proud, but giveth grace to the humble," which is found in St. James iv. 6, is placed by Ephraem the Syrian as a saying of Christ, parallel with the text, "He that exalteth himself shall be humbled."

(iii.) There is yet one more stage in the argument. Some of these sayings are quoted in variant Greek forms, which seem to point to a Semitic original, of which they are independent translations. We have seen already that this is the case with the saying preserved in Acts xx. 35, which varies between the form "It is more blessed to give than to receive" and the form "The giver is more blessed than the receiver." And, to refer yet once more to No. 43, this is found with many minor variations, but in the main they follow two types, the one simpler, embodying the words of 1 Thessalonians v. 21; the other fuller, more elaborately working out the metaphor of banking. The one might be translated, "Show yourselves trustworthy bankers, holding fast the good, abstaining from every form of evil"; the other, "Show yourselves knowing money-changers, accepting the genuine, rejecting the counterfeit coin."

Such are the premisses, and certainly a possible conclusion to draw from them is that of Resch, that there was an early Semitic Gospel, containing sayings of our Lord, which have not been retained in the Canonical Four, and from which St. Paul and St. James have drawn, not always actually quoting from it, but adopting its language as language already known and current in the Church. But further, having from these facts inferred the existence of

such a Gospel, Resch ingeniously carries his argument one step further, and refers to it those few difficult passages in St. Paul and St. James, where they quote sayings of which it is very difficult to find the origin in the Old Testament. To this Gospel he would refer the following quotations:—

1 Cor. ii. 9. *As it is written*, Things which eye saw not, and ear heard not,
And which entered not into the heart of man,
Whatsoever things God prepared for them that love Him.¹

1 Cor. ix. 10. For our sake *it was written*: Because he that ploweth ought to plough in hope; and he that thresheth, to thresh in hope of partaking.

Eph. v. 14. Wherefore *He saith*: Awake thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead, and Christ shall shine upon thee.

St. James iv. 5. Think ye that *the Scripture* speaketh in vain? Doth the Spirit which He made to dwell in us long unto envying?

Such is the complete theory, and it must be admitted that it is in many ways attractive: it falls in with the tendency of synoptic criticism to postulate some previous written Semitic document or documents as their basis: it would strengthen the historical character of the records of our Lord's life by placing them at a period earlier than the Synoptists: and it would show that ideas which are characteristically Pauline, such as the universality of the Gospel and the abrogation of the Mosaic law, are not creations of his own, but are due to the Lord. But on the other hand it is hard to believe that so many sayings, if embodied in a document so early and authoritative, should not have been incorporated in our Gospels; nor can the theory be regarded as more than probable, considering that rival theories may sufficiently account for the facts.

¹ This explanation of 1 Corinthians ii. 9 is examined and rejected by Bishop Lightfoot, *Clem. Rom.*, ii., p. 390. Some keen criticism of the details of Resch's theory will be found in Knowling, *The Witness of the Epistles*, pp. 105-132. (London, 1892.)

Thus it is possible that a sufficient explanation of the facts may be found in the far simpler theory of inaccuracy of quotation. It is absolutely necessary to take such inaccuracy into account, for, if we look once more at the facts of No. 43, we find that the saying "Show yourselves trustworthy money changers" is quoted, sometimes alone, sometimes in combination with 1 Thessalonians v. 21, as *St. Paul's* by Cyril of Alexandria, and by Dionysius (in Euseb., vii. 7).

Unless, then, we can postulate some inaccuracy of quotation, we should have to assume that the whole saying existed first in the lost Gospel, secondly in the Epistle to the Thessalonians, and that lastly the first half of it dropped entirely out of all MSS. of the Epistle.

It is extremely likely not only that phrases of St. Paul and St. James should have been loosely attributed to our Lord, but also that sayings of Jewish Rabbis, or extracts from Jewish manuals or prayers, should have been mistakenly assigned to Him. One such probable instance we have seen in Agraphon I. "That which thou hatest, thou shalt not do to another," probably originating in Tobit iv. 15. Bishop Lightfoot has shown that many phrases of the prayers used in the Jewish synagogue have influenced the earliest Liturgical language of the Christian Church, as found in the Letter of Clement of Rome (*Clem. Rom.*, I. 380-396), and this is probably, also, true of the forms of doxology in the Pastoral Epistles and in the Apocalypse. It seems to me probable that the list of moral duties, in Romans xii. 9-21, owes its ungrammatical structure, *i.e.* its quick interchange of participle, infinitive, and finite verb, to the fact that St. Paul is partly incorporating some previously existing manual. Inaccurate quotation, again, is the most probable explanation of the origin of most of the Mohammedan sayings.

But further, in the case of Christian writers the current

theory of inspiration, as due to the Spirit of the Lord, will help to explain the facts. The Apostles were regarded as owing their inspiration to the Lord; He was regarded as speaking through them. This principle is expressed in so many words by Clement of Alexandria: "Hence it is that the Holy Spirit in the Apostle, making use of the Lord's voice, says, 'I fed you with milk'" (*Pæd.*, i. 6, 49). Hence the statement that "the Lord said," when used with such passages as Ephesians iii. 15, iv. 26, 30, may never have been intended to convey any other meaning than that the Lord inspired the well-known words of St. Paul. Or, even more strangely still, a preacher's own expansion of a saying of the Lord might have been attributed to the Lord Himself. Thus, to take two Agrapha, not yet referred to, how natural it would be that No. 13, "Good things must come, but blessed is he through whom they come" (*τὰ ἀγαθὰ ἐλθεῖν δεῖ, μακάριος δὲ δι' οὗ ἔρχεται*), attributed to our Lord several times in the Clementine writings, should be a preacher's expansion of the correlative truth of St. Matthew xviii. 7. In the same way St. Matthew xxv. 35 may have given rise to No. 47. "For the sake of the weak, I was weak; for the sake of the hungry, I hungered; for the sake of the thirsty, I thirsted," attributed by Origen to Jesus.

A very good instance of the freedom which the Church felt it could allow itself in dealing with the Lord's words may be seen in the variations of the Lord's Prayer. Here, if anywhere, in a definite form of prayer originating with the Lord Himself and perpetuated by constant public usage, we might have expected one unchangeable type. But this is not so: even within the bounds of the New Testament, St. Matthew and St. Luke give us two forms showing considerable divergence, due partly to independent translation, but partly to adaptations of the prayer to the varying needs of a Jewish or a Gentile congregation, of a morning or an evening service. And when we pass outside

the assured text of the New Testament, we find considerable additions. The chief of these, the doxology, "probably derived ultimately from 1 Chronicles xxix. 11, but, it may be through the medium of some contemporary Jewish usage,"¹ won its way early into many texts of St. Matthew. Two other additions gained less acceptance, but there is evidence that as early as the second century a clause, "Let Thy Holy Spirit come upon us and cleanse us," sometimes took the place of the first petition ("Hallowed be Thy name"), sometimes of the second ("Thy kingdom come"); while the evidence of St. Cyprian, Tertullian, St. Augustine and some MSS. of the Vulgate shows that the final clause "Lead us not into temptation" was frequently used in Latin Churches in the form "Do not suffer us to be led into temptation," and sometimes with the addition "such as we cannot endure." The first of these additions seems a liturgical one, for usage in some service in which the Holy Spirit was invoked; the second a teacher's explanation to avoid misunderstanding, incorporating in its fuller form a phrase of St. Paul's (1 Cor. x. 12) and treating it as a part of the Lord's own words.²

It remains only to consider the authority which we may reasonably assign to these non-canonical sayings; and it is obvious that no one single answer can be given to this question. As with ecclesiastical miracles, each has to be taken on its merits and must stand or fall by its attestation. But one clear line may be drawn: it seems fair to claim that such of these sayings as won their way into general acceptance in the current Church texts of the Gospels for many centuries have such strong attestation that we cannot hesitate to regard them as genuine. They may not have been parts of the original texts as written by the Evangelists,

¹ Westcott and Hort on St. Matt. vi. 13, vol. ii. Appendix, p. 9.

² These facts are taken from "The Lord's Prayer in the Early Church," by Rev. F. H. Chase (*Cambridge Texts and Studies*, I. 3).

but they were sayings which the Church would not let die, and so by degrees incorporated them into her Gospels and read them in her services. Seven instances of these were given at the commencement of the previous article. Of these, we have already dealt with the doxology of the Lord's Prayer. Of the rest, the additional clause in St. Mark ix. 29, "and fasting," is quoted as a saying of our Lord's as early as Tertullian, and is probably genuine, but in this case the expansion is so slight, and might so easily be made that I should at least hesitate to use the verse in controversy as a sanction for fasting. The addition in St. Mark ix. 49, "And every sacrifice shall be salted with salt," is an illustration of the previous words borrowed from the Levitical law (Lev. ii. 13), but it is possible that this might have been originally meant as only an illustration of the Lord's saying. The concluding section of St. Mark is pronounced by Westcott and Hort, who reject it from the text, "as a very early interpolation, early and widely diffused, and welcomed," so that it may be well accepted as authoritative.

The two additions in St. Luke are equally interesting and instructive. The clause in ix. 55, "ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of," is treated by Mr. Rendel Harris¹ as a Marcionite gloss to hint that the disciples were acting as though they belonged to the Just God rather than to the Good God; but this is very improbable: it has the ring of a genuine saying; it has early attestation; and is probably, as Westcott and Hort suggest, a true saying of the Lord "derived from some extraneous source, written or oral."

The great saying from the Cross, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do" (St. Luke xxiii. 34), is rejected from St. Luke by Westcott and Hort with the decided verdict, "We cannot doubt that it comes from an

¹ A study of *Codex Bezae*, p. 233.

extraneous source"; yet they are no less certain that that extraneous source may be trusted as embodying an actual fact; "Few verses bear in themselves a surer witness to the truth of what they record." The saying is attributed to our Lord by Irenæus; it seems presupposed in St. Peter's words in Acts iii. 17, in the dying speech of St. Stephen (Acts vii. 60), and in that of St. James the Lord's brother as given by Hegesippus. "I entreat thee, Lord God, Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do" (Eusebius, ii. 23). And so, though textual criticism makes us hesitate to pronounce that St. Luke embodied them in the original form of his Gospel, we cannot doubt that they were spoken by the Lord, and spoken from the Cross, and that they have been introduced into the narrative at the right point.

This last assertion could not be made of the Pericope Adulteræ, the only further saying which has to be considered. There can be little doubt that this is not a part of St. John's Gospel; there can be little doubt also that it has not been introduced at the right point of the narrative, those scribes who introduced it at the end of St. Luke xxi. having chosen a more probable scene for the incident. But it is very probable that it is the story referred to by Eusebius as contained in the Gospel according to the Hebrews and in the Expositions of Papias; that is to say, it must be as early as the first half of the second century, and there is no reason, intrinsic or external, why its account should not be accepted as historical.

Of the other sayings which have not won their way into general acceptance, we must speak more doubtfully. Many of them are probably genuine: perhaps none of them is so certain that it could be taken as the basis of any doctrine or controversial argument. Yet the majority of those which have come to us from Christian sources are a real

gain as illustrating the central teaching of the Lord, and expressing it often in a form which we cannot afford to lose. Taking the whole together, including those that have made good their footing in many MSS., we may say that they lie on the fringe of the Gospel narrative: they make it difficult to draw a line very sharply between that which is genuine and that which is not, between that which is canonical and that which is not. But a great painter has said that "there is no sharp outline in Nature," and we have learnt in many ways the difficulty of drawing a sharp line between the natural and the supernatural.

Yet this does not mean that we blur the difference.

The writer in the *Dictionary of the Bible* says of this very subject that "the distinction between sacred and secular was not clearly marked as it is with us—not so much that the sacred was secularised as *the secular was hallowed*."¹ There was a "touching of things common" till they rose to meet the spheres. So, to return to our metaphor, these sayings form a fringe round the Gospel narrative, but the fringe implies a garment well woven and strong, on to which it could be tacked. They are, as it were, in the twilight of revelation, but the twilight implies a real sunlight from which it is the fading away, and as we gaze into that sunlight a few things grow very clear. We see the Personality of one who spake as never man spake, a Personality to which his followers look upward as from below, a Personality whose words are sustained on a level which they could not have created, though it is so pervasive and inspiring that it draws them upward, so that just here and there we cannot be quite sure whether it is the Master speaking or the disciple. We see an historic outline embodying, however slightly, a life and character, which is consistent and rational and spiritual in a way which raises it above the level of legend into that of trustworthy his-

¹ *Dict. Bible*, s.v. Gospels, p. 1238 b.

torical fact. Whatever may be the processes that have moulded our Gospels, oral tradition, oral catechisings, written documents, compilation, or alterations of copyists—and probably they are all true theories—yet, after all, no one of the Gospels is the mosaic of a book-maker: each is the loving record of a living master, whose own spirit is felt in every chapter.

And we see a Church, so confident of the Living Personality of its Founder, so sure of the historic background of His life, that it can pick and choose among many records and authoritatively decide that a certain four are the truest representation of it, and yet it can rise even above the text of these as they first were published and boldly incorporate with them sayings and historic fragments like the end of St. Mark or the Pericope Adulteræ, of which other writers or merely oral tradition were at first the authority, and decide that they too are true, and worthy to be read in its services “to the end of time.”

WALTER LOCK.

*PHYSICAL AND HISTORICAL PROBABILITIES
RESPECTING THE AUTHORSHIP AND AUTHORITY OF THE MOSAIC BOOKS.*

II. THE BOOK OF GENESIS.

REFERENCE has been made in the preceding article to the following points:

1. That no Hebrew writer down to the time of Solomon, or perhaps even to that of the introduction of Greek literature into the East, could have had so ample means for writing the early history of the world as those possessed by Moses, when regarded as a Hebrew imbued with the culture of the great civilised Egypt of the nineteenth dynasty.