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A STUDY IN THE FIRST GOSPEL.*

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THE original language of the first Gospel has long been more or less in question. The testimony of early antiquity, which is quite full, is unanimous in favor of a Hebrew (*i.e.* Aramaic) original; yet there are some special reasons tending to impair the value of that testimony. On the other hand, all the early quotations are from the Greek, except some made by St. Jerome for the express purpose of pointing out the differences between the Aramaic and the Greek. With the exception of St. Jerome, none of the earlier writers appear to have actually seen the Aramaic Gospel, and St. Jerome himself, while he describes the copy "used by the Nazarenes," which he had been allowed to examine and to translate, and while he frequently speaks positively of a Hebrew original, yet elsewhere says that this is uncertain.¹ It seems not impossible that both he and his predecessors,

* Read in June 1889.

¹ *De viris illustr.* 3. Matthaëus, qui et Levi, ex publicano Apostolus, primus in Judæa propter eos qui ex circumcissione crediderant, Evangelium Christi Hebraicis literis verbisque composuit, quod quis postea in Graecum transtulerit, non satis certum est. Porro ipsum Hebraicum habetur usque hodie in Caesariensi bibliotheca, quam Pamphilus martyr studiosissime confecit. Mihi quoque a Nazaraeis qui in Beroea urbe Syriae hoc volumine utuntur, describendi facultas fuit. He then goes on to describe some of the differences from the Greek, particularly that *all* its quotations were taken from the Hebrew, and not from the LXX.

Papias (as quoted by Eusebius),² Irenaeus,³ Pantænus,⁴ Origen,⁵ Eusebius,⁶ and Epiphanius,⁷ were misled by a spurious or adulterated Gospel in use among the Ebionites and Nazarenes of which they had heard, but which they had not seen. When St. Jerome did finally carefully examine it, he expresses his doubts in the passage just cited. Nevertheless, the testimony as a whole constitutes a strong *prima facie* case for an Aramaic original.

There is a singular distinction between the simple narrative of the Gospel and those parts of it which are occupied with the record of our Lord's discourses, in that the quotations in the former part are taken from the Hebrew, while those in the other part are from the Septuagint. In view of this fact, and of the testimony that it was originally written in Aramaic while all citations of it are from the Greek, it has been suggested⁸ that the Apostle may have originally written in Aramaic an account of our Lord's teaching with little or no connecting narrative; and that afterwards, finding a fuller narrative required, and the Greek language more fitted to his purpose, he determined to enlarge and re-issue the work in Greek. To this end he prepared the narrative in Greek, employing one of his disciples to translate into the same language what he had already written in Aramaic. If this suggestion can be sustained, it will account for nearly all the problems connected with the question, and simply as a suggestion is entitled to a fair consideration. But it is plain that if it have any sound basis there must be some internal evidence in its favor. There will be likely to be some differences of diction between the two parts, some idiosyncrasies of construction, some favorite expressions or modes of expression. If these do not exist, the theory must be given up; if they are found to any considerable extent, the

² Papias apud Eusebium, *h. e.* iii. 39 prope fin. Ματθαῖος μὲν οὖν Ἑβραϊοῖ διαλέκτῃ τὰ λόγια συνεγράψατο ἠρμήνευσεν δ' αὐτὰ ὡς ἦν δυνατὸς ἕκαστος.

³ Irenaeus, *haer.* iii. 1, Latin; the Greek being given by Eusebius, *h. e.* v. 8.

⁴ Apud Euseb. *h. e.* v. 10.

⁵ *Com. in Matt.* preserved in Euseb. *h. e.* vi. 25.

⁶ Euseb. *h. e.* iii. 24. With this Alford compares Euseb. *ad Marin.*, *Quæst.* ii.

⁷ *Adv. haer.* xxxi. (li.) 5. Ed. Colon. 1682, Tom. II. p. 426.

⁸ This suggestion is substantially made by Godet (*Biblical Studies, N. Test.* I. The Origin of the Four Gospels, pp. 19, 20), but in a somewhat different form. He supposes St. Matthew, as above, to have originally written in Aramaic an account of the discourses of our Lord, and that one of his coadjutors translated this into Greek, and added the narrative. In this form, the difference in the quotations is scarcely accounted for.

theory will be strongly supported. It is the object of this paper to examine whether such differences do or do not exist.

Before entering on the examination, however, some preliminary points need to be considered. Whether the theory be true or false, no sharp and definite line of demarcation between the two parts can be looked for. Some of our Lord's words are in short sentences in the course of conversation, and may well be considered as more properly forming a part of the narrative than as belonging to the record of the discourses. The longer utterances of John the Baptist may, some of them at least, have been a part of the original *memorabilia* of the discourses. The whole work, even on this theory, is essentially from the same author, and the Apostle, while adding the narrative in Greek, would certainly have examined the translation of his own Aramaic work, and would have been likely to supplement it here and there with some further recollections; the translator, too, on the hypothesis of a disciple of the Evangelist, would naturally have caught something of his master's style and mode of expression. Still further, there undoubtedly was at the time of writing a sort of oral gospel or customary way of instructing new converts both in regard to the events of our Lord's life, and also in the more prominent features of his teaching; and while this oral teaching had not assumed a fixed and rigid form, it was yet naturally characterized by a certain degree of uniformity, and even, occasionally, by absolute identity of expression, particularly in repeating the more familiar sayings of the Master. These facts become abundantly evident in the study of the Synoptists, and would have affected both the Evangelist and his translator and have led to the use by both of some special phrases common in the Christian community, but not distinctive of either of them. In view of these circumstances, whatever distinction may exist between the two parts can be only a general one, and cannot be expected to be by any means sharp and invariable.

For the purposes of this examination the Gospel may be divided into three parts: (1) The discourses of our Lord, although there is a certain fringe, as it were, of the shorter sayings, some of which may be considered as more properly belonging to the narrative; (2) The narrative proper; (3) The record of the words of others, generally short and conversational, and thus connected with the narrative; but also including the sayings of John the Baptist, although the longer of these, at least, may well have been incorporated with the original record of our Lord's discourses. This third part, therefore, forms a

connecting link between the other two, and while in the main it may be properly associated with the narrative, in a few portions is rather to be assimilated with the discourses.

The problem is thus one of considerable complexity, and may best be entered upon by an examination of the exact facts in regard to the quotations. Throughout this paper Tischendorf's text of the New Testament has been used; and, for the Old Testament, Hahn's Hebrew text and Tischendorf's Septuagint with Nestle's Supplement, and occasionally Field's Hexapla; both Lagarde's and Swete's editions of the Septuagint being as yet too incomplete for the purpose. If the theory under examination be correct, it would be expected that the Evangelist himself, when quoting exactly, would cite the original Hebrew, with which he was thoroughly familiar, while the translator of the Aramaic part of his work would naturally, when he looked out his quotations at all, give them after the Septuagint, the Greek version in common use.

Of the whole number of quotations nine are of no use to us, because the Hebrew, the Septuagint, and the Gospel all exactly agree; twenty-eight others must be set aside for the present, because they agree verbally neither with the Hebrew nor the Septuagint. (Yet it is to be noted that three in the narrative of this class agree more nearly with the Hebrew, and there are none nearer to the Septuagint, while one in our Lord's words (iv. 10), and one in those of John the Baptist are nearer the Septuagint, and there are none more closely assimilated to the Hebrew.) Of the remaining quotations all (five) in the narrative agree with the Hebrew as against the Septuagint, while in the record of the discourses all but one (*i.e.* nine) agree exactly with it, and none with the Hebrew. The one exception is the short cry upon the cross, "Eli, Eli, lama sabacthani," which is recorded in the original language, doubtless just as it was spoken, and just as it was commonly related in Christian instruction. The facts in regard to the quotations are then what might have been expected on the basis of the theory.

In estimating the further evidence, the proportion of the parts of the Gospel is to be borne in mind. By a count of lines I find that the words of our Lord occupy 1012 lines, the words of others 185, and the narrative proper 712; or nearly in the ratio of $5\frac{1}{2} : 1 : 3\frac{3}{4}$. Thus the narrative strictly is less than two fifths of the whole; or, if we connect with it all the short sentences, whether in the conversation of our Lord or of others, it will still be less than half.

The next point is to examine those words and phrases generally pointed out as characteristic of the first Gospel. None of these is more marked than the expression *βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν*, used only by St. Matthew, and replaced in the other Evangelists by *βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ*. It occurs thirty times in St. Matthew, but never once in the narrative; twenty-eight times it is used by our Lord, once by John the Baptist, and once by the disciples in a question to their Master. Even *βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ*, the common expression in all other parts of the N. T., while it is found four times in the record of Christ's teaching, does not occur elsewhere in this Gospel. In fact, the mere word *βασιλεία*, so very frequent in the discourses, is found only twice (in the phrase *εὐαγγέλιον τῆς βασιλείας*) in the whole narrative. The difference of usage in this matter is very marked.

The distinction between the singular and plural of *οὐρανός* generally observed in this Gospel, but not elsewhere, has attracted attention; the singular commonly referring to the sky, and the plural to the divine abode. In the narrative no such distinction is observed, the word occurring in the singular only three times,⁹ and in the plural but twice¹⁰ (in consecutive verses), and in every instance it admits of being understood in either sense. In citing the words of others, the singular does not occur, and the plural only twice, in the phrase *βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν*¹¹ just mentioned, once in the words of John the Baptist, and once in the question of the disciples. In the discourses the word occurs seventy-two times, and of these not more than two, both of them in the singular,¹² can be considered as doubtful in meaning. Setting these two aside, the singular is used for the abode of God ten times,¹³ for the sky ten times¹⁴; the plural is once used in the proverbial expression "from one end of heaven to the other," and in the phrase "the powers of the heavens," *i.e.* the heavenly bodies,¹⁵ and excepting these, forty-eight times,¹⁶ always for the divine dwelling

⁹ xiv. 19; xvi. 1; xxviii. 2.

¹⁰ iii. 16, 17.

¹¹ iii. 2; xviii. 1.

¹² vi. 10; xxviii. 18.

¹³ v. 34; vi. 20; xi. 23, 25; xviii. 18, 18; xix. 21; xxi. 25; xxii. 30; xxiii. 22.

¹⁴ v. 18; vi. 26; viii. 20; xiii. 32; xvi. 2, 3; xxiv. 29, 30, 30; xxvi. 64.

¹⁵ xxiv. 29, 31.

¹⁶ iv. 17; v. 3, 10, 12, 16, 19, 19, 20, 45; vi. 1, 9; vii. 11, 21, 21; viii. 11; x. 7, 32, 33; xi. 11, 12; xii. 50; xiii. 11, 24, 31, 33, 44, 45, 47, 52; xvi. 17, 19, 19, 19; xviii. 3, 4, 10, 10, 14, 19, 23; xix. 12, 14, 23; xx. 1; xxii. 2; xxiii. 13; xxiv. 36; xxv. 1.

place. Whatever, therefore, there may be characteristic in this usage is confined to the discourses. In this connection it may be mentioned that the word *οὐράνιος* is found seven times in the discourses,¹⁷ and does not occur at all in any other part of the Gospel.

The expressions *υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ*, *υἱὸς τοῦ Δαυεὶδ*, *υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου* of course occur very frequently, but with this distinction: none of them are ever used in the narrative except *υἱὸς τοῦ Δαυεὶδ* once in the genealogy, which is not relevant; the name by which the Evangelist himself refers to his Master is, I think invariably, his proper name, *ὁ Ἰησοῦς*. The expression *υἱὸς τοῦ Δαυεὶδ*, almost confined to this Gospel — being used only on one occasion (twice) by each of the other Synoptists — is always in citing the words of others (eight times). So also *υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ* is used nine times in recording the words of others, never either in the narrative or in the discourses. On the other hand *υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου* is used some thirty times, and always in the discourses of our Lord. Yet no stress can be laid on this distinction because it is called for in other ways; *υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου* occurring in all some eighty-six times in the N. T., is used only by our Lord of himself, with three exceptions, once in the vision of the martyr Stephen (Acts vii. 56), and twice in the visions of the Apocalypse. Nevertheless it is noticeable that none of these expressions are used, even in parallel places, by the other Synoptists with the same frequency as by St. Matthew.

The phrases *ἵνα* —, *ὅπως* —, *τότε πληρωθῆ* are characteristic of the first Gospel. They do not occur elsewhere, and are found in St. Matthew eleven times, but always in the narrative. In the discourses there is frequent enough reference to the fulfilment of Scripture, but it is always couched in other terms. This form was an idiosyncrasy of the writer, and does not appear elsewhere than in the narrative. In the same way *ἐπλήθη* or *τὸ ῥηθέν*, in citing prophecy, is found only in this Gospel. It is used once by John the Baptist (*ὁ ῥηθείς*, iii. 3), once by our Lord (xxiv. 15), but ten times in the narrative. This is the more noticeable, because it is used a number of times (seven) in the discourses in citing simple statements of Scripture, but in reference to prophecy only as just stated. Yet certainly prophecies are cited often enough in the discourses in other terms. As might be expected from what has just been said, the phrase *πληροῦν τὸ ῥηθέν* is found only in the narrative — eleven times.

¹⁷ v. 48; vi. 14, 26, 32; xv. 13; xviii. 35; xxiii. 9.

The phrase *συντάλεια τοῦ αἰῶνος* is peculiar to this Gospel, though *συντ. τ. αἰώνων* occurs once in Heb. ix. 26. It occurs four times in the discourses, once (xxiv. 3) in a question of the disciples, never in the narrative. On the other hand, *κατ' ὄναρ* is used five times in the narrative, once in a message to Pilate from his wife (really a part of the narrative), and never in the discourses. In fact the noun *ὄναρ* itself occurs nowhere else in the N. T.

The use of *σφόδρα* without an adjective is a noted peculiarity of the first Gospel, being found elsewhere in the N. T. only once, in Acts vi. 7; indeed, this adverb occurs at all but four times outside of this Gospel. Within it, and without an adjective, it is found once in the discourses (xviii. 31), and five times in the narrative, but not elsewhere. The phrase *καὶ ἐγένετο ὅτε* is found only in the narrative — five times. With a different order of words the same phrase occurs three times in the third Gospel, but never elsewhere in the form used here in the narrative. The peculiar expression *συμβούλιον λαμβάνειν* occurs five times in the narrative, never elsewhere. In two instances St. Mark substitutes for it *συμβούλιον ποιῆν*. The construction by which *ἰδοῦ* is made to follow the Gen. abs. is repeated ten times in the narrative, and not found elsewhere; while *καὶ ἰδοῦ*, a favorite form in the writings of St. Luke but not found in the other Gospels, occurs four times in the discourses and twenty-five times in the narrative, and only once in the words of others (xxviii. 7), those of the angel at the sepulchre. In the discourses the name of the holy city is twice *Ἱεροσόλυμα*, twice (xxiii. 37, in the voc.) *Ἱερουσαλήμ*, both of which forms (with a marked preference for the latter) occur also in the writings of St. Luke, while the second and fourth Gospels always use the former. In St. Matthew's narrative it is always (nine times) the Greek form. The use of the Imperative with the adverb following has been instanced as a peculiarity of this Gospel, but cannot here be spoken of, because, naturally, the Imperative does not occur in the narrative at all. It may, however, as well be mentioned that this usage is followed in five instances in recording the words of others, with none of the opposite order; while in the discourses there are twenty instances of it, with three of the opposite order. The Hebraistic use of *ἐμπροσθεν* as a preposition with the Genitive is not found in recording the words of others, and is far more frequent in the discourses (fourteen times) than in the narrative (four times); *ὀπίσω*, used in the same way, does not occur at all in the narrative, is found once in the words of John the Baptist (iii. 11), and four times

in the discourses. So, also, the Hebraistic use of *πρόσωπον* is not found in the narrative, occurs once in the words of others, and three times in the discourses. These three words put together show a more Hebraistic tinge in the discourses than in the narrative. The same may be said of the pleonastic use of *χείρ* and *στόμα* in the phrases "by the hand," "by the mouth of." They occur only in the discourses: *χείρ* twice, and *στόμα* three times, together five times. The use of *ἴδιος* = *ωνη*, instead of the Genitive of the pronoun, is also found only in the discourses, three times.

So far as we have yet gone, and I have now examined all the more commonly noted peculiarities in the diction of St. Matthew, there seem to be decided indications of different hands in the different parts of the Gospel. They are, perhaps, not enough to be decisive, and yet they lend so much support to the theory in question, that in order to set it aside we must suppose the account of the discourses to be a far more literal report of the words actually used than we have any reason to suppose, or than the parallel reports in the other Synoptists would lead us to infer.

The question of vocabulary may now be taken up. To test this, three lists have been prepared, all of them of words occurring in this Gospel not less than three times. Words used only once or twice may be merely accidental, and, although this may occasionally be true also of those used oftener, yet, on the whole, they may be considered characteristic in proportion to the frequency of their use.

The first list is a short one, of words peculiar in the N. T. to this Gospel.

| | Discourses. | Narrative. | Words of others. |
|--------------------|------------------|-----------------|------------------|
| <i>ἐξώτερος</i> | 3 | — | — |
| <i>ἑταῖρος</i> | 3 | — | — |
| <i>ζιζάνια</i> | 7 | — | 1 ¹⁸ |
| <i>κουστωδιά</i> | — | 2 | 1 |
| <i>μαλακία</i> | — | 3 | — |
| <i>μετοικεσία</i> | — | 4 ¹⁹ | — |
| <i>ὀλιγόπιστος</i> | 4 | — | — ²⁰ |
| <i>συναίρω</i> | 3 | — | — |
| <i>τάλαντον</i> | 16 ²¹ | — | — |

¹⁸ Used by the disciples in reference to the parable they had just heard.

¹⁹ Not significant, as occurring only in the genealogy.

²⁰ This does occur once in a parallel passage in the third Gospel.

²¹ In two different connections.

The result is, that of these nine words, peculiar to this Gospel and occurring three or more times each, none are common to the narrative and the discourses.

The second list is of words common to this with one only of the other Gospels, whether used elsewhere or not. It is also limited, in the same way, to words occurring not less than three times in this Gospel, and for the sake of completeness every word is given which comes under this description, though a few of them have little or no significance.

| | Discourses. | Narrative. | Words of others. | Other Gospel. | Elsewhere. |
|-----------------|-------------|-----------------|------------------|-----------------------------|------------------|
| ἐνοχος | 4 | — | 1 | Mk. 2 | 3 (Epist.) |
| ἀμφοτέροι | 3 | — | — | Lk. 6 | 5 |
| ἀποθήκη | 2 | — | 1* | Lk. 3 | — |
| ἀφορίζω | 3 | — | — | Lk. 1 | 6 |
| βρυγμός | 6 | — | — | Lk. 1 | — |
| διορίσσω | 3 | — | — | Lk. 1 | — |
| ἐκατόνταρχος-ης | — | 4 | — | Lk. 3 | 14 (Acts) |
| ἐκκόπτω | 3 | — | 1* | Lk. 3 | 4 |
| ἐλάχιστος | 4 | — | 1 ²² | Lk. 4 | 4 |
| ἔνδυμα | 5 | 2 | — | Lk. 1 | — |
| ἐργάτης | 6 | — | — | Lk. 4 | 6 |
| ἔχιδνα | 2 | — | 1* | Lk. 1 | 1 (Acts) |
| θρόνος | 5 | — | — | Lk. 3 | 52 (chleff Rev.) |
| θυσιαστήριον | 6 | — | — | Lk. 2 | 14 |
| καθίστημι | 4 | — | — | Lk. 3 | 15 |
| κάρφος | 3 | — | — | Lk. 3 | — |
| κελεύω | 1 | 4 | 2 | Lk. 1 | 18 (Acts) |
| κλαυθμός | 6 | 1 ²³ | — | Lk. 1 | 1 (Acts) |
| κοινώω | 5 | — | — | Mk. 5 | 5 |
| κυλλός | 1 | 2 | — | Mk. 1 | — |
| μεριμνάω | 7 | — | — | Lk. 5 | 5 |
| νομίζω | 3 | — | — | Lk. 2 | 10 |
| ὀμνύω | 12 | 1 | — | Mk. 2 (Lk. 1) ²⁴ | 9 |
| ὀργίζομαι | 3 | — | — | Lk. 2 | 3 |
| ὄρια | — | 6 | — | Mk. 5 | 1 (Acts) |
| οὐράνιος | 7 | — | — | Lk. 1 | 1 (Acts) |
| παραλυτικός | — | 4 | 1 | Mk. 5 | — |

* John the Baptist.

| | Discourses. | Narrative. | Words of others. | Other Gospel. | Elsewhere. |
|---------------------|-------------|-----------------|------------------|---------------|------------|
| προσέχω | 5 | 1 ²⁵ | — | Lk. 4 | 13 |
| πίλη | 4 | — | — | Lk. 1 | 4 (Acts 3) |
| ρίπτω | — | 3 | — | Lk. 2 | 3 (Acts) |
| σαπρός | 5 | — | — | Lk. 2 | 1 (Eph.) |
| σκάνδαλον | 5 | — | — | Lk. 1 | 9 |
| συλλέγω | 7 | — | — | Lk. 1 | — |
| συμφωνέω | 3 | — | — | Lk. 1 | 2 (Acts) |
| τὰ ὑπάρχοντα | 3 | — | — | Lk. 8 | 3 |
| φρόνιμος | 7 | — | — | Lk. 2 | 5 |
| δυάω | 5 | — | — | Jno. 6 | 5 |
| συμφέρει (intrans.) | 3 | — | 1 | Jno. 3 | 10 |

NOTES.

²² In quotation; but the Septuagint has *δλιγοστός*.

²³ In quotation.

²⁴ This word is given (although found once in the third Gospel) partly because it occurs so often, and partly because its construction with *eis* or *en* is very rare in the Gospels and elsewhere, and in Matthew occurs only in the discourses—eleven times.

²⁵ Quoting from the discourse.

A few of these words are of no significance, but there are only one or two which give doubtful indications; as far as they go, they indicate a different selection of vocabulary in the narrative and in the discourses. The indication may not be very strong, but it is in this direction, and there are enough of them to make the indication of some value.

The third list is of a different kind, and takes up the matter from a different point of view. It is a list of *all* the words, except a few omitted for obvious reasons, which are common and occur in this Gospel each fifteen times or more. Prepositions, pronouns, relatives, proper names, the article, and the more common particles and conjunctions are not included. Simply the number in each part of this Gospel is given, the use of them elsewhere being sufficiently familiar. Column I. is the total number of occurrences in this Gospel, II. the number in the discourses, III. in the narrative, and IV. in the words of others.

| | I. | II. | III. | IV. | | I. | II. | III. | IV. |
|---------|----|-----|------|-----------------|-----------------------|----|-----|------|-----------------|
| ἀγαθός | 16 | 15 | — | 1 | ἀδελφός ²⁶ | | | | |
| ἄγγελος | 19 | 11 | 7 | 1 | αἰρέω | 19 | 14 | 4 | 1 ²⁷ |
| ἀγρός | 16 | 12 | 2 | 2 ²⁸ | αἰτέω ²⁸ | | | | |

| | I. | II. | III. | IV. | | I. | II. | III. | IV. | | |
|------------------------|-----|-----|------|-----------------|-----------------------|-------|-----------------|------------------|-----|----|---|
| ἀκολουθεῖω | 24 | 5 | 17 | 2 | εἶπον | 170 | 39 | 114 | 17 | | |
| ἀκούω | 60 | 31 | 23 | 6 | εἰς | 60 | 39 | 15 | 6 | | |
| ἀλλά | 37 | 34 | 1 | 2 | εἰσέρχομαι | 36 | 27 | 8 | 1 | | |
| ἄλλος | 29 | 15 | 11 | 3 | ἐκβάλλω | 27 | 17 | 6 | 4 | | |
| ἀμήν ²⁵ | | | | | ἐκεῖ | 28 | 14 | 12 | 2 | | |
| ἄν | 36 | 33 | 1 | 2 ²⁶ | ἐμπροσθεν | 18 | 14 | 4 | — | | |
| ἄνθρωπος | 125 | 114 | 8 | 3 | ἐξέρχομαι | 42 | 23 | 18 | 1 | | |
| ἀπέρχομαι | 34 | 17 | 14 | 3 | ἐρῶ | 29 | 17 | 10 ²⁸ | 2 | | |
| ἀποδίδωμι | 18 | 17 | 1 | — | ἔρχομαι | 108 | 61 | 35 | 12 | | |
| ἀποκρίνομαι | 52 | 11 | 40 | 1 | εὐθὺς | 15 | 5 | 10 | — | | |
| ἀπόλλυμι | 19 | 7 | 6 | 6 | εὕρισκω | 27 | 20 | 6 | 1 | | |
| ἀποστέλλω | 22 | 15 | 6 | 1 | ἔχω | 72 | 46 | 14 | 12 | | |
| ἄρτος | 20 | 12 | 4 | 4 | ἕως | 39 | 27 | 9 | 3 | | |
| ἀρχιερεῖς | 23 | 1 | 22 | — | ἡμέρα | 43 | 33 | 7 | 3 | | |
| αὐτός ²⁸ | | | | | θάλασσα | 17 | 5 | 11 | 1 | | |
| ἀφίημι | 47 | 34 | 9 | 4 | θάλω | 42 | 29 | 5 | 8 | | |
| βάλλω | 34 | 26 | 3 | 5 | θεός | 49 | 30 | 5 | 14 | | |
| βασιλεία ²⁹ | | | | | θεραπεύω | 16 | 3 | 11 | 2 | | |
| βασιλεύς | 22 | 11 | 7 | 4 | ἰδού | 61 | 21 | 36 | 4 | | |
| βλέπω | 18 | 13 | 4 | 1 | ἵνα | 41 | 16 | 17 | 8 | | |
| γεννάω ³⁰ | | | | | ἴστημι | 19 | 9 | 9 | 1 | | |
| γῆ | 37 | 27 | 8 | 2 | καθίζομαι | 17 | 5 | 12 | — | | |
| γίνομαι | 69 | 43 | 25 | 1 | καλέω | 25 | 17 | 7 | 1 | | |
| γινώσκω | 19 | 13 | 6 | — | καλός | 20 | 18 | — | 2 | | |
| γραμματεῖς | 24 | 13 | 10 | 1 | καρδία | 17 | 17 | — | — | | |
| γυνή | 27 | 9 | 11 | 7 | καρπός | 19 | 17 | — | 2 | | |
| μὲν...δέ | 18 | 17 | — | 1 | κύριος ²⁸ | | | | | | |
| δίδωμι | 57 | 38 | 9 | 10 | λαλέω | 25 | 8 | 15 | 2 | | |
| δικαίος | 19 | 16 | 1 | 2 | λαμβάνω | 55 | 35 | 20 | — | | |
| δούλος | 30 | 28 | 1 | 1 | λαός | 15 | 2 ³⁴ | 10 | 3 | | |
| δύναμαι | 27 | 17 | 1 | 9 | λέγω | 290 | 107 | 175 | 8 | | |
| δύο ²⁸ | | | | | λόγος | 31 | 21 | 8 | 2 | | |
| εἰάν | 53 | 45 | — | 8 | μαθητής ²⁸ | | | | | | |
| εἰαυτοῦ | 27 | 18 | 6 | 3 | μέγας | { | 19 | 10 | 8 | 1 | |
| ἐγείρω | 33 | 15 | 11 | 7 | μείζων | { | 9 | 9 | — | — | |
| εἰ ³¹ | 60 | 42 | 2 | 16 | μήτηρ | { | 27 | 13 | 10 | 4 | |
| εἶδον | { | 58 | 20 | 34 | 4 | ὁδός | { | 21 | 12 | 7 | 2 |
| οἶδα | { | 24 | 16 | 1 | 7 | οἰκία | { | 26 | 16 | 9 | 1 |
| εἰμί | { | 243 | 169 | 27 | 47 ³² | ὄλος | { | 25 | 14 | 11 | — |
| „ (future) | { | 49 | 44 | — | 5 | ὄνομα | { | 22 | 15 | 5 | 2 |

| | I. | II. | III. | IV. | | I. | II. | III. | IV. |
|------------------------|-----|-----|------------------|-----|------------------------|----|-----|------------------|-----|
| ὅπως | 17 | 9 | 7 | 1 | πονηρός | 26 | 26 | — | — |
| ὄρος | 16 | 7 | 9 | — | πορευόμεαι | 26 | 14 | 7 | 5 |
| ὄσος | 16 | 15 | 1 | — | προσέρχομαι | 50 | 8 | 42 | — |
| ὅταν | 19 | 18 | — | 1 | προσφέρω | 15 | 4 | 10 | 1 |
| ὅτι | 143 | 107 | 22 | 14 | προφήτης | 38 | 20 | 13 ²⁷ | 5 |
| οὐδέ | 27 | 23 | 4 ²⁶ | — | πρῶτος -ον | 24 | 20 | 2 | 2 |
| οὐδεὶς | 19 | 11 | 6 | 2 | σπείρω | 17 | 16 | — | 1 |
| οὖν | 55 | 43 | 2 | 10 | συνάγω | 24 | 13 | 10 | 1 |
| οὐρανός | 84 | 77 | 5 | 2 | σώζω | 15 | 6 | 1 | 8 |
| οὕτω -ς | 30 | 26 | 1 | 3 | σῶμα | 16 | 11 | 5 | — |
| ὀφθαλμός | 22 | 17 | 4 | 1 | τέκνον | 15 | 12 | 1 | 2 |
| ὄχλος | 49 | 1 | 46 | 2 | τότε | 89 | 31 | 58 | — |
| παιδίον | 18 | 5 | 6 | 7 | τυφλός | 16 | 8 | 8 | — |
| πάλιν | 15 | 8 | 7 | — | υἱός ²⁸ | | | | |
| παραβολή ²⁸ | | | | | ἰπάγω | 20 | 19 | — | 1 |
| παραδίδωμι | 32 | 22 | 7 | 3 | ἰποκριτής | 15 | 15 | — | — |
| παραλαμβάνω | 16 | 4 | 9 | 3 | φημί | 16 | 4 | 10 | 2 |
| πᾶς | 129 | 84 | 34 | 11 | φαισαῖος ²⁸ | | | | |
| πατήρ | 63 | 58 | 3 | 2 | φοβέομαι | 17 | 7 | 7 | 3 |
| πίπτω | 17 | 11 | 3 | 3 | χείρ | 24 | 9 | 11 | 4 |
| πληρῶς | 16 | 6 | 10 ²⁶ | — | Χριστός ²⁸ | | | | |
| πνεῦμα | 19 | 10 | 7 | 2 | ψυχή | 16 | 14 | 1 ²⁷ | 1 |
| ποιέω | 85 | 67 | 7 | 11 | ᾶδε | 17 | 11 | — | 6 |
| πόλις | 24 | 12 | 12 | — | ᾶρα | 21 | 13 | 7 | 1 |
| πολύς | 53 | 25 | 25 | 3 | ᾶς | 37 | 26 | 9 | 2 |

NOTES.

²⁶ One a quotation from the Septuagint.²⁷ Quotation from the Septuagint.²⁸ Omitted for obvious reasons.²⁹ Already treated.³⁰ Occurs 45 times, but 41 of these are in the genealogy.³¹ With μή, οὐ, or τις, 20, 15, 2 and 3.³² Chiefly the third person ἐστί.³³ All but one of these are in connection with the citation of prophecies.³⁴ Both quotations from the Septuagint.³⁵ Two of these are quotations from the Septuagint.³⁶ Only in the application of prophecies.³⁷ Mostly in the citation of prophecies.

The examination of this list seems to me decidedly confirmatory of the hypothesis under examination. Of course, many of the words are in such common use that we should expect to find them often in

almost any writer, and a slight difference in the frequency of their use has no significance. Several others are more appropriate to narrative or to discourse, as the case may be, and their greater use in the part to which they properly belong has no meaning. But after all such subtractions there remains a considerable residue, and this residue can hardly be considered otherwise than characteristic.

The word *ὄχλος*, *e.g.*, we should expect to find much more frequent in the narrative; but, considering how much more space is occupied by the discourses, and how large a part of them is in the form of narrative, we are surprised to find the usage in the proportion of 46 to 1. Such words as *ἀγαθός*, *καλός*, *δίκαιος*, and *πονηρός* might seem suitable enough in either part, yet only *δίκαιος* occurs in the narrative at all, and that but once, and only *δίκαιος* and *καλός*, each twice, in the words of others; while together they are found 75 times in the discourses. We might expect *ἄνθρωπος* more frequently in our Lord's teachings, on account of the phrase *υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου*, but it is remarkable that it should occur only 8 times in the narrative to 114 in the discourses, while *ἄνθρωπος* is found 5 times in the narrative to 3 in the discourses. There seems no special reason why *δίδωμι* with its compounds *ἀπο-* and *παρα-* should be much more common in one part than in the other; yet the proportion is 77 in the discourses to 17 in the narrative. The same thing may be said of *βιάλλω* and *ἐκβάλλω*, 43 times to 9. In the same way *δοῦλος* is found 28 times in the discourses to once only in the narrative, and *δύναμαι*, 17 times to once. The use or non-use of the verb *εἰμί* is marked in the different parts, as is seen in the table; it need only be remarked here that the future, occurring 44 times in the discourses, is never used in the narrative. The simple *ἔρχομαι* and its compounds *εἰς-* and *ἐξ-ἔρχομαι* are much more frequent in the discourses, and to these should be added *παρέρχομαι*, found only in the discourses (9 times); but *προσέρχομαι* occurs five times as often in the narrative (42 times; discourses, 8). The nouns *καρδία* and *καρπός* are each used 17 times in the discourses, and do not occur at all in the narrative, though the latter is found twice in the words of the Baptist; *οὐρανός* is used 77 times in the discourses, and only 5 in the narrative; *ψυχή* 14 times in the former, and only once, in a quotation, in the latter. The verbs *ἔχω*, *ποιέω*, and *ἰπάγω* show a similar difference of usage; the last, especially, being used 19 times in the discourses, and not at all in the narrative. The proportion of the adjective *πρῶτος*, with its adverb *πρῶτον*, in the two parts is 20 to 2,

while $\pi\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ is 84 to 84, and $\delta\sigma\varsigma$ 15 to 1. The verbs of speaking, $\epsilon\lambda\pi\omicron\nu$, $\lambda\alpha\lambda\acute{\omega}$, $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omega$, and $\phi\eta\mu\acute{\iota}$, are, as might be expected, about twice as frequent in the narrative — 314 times to 158 in the discourses; but $\epsilon\rho\omega$ is found 17 times in the discourses, and, outside of the formula for the citation of prophecies, occurs only once in the narrative. Of the various words of request or prayer, none occur in repeating the words of others; elsewhere, $\alpha\iota\tau\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ is the most common, being found 15 times, but two thirds of these are in the discourses; $\epsilon\pi\iota\theta\upsilon\mu\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ and $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ occur only in that part, the former twice, the latter once; $\epsilon\rho\omega\tau\acute{\alpha}\omega$ is used twice in each part, but in the discourses in both cases in the classical sense of *question*, in the narrative in both cases in the N. T. sense of *ask*.

There is another class of words which, as indicating habits of grammatical construction, are more important than as mere parts of the vocabulary. Nearly all of these are marked by their frequency in the discourses and their infrequency in the narrative. A few only are of opposite usage, as $\epsilon\upsilon\theta\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma$, twice as often in the narrative; and $\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\upsilon$, 36 times in the narrative to 21 in the discourses. On the other hand, the adversative formula $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ is 17 times in the discourses, but once in the narrative; the particles $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ and $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu$ are much confused with one another in the *var. lect.*, but there is no need, for this purpose, of separating them; together they are found 78 times in the discourses, and only $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ once in the narrative; $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha}$, in the same way, is 34 times in the former, once in the latter; the proportion of the characteristic $\tau\omega\varsigma$ is 27 to 9; $\sigma\tau\alpha\nu$ is in the discourses only, 18 times; $\sigma\tau\iota$ is found in them five times as often as in the narrative; $\sigma\upsilon\nu$, so frequent in the narrative of the fourth Gospel, is here 43 times in the discourses to twice in the narrative; the negative $\omicron\upsilon\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ occurs 23 times in the former to 4 in the latter, and of these 4 two are in quotations; $\omicron\upsilon\tau\omega$ -s, 26 to 1, $\omega\delta\delta\epsilon$, 11 to 0; $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$, 26 to 9. The particle $\tau\acute{\omicron}\tau\epsilon$ is found 89 times in this Gospel; none of these occur in reporting the words of others, about two thirds of them (58) are in the narrative, leaving only about one third (31) for the discourses, which occupy so much the larger space.

A careful examination of this table impresses one with a difference both in the habitual vocabulary and in the habitual grammatical form of expression in the two parts.

To this should be added, for completeness, a further list of words not occurring so many as 15 times in this Gospel, yet having in them

something characteristic. The columns are the same as in the last table.

| | I. | II. | III. | IV. | | I. | II. | III. | IV. |
|-------------------------|----|-----|-----------------|-----------------|----------------------------|------------|-----|------|-----|
| ἀγαπάω | 7 | 7 | — | — | μᾶλλον | 9 | 8 | 1 | — |
| ἀναγνώσκω ³⁸ | 7 | 7 | — | — | μηδέ | 11 | 11 | — | — |
| ἄρχομαι | 12 | 3 | 9 | — | νόμος | 8 | 7 | — | 1 |
| βρυγμός ³⁹ | 6 | 6 | — | — | οἰκοδεσπότης ⁴² | 7 | 7 | — | — |
| δεῖ | 8 | 5 | 1 ⁴⁰ | 2 | οἶκος ⁴² | 10 | 9 | 1 | — |
| δέχομαι | 9 | 9 | — | — | ὁμνῶ | 13 | 12 | 1 | — |
| ἔθνος | 14 | 11 | 3 ⁴¹ | — | ὅμοιος | 17 | 9 | 9 | — |
| ἐκεῖθεν | 12 | 1 | 11 | — | ὁμοίω | | 8 | 8 | — |
| θέλγημα | 6 | 6 | — | — | ὅπου | 13 | 10 | 1 | 2 |
| καθίζω | 9 | 8 | — | 1 | πιστεύω | 24 | 11 | 9 | — |
| κόσμος | 9 | 8 | 1 | — | πίστις | | 8 | 7 | — |
| κράζω | 12 | — | 11 | 1 | πιστός | 5 | 5 | — | — |
| κρίνω | 19 | 4 | 4 | — | πλανῶ | 8 | 8 | — | — |
| κρίσις | | 12 | 10 | 2 ⁴¹ | — | πῶς | 14 | 13 | — |
| κριτής | | 3 | 3 | — | — | σκανδαλίζω | 14 | 10 | 1 |
| λίαν | 4 | — | 4 | — | | | | | |

NOTES.

³⁸ Cf. γινώσκω, 19, 13, 6, 0.

³⁹ Elsewhere only once in Luke.

⁴⁰ In recounting what had just been said.

⁴¹ In quotations only.

⁴² Cf. οἰκία, 26, 16, 9, 1.

To this list may be added ἀναχωρέω, though scarcely a common word in the N. T. It occurs once each in Mark and John, and twice in Acts. In Matthew it is found nine times in the narrative, once in the discourses, and not elsewhere.

This table needs no comment; its indications are the same as those of all that has gone before, and with this the examination may be brought to a close. It has appeared, I think, that the discourses show a writer more familiar with Greek construction than the writer of the narrative. The almost exclusive use, in the former, of the particles μὲν δέ, ἀλλά, ἐάν and ἄν, ὅτι, οὖν, οὐδέ, etc., emphasizes this fact, and along with this goes the substitution of such forms as οὐρανός for ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, etc.; while, at the same time, the similar use of Hebraistic expressions is to a certain extent an indication of a translator from the Aramaic. On the other hand, the constant employment of such unclassical forms as σφόδρα without an adjective.

καὶ ἰδοὺ, and ἰδοὺ following the Gen. abs., the Old Testament phrase καὶ ἐγένετο ὅτε, and many more in the narrative, and the excessive use of the particle τότε, show a writer less accustomed to express himself in Greek.

Nevertheless, in all this there is nothing to show a real diversity of authorship, and the evidence would be suspicious if there were. St. Matthew's essential authorship of the book as a whole is abundantly witnessed to by the earliest antiquity, and necessarily results from the evident unity of purpose throughout, and from the close connection between the narrative and much of the discourses. Yet the book presents some curious phenomena, looking to some sort of difference between its different parts. It has been already noted that all the ancient writers testify to an Aramaic original, while all their quotations are from the Greek. There is a singular grouping together of discourses and parables which are separated and given at other points in the narrative by the other Synoptists. The explanation commonly given for this is simply that such was the design of the writer; but, while this may be enough, a more satisfactory reason is given by the hypothesis we are considering. If the discourses were first published by themselves, they would naturally have been left to a great extent *en bloc* when the narrative was added. There is a marked difference in the vocabulary of the two parts; and, although inferences from mere details of vocabulary are notoriously precarious, yet when these details accumulate, as here, to large numbers, and especially when they point to the same conclusion with other indications, they have weight. Still further, they here include a difference in grammatical forms and in favorite phrases. The difference in the method of quotation — the discourses citing from the LXX, the narrative from the Hebrew — was our starting point.

The hypothesis which meets all these points, and the only one satisfactorily accounting for them all, is that St. Matthew originally wrote only the account of our Lord's discourses, in Aramaic; and subsequently caused this to be translated into Greek, himself adding the narrative in the same language. The hypothesis is not improbable in itself, and seems to me confirmed by the examination now made. I therefore accept it as a satisfactory solution of the puzzling enigmas in regard to this Gospel, both in the testimony of antiquity and in its internal structure.