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The Eusebian Canons: An Early Catholic Approach to Gospel Harmony

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THE EUSEBIAN CANONS: AN EARLY CATHOLIC APPROACH TO GOSPEL HARMONY

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INTRODUCTION

Concerning the writing of history, the Roman rhetorician Quintilian mused,

> As regards Greek history, it allows itself something very like poetic license. Again the time and place of some particular occurrence and sometimes even the persons concerned often provide matter for discussion: Livy for instance is frequently in doubt as to what actually occurred and historians often disagree.[1]

Though the art of writing history was still under development, the means of deconstructing it were already well advanced in the rhetorical training of classical

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[1]From Book II.IV.19 of *The Institutio Oratoria of Quintilian* Vol. 1, trans. by H. E. Butler in *The Loeb Classical Library* (London: William Heinemann, 1921) p. 232-235. Leopold von Ranke comments, "It is strange how, among the Greeks, history developed out of poetry and then emancipated itself from poetry. The Greeks had a theory of history which, while not equal by far to their practice, was nevertheless significant. Some stressed the scientific character more, others the artistic, but nobody denied the necessity of uniting the two. Their theory moves between both elements and cannot decide for either. Quintilian still said: `Historia est proxima poetis et quodammodo carmen solutum [History is akin to the poets and is, so to speak, a prose poem; Institutio Oratoria X.i.31].'" *The Theory and Practice of History* ed. by Georg G. Iggers and Konrad von Moltke, trans. by Wilma A. Iggers and Konrad von Moltke, (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1973) p. 34.

antiquity.[2] Under such scrutiny, the early Catholic[3] insistence upon the reliability and unity of the Gospel was bound to receive sharp criticism.

As the distinctiveness of Christianity from Judaism became apparent, the tensions with pagan society were further exacerbated. The second century A.D. was the era of the Apologists, defenders and propagators of the faith in a

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[2]Origen admits, "Before we begin the defense, we must say that an attempt to substantiate almost any story as historical fact, even if it is true, and to produce complete certainty about it, is one of the most difficult tasks and in some cases impossible." *Origen: Contra Celsum* 1:42, trans. by Henry Chadwick (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953) p. 39. Concerning modern standards of historiography Baruch Halpern notes, "In effect, philological history demanded just what Pyrrhonists demand: proof absolute. This no historian can furnish: historians describe events transacted on a physical level - in terms of human beings, even groups. The level of causation at which they trade is psychological. Further, history cannot be reproduced in a laboratory. Lacking universal axioms and theorems, it can be based on testimony only; its standards of proof must be evidential, not algebraic, probalistic, not absolute. The fact is, no branch of human knowledge is immune from the Pyrrhonist - philological critique. Nevertheless, we manage to live from day to day, relying on subjective observations and culturally conditioned analyses. We do so without the objective certainty of the philologian, on the basis of a preponderance of evidence. Our own understanding of human history resembles our knowledge of the contemporary world." *The First Historians: The Hebrew Bible and History* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1988) p. 28.

[3]The term `Catholic' is used as a handy designation in distinction from `heretical' or `schismatic' groups. See Helmut Koester *Ancient Christian Gospels: Their History and Development.* (Philadelphia: Trinity Press International, 1990), p. xxx.

hostile environment. When the attackers began to take Christianity more seriously, they likewise became more familiar with the Christian message as embodied in the four canonical Gospels and the apocryphal material rejected by early Catholicism. To the champions of Greco-Roman culture, the differences between the four Evangelists both in content and outline provided an obvious means for discrediting the intellectual basis of the new religion. Thus between the martyrdom of Justin and the ascendance of Constantine there developed a considerable body of literature on the topic of Gospel harmony/disharmony.

This paper focuses on one approach in this debate, that taken by Eusebius of Caesarea. The thesis is that the *Eusebian Canons* met exegetical, theological, and practical needs of Catholic Christianity by providing a sophisticated system of Gospel harmony. Eusebius' approach was designed to satisfy philosophical expectations as well as the rigors of classical, literary criticism. As a result of its many uses, the system became embedded in the manuscript traditions of virtually every language into which the four Gospels were translated in Late Antiquity.

In order to demonstrate the system's uniqueness, a brief review of other early systems of harmonization will be necessary. This will be followed by a study of its

development and history. Likewise the text of the system itself will be examined and corrected according to the ancient manuscripts through both internal and external analysis. Finally, its implications for the practice of New Testament Textual Criticism and approaches to hermeneutics will be considered.

ABBREVIATIONS

ABD	The Anchor Bible Dictionary
ANF	The Ante-Nicene Fathers
BU	Buttman's Greek New Testament
CHB	The Cambridge History of the Bible
CLA	Codices Latini Antiquitores
DACL	Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie
DOP	Dumberton Oaks Papers
EEC	Encyclopedia of the Early Church
ER	Erasmus' Greek New Testament
EuDE	Eusebius' Demonstratio Evangelica
EuHE	Eusebius' Historia Ecclesiastica
EuPE	Eusebius' Preparatio Evangelica
FC	The Fathers of the Church
GCS	Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller
Legg	Legg's Greek New Testament
MI	Mill's Greek New Testament
NA26	Nestle-Aland's 26th edition of the Greek New Testament
NPNCF	Nicene and Post-Nicene Christian Fathers
OCD	The Oxford Classical Dictionary
ODC	The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church
OrCJ	Origen's Commentary on the Gospel of John

OX	International Greek New Testament Project's edition of Luke
PG	Patrologia Graeca, ed. J. P. Migne
PL	Patrologia Latina, ed. J. P. Migne
PRE	Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Alterthumswissenschaft
QP	Quasten's Patrology
SC	Sources Chrétiennes
SV	The Stuttgart Vulgate, ed. R. Weber
TDNT	Theological Dictionary of the New Testament
TISCH	Tischendorf's editio octava of the Greek New Testament
TREG-G	Tregelles' Greek New Testament, Greek Text
TREG-L	Tregelles' Greek New Testament, Latin Text
UBS3	The United Bible Societies' third edition of the Greek New Testament
UBS4	The United Bible Societies' fourth edition of the Greek New Testament
vS	von Soden's Greek New Testament
WW	Wordsworth and White's Latin New Testament

CHAPTER 1

EARLY APPROACHES TO HARMONIZATION IN NEAR EASTERN, CLASSICAL, AND CHRISTIAN LITERATURE

1.1. THE PHILOSOPHICAL AND DOCTRINAL FOUNDATIONS

1.1.1. The Language of Harmonization

While there are numerous Greek expressions for "agreement," three terms are particularly relevant for a study of Gospel harmony. The most obvious is ἁρμονία. Mythologically, Harmonia is the daughter of Ares and Aphrodite.[4] But the practical use of the word is as a "means of joining or fastening"[5] and as a technical term for the euphony of sound in music.

According to the *acousmata* (oral tradition) preserved by Iamblichus, harmony was an important principle in the philosophy of Pythagoras, "What is the oracle at Delphi?

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[4]*Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* VII, 2 (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1912) p. 2379. This article provides a thorough account of the mythological character.

[5]See the entry in Henry George Liddell and Robert Scott's *A Greek-English Lexicon* 9th ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1940) p. 244.

The tetractys: which is the *harmonia* in which the Sirens sing."[6] Kirk, Raven, and Schofield explain this *acousma*:

> The meaning of the tetractys, like that of the oracle, needs interpretation; and an intimation of its meaning is given: from these four numbers [1, 2, 3, and 4] one can construct the harmonic ratios of the fourth, the fifth and the octave.[7] The capital importance of these ratios for the early Pythagoreans can be glimpsed in the reference to the Sirens, whose song Plato identifies with the music of the spheres in which the heavenly bodies move. *Harmonia* or `attunement' had for them a general, indeed cosmic, significance.[8]

The tetractys was also related to the study of geometry, being represented by a triangle formed from ten points thus:

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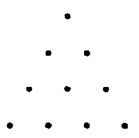
[6]Taken from Iamblichus *Vita Pythagorae* 82 as translated in G. S. Kirk, J. E. Raven, and M. Schofield *The Presocratic Philosophers: A Critical History with a Selection of Texts* 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983) p. 232.

[7]These are the symphonic ratios obtained by dividing a string on an instrument. 1:2 is the octave, 2:3 is the perfect fifth, and 3:4 is the perfect fourth. *The Pythagorean Sourcebook and Library: An Anthology of Ancient Writings Which Relate to Pythagoras and Pythagorean Philosophy* compiled and trans. by Kenneth Sylvan Guthrie (Grand Rapids, MI: Phanes Press, 1987) p. 29. By placing one's finger lightly on the string at these points and striking it with a plectrum a harmonic tone is created. This observation was the basis upon which the Greeks developed their musical scales. See the article by Marion Bauer on "Overtones, Harmonics or Upper Partials" in *The International Cyclopedia of Music and Musicians* 9th ed. edited by Oscar Thompson, Nicolas Slonmisky, and Robert Sabin (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1964) pp. 1557-1558.

[8]p. 233. The reference to Plato is from *Rep.* 616b-617e. See also the quote from Sextus in their second footnote.



The top level represents the point in geometry, the second represents the line (which is drawn between two points), the third represents a surface or plane (formed by lines drawn between three points in the shape of a triangle), and the last represents the tetrahedron, the most basic three dimensional shape.[9] Thus through the number 10 and its components (1, 2, 3, and 4) the harmony of all things could be demonstrated.

Other words representing harmony are derived from the verb φωνέω, such as συμφωνία and ὁμοφωνία. Symphony is also a musical term denoting agreement between sounds and is applied to the music of the spheres.[10] Further applications involve agreement between documents, consent in contractual agreements, ethical propriety, and wisdom. For the Greeks, that which is good and true is symphonic in character like the cosmos itself.

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[9]Guthrie *Pythagorean Sourcebook*, p. 29.

[10]The article by Otto Betz in the *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament* Vol. IX, ed. by Gerhard Friedrich, trans. and ed. by Geoffrey W. Bromiley (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1974) p.304-306, provides an excellent summary of the use of this term in classical antiquity.

A third term for harmony is στοιχέω, "to be drawn up in a line," which applies to the rows of soldiers in the military.[11] From this comes the sense "to be in harmony." The noun στοιχεῖον is important to linguistics, being the "sound" as the basic element of speech. This leads to the use of the term for alphabetical order. Its philosophical application was to the four basic elements [water, earth, air, and fire] described by Empedocles though he did not use the term himself. The different combinations of these elements form the basis of the universe.[12]

From these three examples it can be seen that the language of harmony among the Greeks consisted in analogous relationships flowing between sound, quantity, and cosmos. A notable "likeness" pervaded and united reality. The certainty of numeric equations, the euphony of notes rightly played, and the timeless regularity of the heavenly bodies cried out for conformity, rhythm, and order. They taught the philosopher to expect nothing less than harmony.[13]

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[11]See Gerhard Delling's article in TDNT pp. 666-683.

[12]See the article by Allan Hartley Coxon on "Elements" in *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* 2nd ed., ed. by N. G. L. Hammond and H. H. Scullard (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970) p. 380.

[13]For more on the doctrine of harmony and the Greek *Weltanschauung* see the set of articles by Leo Spitzer,

1.1.2. *Extra Ecclesiam*: Philosophical Analogy

In order to satisfy this sense of harmony, the apologists insisting on the unity of the Gospels used analogical arguments which, though strange by today's standards, would have made sense to their hearers and readers. Justin Martyr is the first to speak of "Gospels" (plural) with reference to writings about the life of Jesus.[14] He identifies these with the "Memoirs of the

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"Classical and Christian Ideas of World Harmony: Prolegomena to an Interpretation of the Word `Stimmung,'" in *Traditio* Vols. 2 (1944) and 3 (1945). See especially pp. 414-438 and 307-310 in the respective volumes.

[14]"The Apostles in their memoirs, which are called Gospels, have handed down what Jesus ordered them to do . . ." 1 Apology 66, *Writings of Saint Justin Martyr* trans. by Thomas B. Falls in *The Fathers of the Church* (New York: Christian Heritage, Inc., 1948) p. 106. Helmut Koester notes, "All other references speak of memoirs of a plurality of apostles except for Dial. 106.3 where, after mentioning Peter, Justin speaks of `his memoirs.' This is either a specific reference to the Gospel of Mark, written by the amanuensis of Peter, or - less likely - the text should be emended to `his (Jesus') apostles' memoirs.'" *Ancient Christian Gospels: Their History and Development* (Philadelphia: Trinity Press International, 1990) p. 40, ft. 3. Apart from this one reference, Justin appeals to a united body of witnesses. Another early reference to the Gospels in the plural is in a fragment of Claudius Apollinarius, the Bishop of Hieropolis from A.D. 161-180 according to *The Encyclopedia of the Early Church* Vol. 1, ed. by Angelo Di Berardino, trans. by Adrian Walford (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992) p. 58. The fragment appears to be speaking against the Quartodecimens misunderstanding of the Gospels and appears in PG Vol. 5, p. 1297.

Apostles," the united teaching of the twelve who were inspired like the Old Testament prophets and sent out by Jesus to teach the word of God.[15] The content of Justin's argumentation is still largely from the fulfillment of Old Testament prophecy and thereby shows characteristics of his struggle against Jewish polemics (for whom the number twelve would have been especially significant because of the twelve tribes of Israel).

Irenaeus in his *Against Heresies* argues against the Marcionites and Valentinians by insisting that there can be no other number for Gospels than four.

> It is not possible that the Gospels can be either more or fewer in number than they are. For, since there are four zones of the world in which we live, and four principal winds, while the Church is scattered throughout all the world, and the `pillar and ground' of the Church is the Gospel and the spirit of life; it is fitting that she should have four pillars, breathing out immortality on every side, and vivifying men afresh. From which fact, it is evident that the Word, the Artificer of all, He that sitteth upon the cherubim, and contains all things, He who was manifested to men, has given us the Gospel under four

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[15]1 Apology 39 and 50. The first matter of harmony which the Early Christians had to overcome was the charge from Judaism that the new message did not agree with the revelation given by the prophets. Helmut Merkel *Die Pluralität der Evangelien als theologisches und exegetisches Problem in der Alten Kirche* (Bern: Peter Lang, 1978) p. VII-VIII.

> aspects [τετράμορφον, quadriforme], but bound together by one Spirit.[16]

The content of this analogy couples well with the review of the Greek philosophical doctrine of harmony described above. Just as the cosmos is fourfold, so is the Gospel.

Origen, in his commentary on the Gospel according to St. John, provides a third example of *extra ecclesiam* analogy. After arguing that the Gospels are the first fruits of all Scripture he states, "Now, in my opinion, there are four Gospels, as though they were the elements [στοιχεῖα] of the faith of the Church."[17] This analogy coincides with the harmonistic understanding of στοιχεῖα described above. The Gospels are the four "basic elements" which compose the faith.

1.1.3. *Intra Ecclesiam*: Theological Analogy

Just as analogy was used to refute and convince those outside the Church, so also its theological application

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[16]Book 3.11.8 in *The Ante-Nicene Fathers* Vol. 1, ed. by Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1885) p. 428. The Greek and Latin are from *PG* Vol. 7, part 1, p. 885. The Eusebian Canons are generally drawn up in the form of pillars.

[17]Book 1.21, Origen *Commentary on the Gospel according to John, Books 1-10* trans. by Ronald E. Heine in FC pp. 36-37.

encouraged the faith of those within the Church.[18] The primary analogy of Gospel harmony was that of the unity of the Four Living Creatures from Ezekiel 1 and Revelation 4, first applied by Irenaeus in *Against Heresies* 3.11.8, a portion of which follows:

> Afterward, being made man for us, He sent the gift of the celestial Spirit over all the earth, protecting us with His wings. Such, then, as was the course followed by the Son of God, so was also the form of the living creatures; and such was the form of the living creatures, so was also the character of the Gospel. For the living creatures are quadriform, and the Gospel is quadriform, as is also the course followed by the Lord. For this reason were four principle covenants given to the human race: one prior to the deluge, under Adam; the second, that after the deluge, under Noah; the third, the giving of the law, under Moses; the fourth, that which renovates man, and sums up [*recapitulat*] all things in itself by means of the Gospel, raising and bearing men upon its wings into the heavenly kingdom.[19]

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[18]"Schließlich zeigt Augustin in vielen Predigten, daß die Behandlung des Problems nicht nur gelehrte Spielerei, sondern für die Gemeinde wichtige Belehrung war, und H. J. Vogels hat mit Recht betont daß `nicht der Gelehrte, sondern der Seelsorger' Augustin die umfassende Untersuchung De consensu evangelistarum geschrieben hat." Helmut Merkel *Die Widersprüche zwischen den Evangelien* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1971) p. 33.

[19]ANF Vol. 1, p. 429. Concerning Irenaeus' doctrine of recapitulation Bertrand de Margerie writes, "Un deuxième sens est plus sotériologique: la récapitulation est reprise (comme la particule ana, dans anakephalaiôsis, l'implique). Un recommencement." *Introduction a L'Histoire de L'Exégèse I: Les Pères Grecs et Orientaux* (Paris: Cerf, 1980) p.71. The Old Testament doctrine of order in Creation, manifested in Genesis 1, Job 38-41, et al., is comparable to the Greek idea of the harmony of the cosmos. Yahweh set all things in

Irenaeus adds here a second analogy, that of the four covenants, the last of which recapitulates all things, takes wing like the cherubim and lifts us up to the heavens. Such is the nature of the quadriform Gospel.

The initial artistic portrayals of the unity of the four Evangelists do not employ the cherubim imagery. According to the *Encyclopedia of the Early Church* they are first shown together in a mid-fourth century fresco in the catacomb of Saints Marco and Marcelliano in Rome, where they are seated on either side of Christ who has four scrolls at His feet.[20] Another example from a fourth-century sarcophagus has the Evangelists (Matthew is broken off) rowing a boat into port while Christ sits at the stern with the rudder in hand.[21] Beginning in the fifth century the cherubim imagery became common in Italian churches and

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order at the beginning of creation. But as a result of sin, all things must be restored. The association of the various beasts with the different Evangelists, as well as a comprehensive treatment of their depiction, is summarized in the article "Évangélistes (Symboles des)" in *Dictionnaire D'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie* T. 5, part. 1, pub. par Fernand Cabrol et Henri Leclercq (Paris: Libraire Letouzey et Ané, 1922) pp. 845-852. See also Gertrud Schiller *Ikonographie der christlichen Kunst* 3 (Gütersloh: Gütersholer Verlaghaus Gerd Mohn, 1971) pp. 184-187. This volume contains a marvelous collection of photographs.

[20]Vol. 1, p. 306.

[21]DACL T.7, part. 2, p. 2435, figure 6218. It is fully described in T.15, part. 2, pp. 1647-1648.

spread throughout the West. A North Italian diptych from around the year 400 has the symbols of the Evangelists carved into its upper corners.[22] Their images are seen on apses, arches, carved altar pieces, even the furniture of the chancel.[23] During the Medieval period they are a regular feature in the Latin Gospel book. Their infrequent appearance in the East may be due to the late acceptance of their source, the Book of Revelation, as canonical.

The use of analogy for explaining and defending the faith was very common in the Early Church as the "Light of Light" phrase in the Nicene Creed demonstrates. While these arguments may seem artificial to modern readers, they coincide with a world view which understood all things as interrelated and therefore able to expound one another. For this reason, the analogies of Gospel harmony are an important part of understanding early Christian apologetics.

For the early Catholics, the Gospel is always one. Apart from commentaries, it is normal in the first centuries for writers to reference one of the four Evangelists by

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[22]Schiller *Ikonographie* 3, fig. 11, p. 314. Schiller also dates the apse mosaic for S. Pudenziana in Rome close to the year 400 (p. 184, fig. 618, p. 558) while Walter Lowrie dates it between 412 and 417 in his *Art in the Early Church* (New York: Pantheon Books Inc., 1947) plate 62.

[23]See examples in Schiller *Ikonographie* 3, fig. 458, 532, 557, 560, 562, *et al.*

saying, "As it says in the Gospel . . ." without designating which `Gospel' they mean. This perspective of unity manifests itself in the earliest titles employed in the manuscripts. Papyri 66 (c. 200) and 75 (3rd century) begin or end a `Gospel' with the words "εὐαγγέλιον κατά . . ."[24] It is THE MESSAGE according to Matthew, Mark, Luke, or John and not a collection of separate messages. There is only one Gospel and Irenaeus describes it as explicitly quadriform.[25]

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[24]*Papyrus Bodmer* II, ed. by Victor Martin (Cologny-Genève: Bibliotheca Bodmeriana, 1956) plate I. *Papyrus Bodmer* XV, ed. by Victor Martin and Rudolphe Kasser (1961) p. 61. The singularity of THE MESSAGE is vividly defended by Saint Paul in Galatians 1 and epitomized in 1 Corinthians 15. This understanding of singularity was used by Marcion in order to propagate his recension of the Gospel according to St. Luke.

[25]"Pour Irénée, il n'y a pas quatre évangiles distincts, mais quatre `formes' ou `idées' (AH III, 11.9; II, 50) de l'unique Evangile; ainsi Marc, par exemple, nous `présente comme en plein vol une image ailée de l'Evangile,' une `icône de l'Evangile' (ibid.). Une telle conception est parfaitement fidèle au N.T., comme à la tradition chrétienne primitive; pour Paul aussi, l'Evanglie est unique, le terme vise toujours la prédication orale et jamais un texte écrit." Margerie *Introduction* p. 75. David S. Dockery adds, "According to Irenaeus, it was characteristic of heretics that they took only a part of the evidence . . ." *Biblical Interpretation: Then and Now* (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1992) p. 68. See also *The Cambridge History of the Bible* Vol. 1 ed. by P. R. Ackroyd & C. F. Evans (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1963-1970) p. 426. Consult the first chapter of Koester's *Ancient Christian Gospels* for a thorough discussion of the development of `Gospel' as a literary designation. The term could be applied to the life

1.2. THE USE OF SOURCES BY ANCIENT HISTORIANS

For a fuller appreciation of how the early Christians, and Eusebius in particular, approached the harmonization of the Evangelists, it will be helpful to see how ancient historians and scholars made use of written texts. Gospel harmonization, in its various forms, inherently involves text-oriented reading. The following is an overview of the history of the use of sources (structured around regions) and is roughly chronological. Documents hypothetically reconstructed by source-critical approaches will not be included. Only those compositions which are mentioned explicitly by their users or are extant and clearly quoted by a historian will be considered.

1.2.1. Mesopotamia

The ancient Mesopotamians rarely make explicit reference to other works of literature by providing a title or an author. W. G. Lambert says that the author remains unknown for most compositions.

> The impression of anonymity which cuneiform literature usually leaves with readers is in general correct. An author very rarely mentions his name. There seem to be indeed only two examples of this: a certain Kabli-ilani-Marduk professes to have drawn up the tablets of the Era Myth, as well as having received this work in a

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of Jesus, things He said, or the preaching of such (oral or written) materials.

> vision, a tacit admission that the wording did not originate with him. The more satisfactory case is that of Suggil-Kînam-ubbib, who inserted his name in his dialogue under the disguise of an acrostic.[26]

However, alongside of literary works, the scribes are known to have kept lists of author-editors.[27]

One example of explicit citation of texts is mentioned in the colophon of a tablet of herbologies, "The scholars excerpted, selected, and gave to Nazimurutias, king of the world . . ."[28] Akkadian poetry frequently makes use of `stock phrases' which are repeated throughout other poems but no connection to a particular author or work was considered necessary.[29] It appears that while Mesopotamian scribes kept careful track of particular historical events,

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[26]W. G. Lambert "Ancestors, Authors, and Canonicity," in *The Journal for Cuneiform Studies*, 11 (1957): 1.

[27]"The present writer has identified a third small fragment among the copies of Dr. Geers. It lists a variety of works, the epics of Gilgames and Etana; the fable of the Fox, and another of the Willow (?), as well as a number of hymns. Each text is said to be `according to' a certain author editor. Sixteen names are completely or partly preserved, and five have their `fathers' names added." Lambert "Ancestors," p. 5.

[28]Lambert, "Ancestors," p. 8.

[29]"The discovery of the topos in Akkadian poetry thus reveals a situation not unlike one sometimes associated with the biblical psalms - a stock of phrases, lines, and even whole stanzas at the disposal of a school of poets who created from them ever-new combinations." W. W. Hallo "New Viewpoints on Cuneiform Literature," *Israel Exploration Journal* 12 (1962): 20.

such as the succession of kings and their exploits, and manifested a measure of historical interest,[30] they did not develop the practice of careful source citation. A factor in this may have been the relatively small number and close association of the scribes who would have readily recognized a quotation of a `classic' piece of literature.

1.2.2. Egypt

The same anonymity and lack of source citation that was characteristic of Mesopotamia pervades the historical documents of Ancient Egypt. One example where an author of an inscription is known comes from the seventh Dynasty (c. 1580 B.C.) in which Kamose commissions stelae from Neshi who was a high official of the court.[31] An example of referring to sources is provided from the account of Thut-mose the Third's Asiatic Campaigns. In the description of the battle of Megiddo the scribe writes,

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[30]"There is now rather abundant evidence to support such an antiquarian interest in the period of early Mesopotamian history. One example is the Sargon Geography . . . . The later Neo-Babylonian copy of this text shows continued interest and `research' in such matters of ancient geography and history." John Van Seters *In Search of History: Historiography in the Ancient World and the Origins of Biblical History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983) p. 85.

[31]Van Seters *History* p. 146.

> Now everything which his majesty did to this town and to that wretched enemy and his wretched army is set down by the individual day, by the individual expedition, and by the individual [troop] commanders....They [are] set down on a roll of leather in the temple of Amon today.[32]

This shows that the Egyptians kept very careful, even daily historical records but explicit citation and acknowledgment of such works were rare.

1.2.3. Israel

The difference encountered with the documents of Israelite history is most striking. Herbert Butterfield writes concerning Israel's interest in the past,

> There emerges a people not only supremely conscious of the past but possibly more obsessed with history than any other nation that has ever existed. The very key to its whole development seems to have been the power of its historical memory . . . . Everything hung on men's attachment to a single event that could never be forgotten. Their god, Yahweh, had brought the children of Israel out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage.[33]

This interest in history is everywhere evident in the Old Testament and although the Israelites were by no means the

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[32]*Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament* 2nd ed., ed. by James B. Pritchard (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1955) p. 237. Also concerning another campaign, "They are set down in the daybook of the palace - life, prosperity, health! That the list of them has not been put upon this monument is in order not to multiply words . . . ." p. 239b.

[33]*The Origins of History* (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1981) pp. 80-81.

first people to write history, they raised the art to a new level.[34]

The most significant differences between Israelite historiography and that of its neighbors are the consistent use of historical narrative[35] and the extensive citation, and referencing of other documents. Arnaldo Momigliano comments,

> I begin with the documents. On the Jewish side the question is simpler. Jewish post-exilic historiography is characterized by extensive verbatim quotation of documents which come or are alleged to come from archives.[36]

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[34]"That the Egyptian and Mesopotamian epics and historiography could have been known to the Hebrews cannot be doubted, for a fourteenth-century B.C. copy of the Gilgamesh epic was found at Megiddo; other literary Babylonian texts of approximately the same period were found at Ras Shamra and Alalakh." CHB Vol. 1, pp. 41-42.

[35]The earliest archeological example of Hebrew prose is the Siloam Inscription dating from the reign of Hezekiah (about 715-687 B.C.). The story of the digging of the Siloam tunnel is related in 3rd person, historical narrative like that of the Old Testament historical books. This is unusual for a Near Eastern inscription since they are generally given in the first person like the Moabite Stone, the earliest inscription yet discovered in Palestine (9th century). See Pritchard pp. 320-321.

[36]Arnaldo Momigliano *The Classical Foundations of Modern Historiography* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990) p. 12-13. "It seems natural to relate this feature of Jewish postexilic historiography to the impact of Persian example - either in administrative practice or perhaps (though this is very uncertain) in the historiographical practice of the Royal Chronicles." p. 13.

However, other historians date this explicit use of source material to an earlier time, that of the `Deuteronomist' which is normally considered to be seventh century.[37] Omitting both the tangled source-critical questions of just when the books of Genesis through First Kings were written and a discussion of the myriad of proposed redactors, it can be safely said that the above mentioned characteristics of Israelite historiography were already in place before the

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[37]"Nevertheless, I hope I have demonstrated that the first Israelite historian, and first known historian in Western civilization truly to deserve this designation, was the Deuteronomistic historian." Van Seters *History* p. 362. Thomas L. Thompson offers a criticism of the `Deuteronomist,' "In sharp contrast to this extensive historiographical tradition of Greece from the early 5th century B.C. on, and to some extent even to that of the Hittites of a much earlier age, biblical tradition does not present us with any critical historiographical production prior to the Hellenistic work of Jason of Cyrene, which has been summarized in 2 Maccabees (2 Macc 2:23)." "Historiography (Israelite)," in *The Anchor Bible Dictionary* Vol. 3, ed. by D. N. Freedman et al. (New York: Doubleday, 1992) pp. 206-207. Baruch Halpern notes, "The position advance here [in his book] is not that Israelite historians prized history as an academic pursuit. Rather, history had meaning for the present - as an etiology, an explanation of causality, a spur to policy. The Israelite historian, like his modern colleagues, came at the sources with all manner of commitments. Nevertheless, this historian exemplified by H(Dtr) and by some of his sources (as M+/M-) employed a logic of reconstruction to which the term theology attaches in no greater measure than it does to our own scientific rationalities." p. 199. In other words, the `Deuteronomist' was a careful and conscientious historian. See also Halpern, p. 139.

exile in Babylon. Israelite historians manifest a different attitude toward their sources.[38]

1.2.4. Greece

The uniqueness of Israelite historiography becomes most explicit when considered alongside the practice of the earliest historians from Greece, the second great cultural influence upon the Early Church and Western Civilization. Momigliano writes,

> The Greeks liked history, but never made it the foundation of their lives. The educated Greek turned to rhetorical schools, to mystery cults, or to philosophy for guidance. History was never an essential part of a Greek - not even (one suspects) for those who wrote it. There may be many reasons for this attitude of the Greeks, but surely an important factor was that history was so open to uncertainties, so unlikely to provide undisputed guidance. To the biblical Hebrew, history and religion were one. This identification, via the Gospels, has never ceased to be relevant to Christian civilization.[39]

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[38]Halpern states concerning the redactional activity of the `Deuteronomist', "The revisions amplify, clarify, or defend claims in a received text. This activity differs from writing history in the first instance: if the reviser wished to subvert the text, he would either have subverted it systematically or written a different text. That the reviser transmitted the text largely intact suggests that he or his community regarded it with reverence. It is a logical corollary that the scribe's insertions must have been consonant with his reading of the text: they reconcile difficulties in the text or difficulties arising from the application of the text to changed realities." p. 116-117.

[39]p. 20. "Remembrance of the past is a religious duty for the Jews which was unknown to the Greeks. Consequently reliability in Jewish terms coincides with the truthfulness

The earliest Greek documents, the Cretan Linear A and B Tablets from the second millennium, are the normal palace documents as found in Egypt and Mesopotamia. The A tablets are basically accounting documents and the B tablets are "day-to-day accounts and inventories."[40] Herodotus, often called the `Father of History,' was preceded by the Logographoi, the early prose writers who had formally been thought to be his sources. This view has recently been set aside so that Herodotus is now seen as a firsthand gatherer of information instead of relying upon a written

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of the transmitters and with the ultimate truth of God in whom the transmitters believe. Such reliability was supposed to be further supported by written records to an extent which was unknown to Greek cities." Regarding the centrality of history to Christianity, consider the words of the Apostles' Creed, ". . . was crucified under Pontius Pilate . . ."

[40]"Minoan Scripts" OCD p. 692.

tradition.[41] Donald Lateiner writes concerning Greco-Roman Historiography,

> Quotation of sources was rare, testing their authorities' accuracy occurred to few of them, and the disinterested weighing of conflicting material evidence was uncommon.[42]

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[41]"Yet it was not from annalistic sources that Greek historiography arose. Historical writing only came into being with the awakening of the Greek mind under the influence of science and rationalism. Following the example of the Ionian physicists and geographers, the so-called logographoi (prose writers, as opposed to epic poets) assumed a critical attitude toward the traditions of poetry and mythology, and thus created historical science. The greatest logographoi to our knowledge, the Milesian Hecataeus, was the first to submit tradition to the text of reason." J. B. Bury "The Ancient Greek Historians" OCD p. 521. Van Seters observes, "During the height of the period of Quellenstudien in classical studies in the late nineteenth century, Herodotus was regarded as merely a collector and final redactor of materials gleaned from these older sources. But the careful collection and publication of all the fragments of these early writers and their comparison with Herodotus have made this approach obsolete. Even the term logographer is seriously questioned as misleading. It is generally accepted today that Herodotus did, in fact, investigate directly and gather firsthand the largest part of his work, and that he tested where possible the views he inherited from other writers." p. 9. See also p. 40. Herodotus does mention a number of literary sources, beginning with the Persian Chroniclers (1:1) and going on to Homer and Hesiod among other Greeks.

[42]ABD Vol. 3, p. 218. Piero Treves comments on the use of sources, "A more scientific if less ambitious school of historiography was founded in the fourth century by Cleidemus and Androtion, who wrote local histories of Attica based on documentary evidence, and by Aristotle and Philochorus, who also collected and published records of public and religious institutions, games, and literary competitions. These research historians laid the foundations of Hellenistic scholarship and antiquarianism. But the principal historians of the Hellenistic age,

It can be seen from this that the type of historiography practiced by the writers of 1 and 2 Maccabees and Josephus had been influenced by both cultural traditions, laying the foundation for early Christian attitudes and approaches.

1.2.5. The Evangelists

St. Luke begins his account of the life of Jesus in a way reminiscent of the historiography of Hellenistic-Judaism. He acknowledges the use of sources (though he does not relate them specifically) and proposes to write an orderly account. All four Gospel writers cite the Old Testament, Matthew in particular as though it were a commentary on the life of Jesus.

A problem that has baffled New Testament Scholars is whether other sources were used by the Evangelists and if so, what was their nature and content. Two basic approaches have persisted in the effort to solve the Synoptic Problem, the Two Source Hypothesis (Marcan Priority) and the Griesbach Hypothesis (Matthean Priority).[43] The Two Source

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disregarding documentary evidence and the technique of historical writing, aimed, as a general rule, not at being accurate and learned, but readable." OCD p. 522.

[43]These are sufficiently summarized with discussion of recent questions by Howard Clark Kee "Synoptic Studies," in *The New Testament and Its Modern Interpreters* ed. by Eldon Jay Epp and George W. MacRae (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989) p. 245-269.

Hypothesis remains the most popular but relies upon the Hypothetical existence of `Q' (Quelle), which is broadly defined as what is common to Matthew and Luke but missing from Mark. While the hypothesis thus stated is not inconceivable, the attempts to reconstruct `Q' are so dependent upon so great a number of hypotheses about the nature of the Early Church and its theology, that they are wholly untenable for historiographic purposes or for considering the Evangelists' use of source material.[44]

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[44]The criticisms of A. M. Farrer, first published in 1955, remain largely relevant to the present state of `Q' studies. "On Dispensing with Q," in *Studies in the Gospels: Essays in Memory of R. H. Lightfoot* ed. by D. E. Nineham (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1967). The subjectivity of the whole enterprise is perhaps best reflected in the introduction by Kloppenborg to "Early Christianity, Q and Jesus," in *Semeia* Vol. 55 ed. by John S. Kloppenborg and Leif E. Vaage (Society of Biblical Literature, 1992) p. VIII, "This is not to say that a single vision of Q has emerged. There is now a broad agreement on the central role that wisdom materials have played in the composition and framing of Q and it is now fairly clear that Q is a composite, layered document, in spite of the fact that no single compositional model can be said to have won the day. And it is clear that the persons represented by Q could think of themselves as followers of Jesus without ascribing any special saving significance to his death or resurrection." One is left to ponder whether the "persons represented by Q" are the early Christians or the modern redactors and reconstructors. What can be said with certainty about the early Christian faith is contained in the epistles of St. Paul, the earliest unedited documents of Christianity. There it is seen that the death and resurrection of Jesus are given central saving significance. It may also be noted from Galatians 1 and 2 that St. Paul's message was given approval by the closest and original followers of Jesus.

Apart from the possibility of further manuscript discoveries, the interrelation of Gospel composition remains a persistently open question.

1.3. THE *GATTUNGEN* OF HARMONIZATION

Having summarized the philosophical and theological concerns for harmony and reviewed historiographical practices up to the time of the Evangelists, the nature and application of harmonization in the Early Church may now be considered. Throughout this presentation, examples from Near Eastern and Classical literature will be provided when they are considered consonant with the early Christians' approaches. Early Christian methods of harmonization are not wholly unique. However, when they do differ from other harmonistic approaches, the principles guiding their methodology can frequently be traced to particularities of the faith itself and the community for whom the harmony was intended.

1.3.1. Rewriting

1.3.1.1. Mesopotamia

Perhaps the most ancient and widely practiced method of harmonization is the rewriting of a text. Jeffrey H. Tigay

discusses this phenomenon in *The Evolution of the Gilgamesh Epic*:

> At least seven separate Sumerian compositions about Gilgamesh are known, four of them highly mythical in character. These four were drawn on in different ways in the course of the development of the Akkadian Gilgamesh Epic. The Akkadian epic was given its original shape in the Old Babylonian Period by an Akkadian author who took over, in greater or lesser degree, the plots and themes of three or four of the Sumerian tales . . . .[45]

This type of rewriting is a part of all source-based historiography and many other types of literature. The retelling of the epic over several hundred years led to an eventual standardization in the late second millennium.[46]

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[45](Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982) p. 242. The separate Akkadian compositions are "Gilgamesh and the Land of the Living;" "Gilgamesh, Enkidu, and the Netherworld;" "The Death of Gilgamesh;" and possibly "Gilgamesh and the Bull of Heaven." See also pp. 30-31. The epic has also made use of the "Summarian Flood Story" which was rewritten as "Atrahasis." p. XI.

[46]"Indeed, various considerations arising from the study of Akkadian literature as a whole have led scholars to the conclusion that the late, standardized versions of most Akkadian literary texts, including The Gilgamesh Epic, were produced during the last half or quarter of the second millennium. As a rough approximation of the date, 1250 is sometimes given, but it should be kept in mind that the date is conjectural." Tigay, p. 131. The only version that constitutes a really new composition in comparison to its forerunners is the Old Babylonian version. "This version took from the Sumerian Gilgamesh tales at most plot outlines, and sometimes no more than an idea of theme, its wording of these tales is a completely free Akkadian paraphrase." p. 246. Differences between the Old Babylonian and the Late Version are basically textual and literary (padding of the text). pp. 56 and 108.

1.3.1.2. Israel

An example of rewriting in ancient Israel can be seen in the text of Chronicles, which Jacob Neusner describes in a manner similar to that of a Targum:

> Furthermore, we need not hunt at length for evidence of the work of collecting such exercises in exegesis - of rewriting an old text in light of new considerations or values. Such a vast enterprise is handsomely exemplified by the book of Chronicles which, instead of merely commenting on verses, actually rewrites the stories of Samuel and Kings . . . . Both serve merely to provide instances of the antiquity of both making up and also purposefully compiling exegeses of Scripture.[47]

Neusner points out that at the heart of rewriting are the considerations of the contemporary community - an effort to interpret, safeguard, or even supplant can frequently be detected. Josephus' *The Antiquities of the Jews* are an apologetic paraphrase of Old Testament history, as he declares to Apion, "Those Antiquities contain the history of five thousand years, and are taken out of our sacred books; but are translated by me into the Greek tongue."[48] One

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[47]*Midrash in Context: Exegesis in Formative Judaism* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1983) p. 94. Also p. xiii. For an interesting example of rewriting of a text, consult the Targum of Isaiah 53.

[48]"Against Apion," Book 1:1, *The Works of Josephus* trans. by William Whiston (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson Publishers, 1987) p. 773. Pere Villalba I Varneda comments in his article "The Historical Method of Flavius Josephus," "This study should also make a special analysis of the first thirteen books of the Antiquitates Judaicae, since it is a

could also mention here the condensation of the five books of Jason of Cyrene into 2 Maccabees [2:19-31]. Rewriting was a respectable and widely used harmonistic approach from the time of Ezra up through Hellenistic Judaism.

1.3.1.3. Greece and Rome

In Greek *Progymnasmata*, elementary exercises for rhetorical training, provision was made for the retelling of stories. Students could reproduce them in longer or shorter form and in a variety of styles.[49] Donald Lemen Clark writes,

> Aphthonius points out that the narrative themes should make clear: Who performed the action, what was done, the time when, the place where, how it was done, the cause. The stories, he adds, should possess the virtues of clarity, brevity, probability, and propriety of word use. They were in effect imitative exercises in paraphrase.[50]

An example of this type of rewriting can be found in the accounts of Caesar's crossing of the Rubicon by both Greek

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paraphrase of a very specific source, the Bible." From *Arbeiten zur Literatur und Geschichte des hellenistischen Judentums* K. H. Rengstorf ed. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1986) p. 266.

[49]Consider the statements of Hermogenes whose work is typical. An English translation of his *Progymnasmata* can be found in Charles Sears Baldwin's *Medieval Rhetoric and Poetic* (Gloucester, MA: Peter Smith, 1959) pp. 23.

[50]*Rhetoric in Greco-Roman Education* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1957) p. 186.

and Roman historians. Beginning with Caesar himself, the story is retold again and again in different forms.[51] Rewriting was thus a respectable and indeed basic aspect of Greco-Roman education. The emphasis was on style rather than accuracy.

1.3.1.4. Gospel Rewriting

The rewriting of the Gospels begins already in the New Testament. St. Luke introduces his work by acknowledging the work of others and studies of his text have demonstrated his dependence upon the other Evangelists.[52] The Latin poet Juvencus produced a paraphrase of the Gospel in the style of Vergil's *Aeneid*. This text is largely taken from the Old Latin version of Matthew with interwoven portions of the other Gospels.[53] The *Paschale Carmen* of Sedulius provides

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[51]Caesar's *Civil Wars* 1, 7; the fragments of Livy from Book CIX; Velleius Paterculus' *History of Rome* 2, xlix 4; Lucan *The Civil War* Book 1; Plutarch's *Lives* (under both Pompey LX and Caesar XXXII); Appian's *Civil Wars* Book 2, Chapter V, 35; and Dio's *Roman History* Book XLI, 4.

[52]Merkel notes in his work that both Cullmann and Harnack held that the Gospels could be understood as harmonies. *Widersprüche* p. 44.

[53]See *Patrology* Vol. IV, ed. by Angelo di Berardino and trans. by Placid Solari (Westminister, MD: The Newman Press, 1987) pp. 265-269. See also the following article of *Centones*, pp. 269-273.

another example of this type of poetic harmony.[54] In the East we are told by the church historian Socrates that, "The younger Apollinaris, who was well trained in eloquence, expounded the gospels and apostolic doctrines in the way of dialogue, following Plato among the Greeks as his model."[55] Unfortunately he does not make clear that these were harmonistic. Just as rewriting was honored and applied in Greco-Roman Literature, so the early Christians applied this method to the texts of the Gospel to make it more attractive and agreeable to their readers.

1.3.2. Excision

Another means of dealing with difficulties in the four canonical Gospels is excision. This particular form of rewriting, according to Tertullian in book four of his *Against Marcion*, was applied to the text of Luke. The other Gospels were dismissed by Marcion as corrupted by those who held to the unity of the Old and New Testaments. A possible parallel for this type of editing can be drawn with the

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[54]See the study by Carl P. E. Springer *The Gospel as Epic in Late Antiquity: The Paschale Carmen of Sedulius* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1988).

[55]Book III, 16 of *Ecclesiastical History* (London: Samuel Bagster and Sons, 1844) p. 268.

remarks of Socrates about cleaning up the poets in Plato's *The Republic* Book II, 377.[56]

1.3.3. Melding

Melding is a form of rewriting which merges two or more stories into one continuous text. A possible corollary to this treatment of the Gospels can be found in the rewriting of the Gilgamesh Epic from the various Sumerian stories that preceded it.

William L. Petersen introduces Tatian's *Diatessaron* [c. 172] in the following manner:

> . . . [he], combined the four canonical Gospels with one or more extra-canonical sources, and wove them into a single continuous account. Duplications were removed, contradictions were reconciled, and parallel passages were harmonized.[57]

However, this textual melding may not have begun with Tatian himself but with his teacher Justin Martyr. Through a careful analysis of Justin's quotations of the Gospels, Helmut Koester proposes,

> Perhaps what is visible in this treatment of the Synoptic birth narrative is not the finished product of a harmony of Matthew and Luke, but the process of the

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[56]See Robert Lamberton *Homer the Theologian: Neoplatonist Allegorical Reading and the Growth of the Epic Tradition* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986) p. 17.

[57]In Koester, p. 403.

> production of such a harmony by an author who seeks to update the narrative information of the two gospel writings with additional exploration of scriptural prophecy.[58]

Justin may have been melding the different accounts of the Evangelists and offering proof of their words by making further prophetic connections with the Old Testament. While this thesis remains unproven, it is significant that this is

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[58]He sees this approach already in the Gospel according to St. Matthew. Koester, p. 387. As another possible example of melding, Koester writes, "There is only one instance in which sayings quoted in the Didache are certainly drawn from written gospels: Did. 1,3-5. This passage is a compilation of sayings from the Sermon on the Mount, but with distinct features of harmonization of the texts of Matthew and Luke. It is an interpolation that must have been made after the middle of the 2nd century and cannot, therefore, be used as evidence for the original compiler's familiarity with written gospels." p. 17. This is likewise the problem with classifying the various apocryphal gospels since it is not clear when they were written. For a detailed study of Justin's harmonizations see A. J. Bellinzoni's *The Sayings of Jesus in the Writings of Justin Martyr* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1967) who concludes, "It must, however, be emphasized that there is absolutely no evidence that Justin ever composed a complete harmony of the synoptic gospels; his harmonies were of a limited scope and were apparently composed for didactic purposes . . . . What is new in Tatian's *Diatessaron* and what is not found in Justin's writings is a full gospel harmony rather than one of limited scope and the incorporation into the gospel harmony of the Gospel of John." pp. 141-142. For a helpful summary of *Diatessaron* studies and its methodology see William L. Petersen's *The Diatessaron and Ephrem Syrus as Sources of Romanos the Melodist* (*Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium* Tome 74, Louvain: E. Peeters, 1985).

the same type of methodology manifest in Justin's student, Tatian.

A further example of textual melding is evidenced in the centonization of various early Latin lectionaries. Cyrille Vogel describes a *cento* as,

> . . . a text composed of a variety of scriptural passages drawn from different parts of the Bible and assembled like a quilt or a mosaic. It is not the same as harmonization which means weaving together several parallel passages of the Gospels into one continuous reading.[59]

This type of text is found in the very earliest Latin liturgical manuscripts, especially those of Gaul.

1.3.4. Synopsis

The synopsis is perhaps the most common approach to studying the four Gospels in the modern period but it has its roots in the Early Church. Helmut Merkel remarks,

> If one now considers the particular exegesis, one could almost believe that Origen had Aland's Synopsis Quattuor Evangeliorum before him, so thoroughly at

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[59]*Medieval Liturgy: An Introduction to the Sources* revised and trans. by William G. Storey and Niels Knogh Rasmussen with the assistance of John K. Brooks-Leonard (Washington, D. C.: The Pastoral Press, 1986) p. 301. On pp. 320f are provided bibliographic materials for different lectionaries. The Wolfenbüttel Palimpsest is not only the earliest extant lectionary manuscript but also contains centos. The term harmonization is more broadly applied in this thesis than it is used by Vogel above.

> times he draws together the parallel reports [of the Evangelists] for comparison.[60]

This methodology for harmonization and its origin will be treated at greater length later when an evaluation of the methodology of Eusebius is considered.

Herodotus and other ancient historians practice something similar to a synoptic methodology when they relate various accounts of the same story alongside one another for the sake of comparison and contrast. However, most often they decide in favor of one or the other story rather than trying to reconcile the two accounts. A possible example of synoptic harmonization is found in book 2, 54-57 where Herodotus seeks to reconcile the story of the Thebian priests with that of the priestesses of Dodona about the origin of that oracle.

1.3.5. The Development of the Commentary

The most popular means for harmonizing the Gospel in the Early Church was the commentary. It appears in many different forms by authors with widely different hermeneutical methods and agendas. In order to evaluate

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[60]"Wenn man nun die Einzelexegese betrauchtet, könnte man fast glauben, Origenes habe Alands Synopsis Quattuor Evangeliorum vor sich gehaft, so gründlich zieht er jeweils die Parallelberichte zum Vergleich heran." *Widersprüche* p. 98.

this approach, a brief survey of the history of writing commentaries will be made. In this way the influence of pre-Christian literary forms and hermeneutical methods can be noted.

1.3.5.1. The Commentary in Ancient Literature

1.3.5.1.1. Mesopotamia

It is difficult to say with certainty when the form of literature which we call commentary began. No doubt, the explanation of texts is as ancient as texts themselves. For this reason it should not be surprising to find examples of commentary in the most ancient literary cultures. Alasdair Livingstone describes a very early example of commentary (late 2nd or early 1st millennium) written in Cuneiform:

> According to its colophon the text derives from Ezida, the temple of Nabû in Borsippa. It describes itself as a mubarrû, `commentary', and probably comments on citations from a specific work . . . . The connection between stones and Asakku is certainly developed with an eye to the myths in which Ninurta was victorious over stones, and the Asakku. The commentary demonstrates an affinity between the two myths, based on a piece of known astro-mythology, and another association which is not understood . . . . The other surviving lines relate events in cult practice to myth and astro-myth.[61]

Through the artificial use of mathematic and philological correspondences the associations and explanations of myth

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[61]Based on the Gordon, Smith College Tablets 110. *Mystical and Mythological Explanatory Works of Assyrian and Babylonian Scholars* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986) p. 66.

and ritual are made. The types of associations in this literature remind one of later allegorical or cabalistic interpretations. There are numerous other tablets which demonstrate this same manner of explaining texts but this is the only one which described itself as a `commentary.'

A second possible example of interest in researching texts can be found in *The Sargon Geography*. The scribe was compiling information about the kingdom of Sargon (third millennium) and notes, apparently from his different sources, a number of variants in geographic designations. A. K. Grayson explains,

> It is not, however, a commentary in the usual sense for the division marks, which I have interpreted as marking variants, do not occur frequently enough to justify regarding them as introducing explanations as they would in a commentary.[62]

While this work cannot be described as a complete commentary in its style and purpose, it does show the historical and literal interpretive interests of its compiler in contrast to the mystical approach described above.

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[62]"The Empire of Sargon of Akkad," in *Archiv für Orientforschung*, 25 (1974): 56-57. He dates the work to about the time of Sargon II in the 8th century.

1.3.5.1.2. Israel

It has already been noted that the Old Testament book of Chronicles has features very much like a commentary. However, the commentary as a literary *Gattung* for Israel first appears in the writings of the Qumran community. The Midrashim on various prophetic books find the meaning of the words of the prophets fulfilled in the commentator's own day, as Neusner illustrates, "X happened, and that is the meaning of (biblical verse) Y."[63] This is exactly the approach taken by the Gospel according to St. Matthew and the other Evangelists in the demonstration of the Messianic character of Jesus. While the legal Midrash of the Mishnah and Talmud were still developing in the oral tradition, this type of prophecy - fulfillment Midrash was already active and readily received by Christianity.[64]

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[63]p. 97. See also the brief description of the various commentaries at Qumran by G. Vermes *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English* 2nd ed. (Middlesex, England: Penguin Books, 1975) pp. 214f.

[64]The reality of this interest in Messianic interpretation and the fact that Christianity learned it from Judaism may create some difficulties for the idea prescribed by the compilers of `Q' that the earliest Christian community was a simple wisdom community that attached no saving significance to the life of the Messiah. The interest in a messiah (and not simply his teachings) was already well in place before the arrival of Jesus of Nazareth and the community which formed around Him.

The merging of Jewish concerns with Hellenistic *Gattungen* occur early in the writings of Philo. He is the first to apply the Greek *Quaestiones* style of commentary to the Scriptures.[65] In fact, according to Robert Lamberton, Philo is one of the earliest extant, if not the earliest, examples of Stoic allegory's method of interpretation which was probably adapted by Alexandrian Jews in order to defend and promote their own tradition among the Greeks.[66]

1.3.5.1.3. Greece

Over time the classic Greek poetical writings of Homer and Hesiod developed a canonical status.[67] They became basic to literary education and culture. This development can be seen already among the Pythagoreans.

> In spite of the anecdote of Pythagoras's trip to Hades, where he is said to have seen Homer and Hesiod undergoing punishment for slandering the gods, it does indeed seem that early Pythagoreanism was less hostile to the Homeric poems than were other religious and philosophical movements of the sixth century B.C. Both Porphyry and Iamblichus pass on the tradition that

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[65]Merkel *Widersprüche* pp. 122-24.

[66]Lamberton, p. 48.

[67]"But common to all is the effort to define the field of useful writings from the past and so to create for themselves a context, canon, or tradition. Their criteria are never stylistic: They are interested in literature as a source of truth, and they are all, to a greater or lesser extent, in search of what we might call a body of scripture rather than a literature." Lamberton, p. 14.

> Pythagoras was the student of the Homeridal of Sauros, and there is little doubt that in early Pythagoreanism the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were indeed used as sacred books - as sources of both magical incantations and moral exempla - at a time when Ionian thinkers such as Xenophanes were denouncing Homer as the representative of an outdated and misleading account of the divine.[68]

The majority of writers, ancient and modern trace the roots of allegorical interpretation of Homer back to Theagenes of Rhegium (also sixth century).[69] The need to defend this `scripture' against detractors sparked the writing of *Quaestiones* commentaries (rather than verse by verse) to show what the poets really meant in their more difficult passages. Homeric Allegory from its inception seems to have been apologetic in character.[70]

1.3.5.2. The Use of the Commentary for Gospel Harmony

The first `Christian' commentary was written by the Valentinian Gnostic Heracleon in the latter half of the second century.[71] Based on the Gospel according to St.

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[68]Lamberton, p. 35.

[69]Dockery, p. 76.

[70]"The need to articulate the truth thought to be contained in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* can be traced to two primary motives: the desire of the interpreters to use the prestige of the Homeric poems to support their own views and the desire to defend Homer against his detractors." Lamberton, p. 15.

[71]Quasten Vol. 1, p. 262. R. P. C. Hanson writes, "Further, there can be little doubt that the Gnostic

John, it has survived essentially because of Origen's extensive quotation and refutation in his commentary on the same Gospel. Concerning the influence of this literature and the approach of Marcion which was described earlier, Robert Grant writes,

> Both Marcionites and Valentinians presented grave difficulties to the majority of early Christians, unaccustomed to read the gospels with such subtle criticisms in view. Both philology and historical criticism were practically unknown in Christianity before the rise of gnostic teachers. But as a result of this gnostic exegesis, it became necessary for Christians to present some literary and historical defence of the gospels.[72]

As the Early Church expanded geographically and was developing its new cultural moorings within Hellenism, this need for exegetical and apologetic guides became heightened by the increasing unfamiliarity of the Palestinian, Jewish

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invented the form of scriptural exegesis which we call the Commentary, even though Origen greatly expanded, developed and popularized it . . . . We may consequently thank the Gnostics for one of the most fruitful and vigorous forms of Christian literature." CHB Vol. 1, p. 419. Exactly what Hanson means when he says that the Gnostics invented the commentary is unclear. If he means they invented the literary *Gattung*, this cannot be, since the antiquity of this approach has been shown above. If he means that they invented the verse by verse commentary, this is likewise not possible since examples of this are amply provided in Philo of Alexandria whom the early Christians used extensively.

[72]*The Earliest Lives of Jesus* (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1961) p. 14.

context in the Gospels.[73] The commentary became the convenient route for harmonizing sacred, canonical text.

The following survey of commentary approaches is divided less on the basis of literary *Gattung* than on hermeneutical approaches. Harmonistic commentary can be found in sermons, apologies, epistles, and commentaries proper. The examples provided may be from any one of these *Gattungen*. Also one cannot expect an author to consistently apply one hermeneutical method. Some authors may be generally associated with a particular approach but the categorization is not rigid.

1.3.5.2.1. Allegorically Harmonized Reading

Clement of Alexandria is perhaps the first to apply a thorough-going allegorical approach to the New Testament. Although he uses all four Gospels, he does not seem to be aware of the chronological problems between the Synoptics and John and can therefore read them together without difficulty.[74] Ambrose, who could hardly be unaware of these problems, is the first to use allegory as a means for

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[73]See W. H. C. Frend *The Rise of Christianity* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1984) chapters 5 and 6 for a helpful summary of this cultural and intellectual transition.

[74]Merkel *Widersprüche* p. 63.

dismissing historical problems. In his commentary on Luke 19 he quotes St. John's account concerning the cleansing of the temple without a word about its appearance at the beginning of Jesus' ministry rather than the end.[75]

1.3.5.2.2. Allegorically Divisive Reading

A second application of allegory in Gospel harmonization is seen most clearly in the writings of Origen. Classical writers had used allegory to bring into harmony passages in the poets which diverged from the particular philosophical system they were trying to support. In commenting on the allegorization of an Orphic myth concerning the restoration to heaven of Dionysus, Origen complains to Celsus,

> . . . are the Greeks allowed to explain and allegorize this story as referring to the soul, while against us the door has been closed so that we may not give any consistent explanation which harmonizes [συναδούσης] and agrees [συμφωνούσης] in all respects with the scriptures inspired by the divine Spirit dwelling in pure souls?[76]

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[75]Merkel *Widersprüche* p. 121, ". . . erst bei Ambrosius wird die Allegorese bei grundsätzlichem Verzicht auf historische Betrachtungsweise zur Beseitigung der Widersprüche führen." For the text of Ambrose see *Traité sur L'Evangile de S. Luc* Book IX, 21. in T. II, ed. Gabriel Tissot in *Sources Chrétiennes* No. 52 (Paris: Cerf, 1958) pp. 148-149.

[76]*Origen: Contra Celsum* IV:17, trans. by Henry Chadwick (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953) pp. 194-195.

Inspiration was foundational to Origen's use of allegory and to seeing the harmony which existed on a higher level within the sacred text.

Because of this higher harmony, it was not necessary to explain the historical agreement between the Gospels since their true purpose lay in another sphere. Merkel explains this as Origen's principle of ἐπίνοια - thought, idea, or design.

> Where the Evangelists apparently give contradictory reports, there is in them the accentuation of the significance of Jesus, for which emphases they can certainly abandon details with respect to the historical facts; since a story very often broadly portrays the significance of Jesus, the different Evangelists at times take up different aspects of this one story and therefore offer incongruent reports.[77]

An excellent example of this can be found in his comments on interpretation in *On First Principles* Book IV, III,

> Even the gospels are full of passages of this kind, as when the devil takes Jesus up into a `high mountain' in order to show him from thence `the kingdoms of the whole world and the glory of them'. For what man who does not read such passages carelessly would fail to condemn those who believe that with the eye of the

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[77]*Widersprüche* p. 121. The German reads, "Wo die Evangelisten scheinbar widersprüchliches berichten, geht es ihnen um die Hervorhebung der Bedeutsamkeit Jesu, zu deren Unterstreichung sie gewisse Details an den historeischen Gegebenheiten abändern können; da eine Handlung oft sehr umfassend die Bedeutsamkeit Jesu abbildet, greifen die verschiedenen Evangelisten gelegentlich verschiedene Aspekte dieser einen Handlung auf und bieten daher inkongruente Berichte."

> flesh . . . the kingdoms of the Persians, Scythians, Indians and Parthians were seen, and the manner in which their rulers are glorified by men? And the careful reader will detect thousands of other passages like this in the gospels, which will convince him that events which did not take place at all are woven into the records of what literally did happen.[78]

This approach can be described as allegorically divisive reading because it distinguishes contradictions or difficulties within the text and takes them as an indication that allegory is necessary for the true meaning to be revealed.[79]

1.3.5.2.3. Historically Harmonized Reading

Another approach to Gospel harmonization was to explain the difficulties between the texts on the basis of unstated, historical circumstances which surrounded the narrative. Origen explains the difference in the counting of days leading up to the confession of Peter on the basis of the differences between the Jewish and Roman calendars.[80] Augustine argues that St. John's account of the cleansing of

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[78]From the Greek trans. by G. W. Butterworth (London: SPCK, 1936) pp. 289-290.

[79]This is exactly how allegory was employed in explaining the Greek poets. Lamberton comments, "Origen is the only early Christian author known to me who makes explicit the analogy between the reading of Homer and the reading of the gospels." p. 81. See *Contra Celsum* 1:42.

[80]Merkel *Widersprüche* p. 102.

the temple was a different event from that recorded in the Synoptics. There were actually two historic cleansings but the different Evangelists decided to record only one.[81] At times this form of harmonization becomes excessively rationalistic.

1.3.5.2.4. Historically Divisive Reading

This is the type of reading (called ἀνασκευή) undertaken by those who wished to demonstrate the disunity of the Gospels in order to discredit them. It can be found in the attacks of Celsus and Porphyry (recorded in Origen and Macarius Magnes) and comes directly from the literary critical methods taught in the Greco-Roman rhetorical schools.

1.4. THE DISTINCTIVE CHARACTERISTICS OF GOSPEL HARMONY

The purpose of this chapter has been threefold: 1. To consider the philosophical and theological foundations of harmonistic thought current in the Early Church, 2. To trace the historiographic principle of source citation which is essential to most early Christian approaches to Gospel harmony, and 3. To categorize and associate the various

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[81] *The Harmony of the Gospels* II, 67.

Gattungen of Gospel harmony with the Near Eastern and Greco-Roman *Gattungen* which inspired them.

From these broad considerations some features distinct to Gospel harmony emerge. A number of the methods of Gospel harmony assume the doctrine of canonicity. The texts under study were not to be altered. This is most evident in the later approaches, after the efforts of Tatian and Marcion. It is likewise seen that both history and ideas are of prominent concern to the harmonist. The difficulty and uniqueness of these problems led to the production of a unique *Gattung* - the synopsis. Still, all the various approaches either make use of or seek to satisfy methods of criticism current in Hellenistic literary training such as allegory, paraphrase, *anaskeue*, *kataskeue*, expansion or contraction of a story, and emphasis upon style.

Also evident within this chapter is the unique development of Christian historiography as it came to be embodied in the `Father' of Church History, Eusebius. Christian historiography is not simply a continuation of Hellenistic practice but incorporates the unusually strong interest in source citation characteristic of Judaism, which began already in the pre-exilic period. This type of historiographical practice would have been well known to

Eusebius from his reading of Old Testament books such as Chronicles and Ezra, intertestamental literature like 1 and 2 Maccabees, and the first century author Josephus.

While St. Luke testifies to his interest in Gospel harmony already in the first century, the effort to unify the Evangelists became most urgent in the mid-second century. This corresponds to the transition in the Early Church from a largely Jewish to a Hellenistic culture, the increasing vigor of Greek philosophical ideas via Gnosticism, and the introduction of the commentary as a means of preserving the faith and combating innovation.[82] These observations will be helpful for understanding the unique features of the *Eusebian Canons* which commended themselves to the use of the Church for almost a thousand years.

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[82]These changes also correspond to the shift from typological interpretation of the Old Testament to allegorical. The latter was adopted not only for the purpose of expounding the Scripture but specifically for expounding it apologetically in a Hellenistic context. Whether typologically (contra Judaism) or allegorically (contra Hellenism) exegesis remained Christologically centered.

CHAPTER 2

THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE *EUSEBIAN CANONS*

2.1 MODERN CONFUSION OVER EUSEBIUS' APPROACH

2.1.1. Basic Description of Eusebius' System

The *Eusebian Canons*, with the exception of the verse divisions made by Robertus Stephanus in his 1551 edition of the Greek New Testament, are the most widespread system for subdividing the Gospels. Not only do they appear in Greek manuscripts but also Latin, Syriac, Coptic, Ethiopic, Gothic, Armenian, and so forth. Developed in the fourth century, they have been a part of the scribal tradition of the four Gospels for all but the earliest manuscripts. Their perpetuation in the printed editions has also been significant, though less comprehensive.

They are, simply stated, a system of numerical tables and marginal notes which enable their user to find passages in the four Gospels where the Evangelists wrote similar things. The tables are divided in the following manner:

I. Passages corresponding in Mt, Mk, Lk, and Jn
II. Passages corresponding in Mt, Mk, and Lk
III. Passages corresponding in Mt, Lk, and Jn
IV. Passages corresponding in Mt, Mk, and Jn
V. Passages corresponding in Mt and Lk

VI. Passages corresponding in Mt and Mk
VII. Passages corresponding in Mt and Jn
VIII. Passages corresponding in Mk and Lk
IX. Passages corresponding in Lk and Jn
X. Passages peculiar to each Gospel

Two other combinations of Gospels would have been possible: the first - Mk, Lk, and Jn, and the second - Mk and Jn. These may not have been included since they lacked corresponding passages which were not already included under another canon table.[83] The canon tables at the beginning of the Gospel book contain the section numbers. These section numbers were created by numbering the pericopes in each individual Gospel in consecutive order so that each Gospel has its own set of numbers. Mt has 355 section numbers, Mk has 233, Lk has 342, and Jn has 232.

If one is reading a Gospel and wishes to see whether similar things were written in the other Gospels, one simply takes note of the canon and section numbers in the margin at the beginning of that pericope,[84] turns to the appropriate canon table in the front of the Gospel book, finds the line on which the section number for that Gospel is written along with the number(s) written parallel to it, and then turns to

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[83]See Harvey K. McArthur, "The Eusebian Sections and Canons," *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly*, 27 (1965): 251.

[84]The canon number is generally the smaller of the two numbers and is written below the section number.

those parallel number(s) in the other Gospel(s). For example, if one is reading in the Gospel according to St. Matthew about the feeding of the five thousand and wants to read what the other Evangelists have written on this topic, one notes that the canon number for this pericope in Matthew is I. and the section number is 147. One then turns to the first canon table, follows down the column of numbers apportioned to Mt until number 147 is found. Finally one notes that the section numbers parallel to Mt 147 are Mk 64, Lk 93, and Jn 49. Turning to these pericopes in the other Gospels will provide the parallels sought.

2.1.2. Various Understandings of the System by Modern Scholars

Although the operation of the canon tables described above is simple enough, there has been disagreement between scholars as to the purpose of the system itself. A survey of significant reference works bears this out. Johannes Quasten in the third volume of his *Patrology* describes the system as a "sort of Harmony." G. Ladocsi in the *Encyclopedia of the Early Church* calls it "a sort of concordance." *The International Standard Bible Encyclopedia*

lists it as a "type of harmony, also known as a synopsis."[85] These descriptions persist despite the vigorous protestations of John W. Burgon from the last century,

> It is perfectly plain in fact that to enable a reader `to construct for himself a Harmony of the Gospels,' was no part of Eusebius' intention; and quite certain that any one who shall ever attempt to avail himself of the system of Sections and Canons before us with that object, will speedily find himself landed in hopeless confusion.[86]

The title `synopsis' is likewise out of the question for him.

> It will then become plain that the system of Sections and Canons which Eusebius invented, - ingenious, interesting, and useful as it certainly is; highly important also, as being the known work of an illustrious Father of the Church, as well as most precious occasionally for critical purposes, - is nothing else but a clumsy substitute for what is achieved by an ordinary `Reference Bible.'[87]

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[85]p. 335. EEC Vol. 1, p. 298. *The International Standard Bible Encyclopedia* Vol. 2, ed. by Geoffrey W. Bromiley et al. (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1979) p. 618. H. Leclercq in the DACL Vol. 2, part 2, p. 1950 calls them "les canons de concordance évangélique." A number of prominent text critics call it a synopsis. See Tischendorf *Synopsis Evangelica* 3rd ed., (Leipzig: Hermann Mendelssohn, 1878) Prolegomena p. X; the title of Eberhard Nestle's article "Die eusebianische Evangelien-Synopse," aus *Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift* 19 (1908); and Heinrich von Sodon's first volume of *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1911) p. 388.

[86]*The Last Twelve Verses of the Gospel according to S. Mark* (Oxford and London: James Parker and Co., 1871) p. 298.

[87]pp. 300-301. G. H. Gwilliam writes approvingly of Burgon's work in "The Ammonian Sections, Eusebian Canons,

Obviously these designations require some clarification. An article by Harvey K. McArthur works toward this end, and he agrees with Burgon's assessment though he speaks more kindly of his contemporaries who continue to call the *Eusebian Canons* a `harmony.'[88] Because of these difficulties the matters of purpose and definition will be addressed in this chapter in conjunction with the historic development of the system.

2.2. THE ALEXANDRIAN TRADITION OF GOSPEL HARMONY

2.2.1. Gospel Harmony by Ammonius of Alexandria

Eusebius of Caesarea, in his letter *Ad Carpianum*, explains his canon system for finding parallel passages in the four Gospels. He credits the idea and basis of this system to an Ammonius of Alexandria.

> Ammonius the Alexandrian, having employed much industry and effort (as was proper), has left us the fourfold Gospel, placing the corresponding passages of the other

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and Harmonizing Tables in the Syriac Tetraevangelium," in *Studia et Ecclesiastica*, 2 (1890): in the footnotes on pages 241 and 249-249, despite the fact that his own title runs against Burgon's main points: That we cannot recognize the sections as those of Ammonius and that the work of Eusebius is by no means a harmony!

[88]"The Eusebian Sections and Canons," p. 252. Observations like those of Burgon and McArthur seem to be behind the descriptions of Dietrich Wünsch in the *Theologische Realenzyklopädie* X (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1982): 630 and Glenn F. Chesnut in the ABD Vol. 2, p. 676.

> evangelists beside the Gospel of Matthew so that the continuous thread of the other three is necessarily broken, preventing a consecutive reading.[89]

Several early writers tell of an Ammonius who was a teacher of Origen while he was a young man in Alexandria. In all of his extant writings, Origen never mentions his relationship to this Ammonius directly[90] but he does consider the

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[89]Translated by Timothy D. Barnes in *Constantine and Eusebius* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1981) p. 121. An earlier translation of the letter was made by Harold H. Oliver, "The Epistle of Eusebius to Carpianus: Textual Tradition and Translation," *Novum Testamentum*, 3 (1959): 138-145. Also see Frederick W. Danker *Multipurpose Tools for Bible Study* 3rd. ed. (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1970) pp. 38-39. The Greek text of this epistle can be found in Nestle-Aland *Novum Testamentum Graece* 26th ed. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1979) p. 73*-74*.

[90]H. Langerbeck sees a possible reference in Eusebius' quotation of one of Origen's letters. "The Philosophy of Ammonius Saccas and the Connection of Aristotelian and Christian Elements Therein," *Journal of Hellenistic Studies*, 77 (1957): 68. The passage from *The History of the Church from Christ to Constantine* is 6:19, "In doing this I [Origen] followed in the footsteps of one who helped many before my time - Pantaenus, a real expert in these questions; and of one who now has a seat in the presbytery at Alexandria - Heraclas, whom I found with the director of philosophical studies [Ammonius?]." trans. by G. A. Williamson (New York: Viking Penguin, 1965) p. 260. This will hereafter be referred to as EuHE. Henri Crouzel in his book *Origen.* comments, "Eusebius then reproduces a passage from a letter of Origen's justifying to opponents his philosophical studies as a means of winning for Christ the heretics and philosophers who approached him and relying on the example of Pantaenus, who taught Clement, and of Heraclas, his own disciple, who five years before Origen had attended the lectures of the `master of philosophical subjects', Ammonius Saccas, and who now that he was a priest

relationship between the four Gospels in his various treatises, most particularly in the commentaries on John and Matthew. In the following evaluation of the person of Ammonius there will also be an investigation of the methodology of Origen in harmonizing the four Gospels in order to compare it with the methodology of Ammonius as attested by Eusebius.

While Origen does not describe his teacher, his students do provide some information on this important yet obscure character, Ammonius. The earliest witness to this relationship is Porphyry, the Neo-Platonic philosopher. He writes concerning the two of them in *Against the Christians*:

> He [Origen] was a pupil of Ammonius, the most distinguished philosopher of our time. Theoretical knowledge in plenty he acquired with the help of his master, but in choosing the right way to live he went in the opposite direction. For Ammonius was a

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in the Church of Alexandria, always wore the philosopher's gown." translated by A. S. Worrall (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1989). Erich Seeberg provides an interesting note on the Greek text, "Wenn man δι' ον, wie ich es hier tue, übersetzt, so ist der, der dem Philosophenmantel genommen hat, jener im Presbyterium von Alexandrien sitzende und spätere Alexandrinische Bischof Heraklas. Liest man aber διο wozu die Handschriften nach Eduard Schwartz z.St. durchaus auch die Möglichkeit geben, so könnte man in dem Mann, der die gewöhnliche Kleidung mit dem Philosophenmantel vertauschte, dem Philosophielehrer des Origenes, nämlich Ammonius Sakas, erkennen, und daran denken, daß Theodoret sein gelehrtes Scherzchen aus dieser Stelle heraus entwickelt hat." "Ammonius Sakas," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, LXI (1942): 148.

> Christian, brought up in Christian ways by his parents, but when he began to think philosophically he promptly changed to a law-abiding way of life. Origen on the other hand, a Greek schooled in Greek thought, plunged headlong into un-Greek recklessness; immersed in this, he peddled himself and his skill in argument.[91]

Porphyry's writing has been lost because of his hostility to Christianity. However, this significant fragment (preserved in Eusebius' *History*) notes the dependence of Origen on Ammonius for his philosophical training.

Porphyry was a student of Plotinus who had studied for eleven years under Ammonius.[92] Eusebius says that he attacks Origen in his polemic *Against the Christians*, "whom

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[91]EuHE Book 6, chapter 19, pp. 258-259. This writing of Porphyry was twice ordered to be destroyed by the Christian emperors Theodosius II and Valentinian III. EEC Vol. 2, p. 704.

[92]F. L. Cross and E. A. Livingstone eds. *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church.* 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1974) p. 1103. See also the "Life of Plotinus," by Porphyry in A. H. Armstrong ed. *Plotinus.* Vol.1 in *The Loeb Classical Library.* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1966. ". . . for he [Plotinus] had stayed studying with Ammonius for eleven complete years." chapter 3, lines 10-21, p. 9. "These twenty-four treatises are those which he [Plotinus] wrote during the six-year period when I, Porphyry, was with him." chapter 3, lines 59-61, p. 23. Armstrong provides some helpful notes on the text of Porphyry concerning the `Origen' mentioned therein, "Origen the Christian writer also attended the lectures of Ammonius (Porphyry in Eusebius H. E. 6.19.6), but it seems clear to most of those who have studied the question that the Origen mentioned here and in chs. 14 and 20 of the *Life* was quite a different person. Origen was not an uncommon name in Alexandria." pp. 10-11, ft. 1.

he claims to have known as a young man and attempts to traduce, little knowing that he is actually commending him."[93] Eusebius later defended Origen and the Church in *Against Porphyry* but this work is also lost. Apparently one of Porphyry's main attacks focused on the alleged inconsistencies in the Gospels.[94] This hostility explains Eusebius' further description of Porphyry,

> Such are the allegations made by Porphyry in the third book of his treatise against the Christians. He tells the truth about Origen's teaching and wide learning, but plainly lies - for opponents of Christianity are quite unscrupulous - when he says that he came over from the Greek camp, and that Ammonius lapsed from the service of God into paganism. For Origen clung firmly to the Christian principles his parents had taught him, as this record has already shown; and Ammonius's inspired philosophy remained pure and intact to the very end of his life.[95]

While both writers agree that Ammonius started out a Christian, they cannot agree on how he ended his life. It is possible that they are talking about two different men since Ammonius was a common name in Egypt,[96] but this is

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[93]EuHE 6:19, p. 258.

[94]ODC p. 110.

[95]EuHE 6:19, p. 259.

[96]Porphyry, p. 9, ft. 1, "Porphyry says that he [Ammonius] was brought up a Christian, but later became a pagan. This may be true, but cannot be taken as certain, any more than Eusebius' denial. The name Ammonius was common in Egypt, and there may have been some confusion of persons." Theodor Zahn provides a wealth of information on

difficult to say. Both men would have reason to keep Ammonius in their camp: Porphyry because he would hardly want a Christian to be thought the founder of his philosophical school, and Eusebius because one can hardly commend the work of a lapsed Christian in an era of persecution.

Eusebius was a student of Pamphilius who headed the theological school at Caesarea, founded by Origen after he left Egypt. Previously Pamphilius had studied under Origen in Alexandria and after his master's death, he undertook the writing of a biographical defense. He was assisted in this task by Eusebius[97] who inherited his library which included a large collection of books by Origen and other authors.

Eusebius was also familiar with the writings of Origen's teacher Ammonius as he testifies in the *History*,

> . . . To this, surely, his literary labors bear witness, for the works that he bequeathed to posterity have won him a very wide reputation - for instance the book entitled *The Harmony of Moses and Jesus*, and the many other works treasured by discriminating readers.[98]

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the background of the name Ammonius in the first footnote of his article, "Der Exeget Ammonius und andere Ammonii," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 38 (1920): 1-2.

[97]EuHE 6:33, pp. 270-271.

[98]6:19, p. 259.

Porphyry says that Ammonius the philosopher composed no formal philosophical treatises but only a few informal pieces.

> . . . and among the Peripatetics Ammonius and Ptolemaeus, both the greatest scholars of their time, especially Ammonius; there has been no one who has come near to him in learning: but they did not write any work of professional philosophy, only poems and show-speeches which I believe to have been preserved without their consent; they would not have wanted to be known in later times by works of this kind when they had neglected to store up their thought in more serious treatises.[99]

It is possible that the Christian treatises of Ammonius (should he be the same man), like those described by Porphyry, were private or intended for his students alone.

There are a few statements by later writers about Ammonius and his work. In the late fourth century Nemesius of Emesa described him in his treatise *On Human Nature*.

> Now, as regards those who assign corporeity to the soul, it suffices to recall the argument of Ammonius, the master of Plotinus, and of Numenius the Pythagoraean . . . . However, Ammonius, the master of Plotinus, solved the problem thus . . .[100]

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[99]Porphyry, p. 59.

[100]William Tefler ed. *Cyril of Jerusalem and Nemesius of Emesa* in *The Library of Christian Classics* Vol. IV (London: SCM, 1955) pp. 261-262, 295. Tefler adds in a footnote, "This is the second mention by Nemesius of an opinion of Ammonius. We must suppose that he was drawing upon some work lost to us. And as, in Section 12, Ammonius is bracketed with Numenius in regard to his opinion, it is possible that the work in question was a Neo-Platonist doxography." p. 295, ft. 6.

Theodoret of Cyrus [5th cent.] wrote of him in his *Healing of the Maladies of the Greeks*:

> On this [hearing about the Logos?], Ammonius, called Sakkas, while forsaking the sackcloth with which he was drawing the wheat, welcomed the philosophical life. It is said that with this man our Origen went to school, with this man [also went] Plotinus. At the time I indicated (not talking idly in vain, but showing forth) that not only had this man studied thereafter the things of the Hebrews, just as Plato, but also the matters of fishing [seamanship] and of shoemaking, thus out of the Nous and from its Logos he had endeavored after all the things and partner and passing and the harmonious relations.[101]

Ammianus Marcellinus is the first to call him Sakkas, from the Greek σάκκος, meaning "a coarse hair-cloth, sack-cloth."[102] This has been taken as a reference to the ascetic life or perhaps some connection with the Indian philosophers. In the ninth century Photius writes in his *Bibliotheque*,

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[101]The Greek text reads: ἐπὶ τούτου δὲ 'Αμμώνιος ὁ ἐπίκλην Σακκᾶς, τοὺς σάσσους καταλιπών, οἷς μετέφερε τοὺς πυρούς, τὸν φιλόσοφον ἠσπάσατο βίον. Τούτῳ φοιτῆσαι φασιν 'Ωριγένην τὸν ἡμέτρον, τῷ δὲ Πλωτῖνον τουτονί· τῆς δὲ Πλωτίνου διδασκαλίας τετύχηκεν ὁ Πορφύριος. Τὸν δὲ χρόνον οὐ τηνάλλως ἀδολεσχῶν ἐπεσημηνάμην, ἀλλά δεικνύς, ὡς οὐ μόνον τά τῶν `Εβραίων οὑτος, καθάπερ ὁ Πλάτων, ἀλλά καὶ τὰ τῶν ἁλιέων καὶ τὰ τοῦ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ λόγου τὰ πάντα καὶ ξυνέστη καὶ διέστη καὶ τῆς προσηκούσης τετύχηκεν ἁρμονίας. Chapters 60 and 61 of Théodoret de Cyr *Thérapeutique des Maladies Helléniques* ed. Pierre Canivet, *Sources Chrétiennes* Vol. 57, pt. 1 (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1958) pp. 275-276.

[102]Liddell and Scott, p. 1581.

> And those standing from an earlier time are a great choir, up to when the wisdom of Ammonius took hold, which sings that he is called `one taught' by God. For this is, after setting apart the opinions of the ancient men, and on the other hand doing away with the re-emerging nonsense, a symphony [σύμφωνον] in order to deliver the opinion of the teachings of Plato and Aristotle in fitting times and necessary ways.[103]

While his works have not survived to the present, his fame surely has, though a clear picture of his contributions is difficult to attain.

S. Lilla in the EEC provides an up-to-date list of conclusions which can be made from the above ancient witnesses (with the exception of Eusebius' letter *Ad Carpianum* which he does not treat) as well as the opinions of modern scholars. This may be summarized as follows:

> 1. Ammonius taught at Alexandria for at least fifty years, from the time of Commodus (192) to his own death in c. 242. 2. Origen the Christian studied under Ammonius. 3. Ammonius was a Christian who at some point renounced his faith to embrace Greek philosophy. 4. The treatise *On the agreement between Moses and Jesus* mentioned by Eusebius can be explained as having been composed either by Ammonius before his "apostasy" or by a "Christian Ammonius" with whom Eusebius confused him. 5. There existed a written collection of

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[103]The Greek text reads: Καὶ πολὺν τοὺς ἔμπροσθεν στῆσαι χορόν, μέχρις ὅτου ἡ 'Αμμωνίου σοφία διέλαμψεν, ὃν καὶ θεοδίδακτον ἐπικαλεῖσθαι ὑμνεῖ. Τοῦτον γὰρ τὰς τῶν παλαιῶν ἀνδρῶν διακαθάραντα δόξας, καὶ τοὺς ἑκατέρωθεν ἀναγυομένους ἀποσκευσάμενον λήρους, σύμφωνον ἐν τοῖς ἐπικαίροις τε καὶ ἀναγκαιοτάτοις τῶν δογμάτων Πλάτωνός τε καὶ 'Αριστοτέλους τὴν γνώμην ἀποφῆναι. Rene Henry ed. *Photius Bibliotheque* Tome IV (Paris: Societe de editor "Les Belles Lettres", 1962) p. 126.

> Ammonius' lectures. 6. We cannot rule out Ammonius having had a strong interest in Oriental religions. 7. In his lectures he aimed to reconcile the thought of Plato and Aristotle. 8. In his lectures, from which the *Enneads* are derived, Plotinus continued to keep Ammonius' teaching in mind.[104]

Unfortunately Lilla's summary does not represent the consensus of scholarship, as a word from A. H. Armstrong in the same year demonstrates:

> And Schwyzer's recent very careful re-examination of the evidence about Ammonius Sakkas makes it very unlikely that, if Origen the Christian had any contact at all with Ammonius and his circle, it was more than minimal and superficial nor is there any other identifiable serious Christian thinker who might have been at Alexandria at the appropriate time who there has ever seemed any reason to suppose might have met Plotinus.[105]

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[104]Vol. 1, pp. 31-32.

[105]"Plotinus and Christianity," in *Platonism in Late Antiquity* ed. by S. Gersh and C. Kannengiesser (Notre Dame: Notre Dame Press, 1992) p. 116. Armstrong's statement is rather difficult to unpack. The reference is to H. -R. Schwyzer's article in PRE XXI, 1. "Ist ferner die Nachricht richtig, daß Origenes der Christ spätestens unter dem Kaiser Gallus 253 gestorben sei, so konnte er nicht unter Gallienus noch ein Werk verfassen. Der Christ und der heidnische Neuplatoniker sind daher zu trennen, und dieser hat jenen überlebt. Allerdings wird uns auch von Christen Origenes überliefert, daß er Ammonios gehört habe . . ." p. 480. This is a reversal of his earlier conclusions in his book *Plotinus*. Freudenthal, in the earlier volume (Band I, 2; 1894), does not identify Ammonius the philosopher with a Christian Ammonius, "Er [Ammonius the philosopher] kann daher nicht identisch mit dem christlichen Philosophen gleichen Namens sein, von dem Eusebios mehrere Schriften anführt." p. 1863. The "Christian Ammonius" is discussed by Juelicher in a separate article on p. 1867.

The long standing questions about Ammonius and his relationship to Christianity are not so easily solved.[106] However, a study of the writings of his student Origen may be able to make some small contribution.

From the material above one may posit several Ammonii (the philosopher, the writer of the Harmony of Moses and Jesus, and the creator of the Gospel Harmony mentioned by Eusebius) or one common author. Are these descriptions of the same man? The arguments for one author are: These men share the same name (the surname Saccus only shows up in Ammianus Marcellinus and authors dependent on him); these authors all resided in Alexandria at roughly the same time; all are known to have been Christian at least in the beginning of their lives; and all created harmonies of philosophic or Biblical material. The arguments opposed to one author are: Ammonius was a very common name in Alexandria; the sources don't identify the them as one man;

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[106]Mark Edwards' recent article, "Ammonius, Teacher of Origen," in *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 44, No. 2 (April 1993) distinguishes between Ammonius O[rigen's teacher] described by Eusebius and Ammonius P[lotinus' teacher] described by Porphyry. Also the teacher of Plotinus is not to be confused with the Peripatetic Ammonius. He holds that Eusebius and Porphyry may be describing the same Ammonius when they talk about the teacher of the Christian Origen.

and the conflicting testimony of Eusebius and Porphyry over the Christianity of Ammonius and the extent of his writings.

With these arguments in mind there is yet one source which Lilla has not included in his summary. St. Jerome [342-420] writes in his *Concerning Illustrious Men*:

> Ammonius, a talented man of great philosophical learning, was distinguished at Alexandria at the same time [as Origen]. Among the many and distinguished monuments of his genius, is the elaborate work which he composed *On the Harmony of Moses and Jesus*, and *Gospel Canons*, which he worked out, and which Eusebius of Caesarea, afterward followed. Porphyry falsely accused him of having become a heathen again, after being a Christian, but it is certain that he continued a Christian until the very end of his life.[107]

Jerome brings the them together as one man, attributing to him not only great philosophical learning but also in-depth study of the Christian Scriptures. Though Jerome is further removed from Ammonius chronologically, his testimony should not be immediately discounted since he was familiar with Pamphilius' *Defense of Origen* and Origen's personal correspondence which Eusebius himself organized.[108]

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[107]Chapter LV. Philip Schaff and Henry Wace eds. *A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church* Vol. III (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 1892) p. 374. It is interesting that Jerome includes the *Gospel Canons* here under Ammonius instead of under his summary of the work of Eusebius. Perhaps it was not considered one of the bishop's more prominent works.

[108]Jerome is dependant on the *History* by Eusebius. Chapter LIV of *On Illustrious Men*, p. 374. Eusebius says of

The relationship between the work of Ammonius and that of Origen and Eusebius may also provide a number of helpful insights.

2.2.2. Gospel Harmony by Origen of Alexandria

2.2.2.1. Commentary on the Gospel according to John

There are numerous points of correspondence between the work of the Ammonius described in Eusebius' epistle *Ad Carpianum* and Origen's approach to Gospel harmony. Origen started his commentary on John while in Alexandria, having been prompted by his former student Ambrose. Ambrose was a convert from gnosticism and had many questions about the Scripture. Origen writes to him in the introduction,

> What, indeed, do all these things mean for us? You will raise this question when you read these words, Ambrose, since you are truly a man of God, and a man in Christ, and are eager to be spiritual, no longer being a man . . . . What more excellent activity ought there be, after our physical separation from one another, than the careful examination of the gospel? For indeed, one might dare say that the gospel is the firstfruits of all the Scriptures.[109]

Origen's correspondence, "We possess also a letter of his to the Emperor Philip himself, another to his consort Severa, and others to various other persons: all that I have succeeded in collecting I have stored methodically in separate bundles, to prevent them from being dispersed again. EuHE 6:36, p. 271-272.

[109]Book 1,9 of OrCJ p. 33. Eusebius describes Ambrose in the *History*, "At the same period, Ambrose - who shared the heretical opinions of Valentinus - was refuted by the truth which Origen expounded, and, as if light had dawned on

Here we see the purpose behind Origen's writing, that his friend and disciple might grow in spirituality by studying the firstfruits of the Scripture.[110]

While all Scripture was given by God, the Gospels were the most important part for understanding the Christian Faith. Of these John was the most eminent.

> Now in my opinion, there are four Gospels as though they were the elements (στοιχεία) of the faith of the Church. (The whole world which has been reconciled to God consists of these elements, as Paul says: "God was in Christ, reconciling the world to himself." Jesus took away the sin of the world, for the word which is written, "Behold the Lamb of God who takes away the sin of the world," is about the world of the Church.) But I think that John's Gospel, which you have enjoined us to examine to the best of our ability, is the firstfruits of the Gospels. It speaks of him whose descent is traced, and begins from him who is without a genealogy.[111]

This is the cosmological analogy of Gospel unity described above. Just as there were four elements which made up the

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his mind, accepted the orthodox teaching of the Church." 6:18, p. 257.

[110]"Firstfruits" is an analogy drawn from the OT teachings on sacrifice. In other words, the Gospel is the most profound portion of Scripture. Origen would dictate his interpretation of the Gospel to scribes provided by Ambrose, "I devote myself boldly to dictating." OrCJ 5, 8, p. 167.

[111]OrCJ Book 1, 21, p. 36-37. Notes on the Greek text of the commentary are from Erwin Preuschen ed. *Origenes Werke: Der Johanneskommentar* Band 4. in GCS Vol. 10 (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrich'sche Buchhandlung, 1903).

world: water, earth, air, and fire, so also the four Gospels were the elements of the faith. The higher spiritual quality of the Gospel according to St. John was demonstrated by its genealogy which traced the divine and not the human nature of the person of Christ.

Origen's approach to the text involved comparing the different passages of Scripture in order to learn their meaning.

> On the basis of these words (of introduction), which are not inappropriate, it is possible to gather comparable (παραπλήσια) things from the Scriptures and see what the glory of the good things in Jesus Christ is from the gospel.[112]

This "Scripture interprets Scripture" approach was applied allegorically. Though Origen often read new meaning into the text, his interpretation was always guided by what he knew from the rest of Scripture.[113] One might say that he interpreted according to the *regula fidei*, seeing it in the text everywhere he looked.

Books 1 and 2 of the commentary are extant with *lacunae*, and a portion of book 4 is preserved in the

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[112]OrCJ Book 1, 88, p. 51.

[113]It was difficult at times for Origen to distinguish between what he had learned from philosophy and from Scripture so that both appear in his interpretation. Yet for Origen this was not adding anything to the text that was not already there on a higher level.

Philocalia, a summary of the writings of Origen produced by Gregory of Nazianzus.[114] All the manuscripts of the commentary, except those portions quoted in other works, are dependent on one thirteenth-century manuscript, Codex Monacensis 191 in Munich.[115] These first books do not get beyond the first 15 or so verses of chapter one of John. For this reason they do not contain synoptic portions of the other Gospels, since John up to that point, provides nothing but unique material. Book 5 is an interlude in which Origen tries to explain why he is writing so much on so little text, particularly in view of Solomon's warning, "My son, beware of making many books; there is no end, and much study is a weariness of the flesh."[116]

Book six is most helpful because it dates the writing of the commentary exactly. Origen explains to Ambrose,

> Although the storm at Alexandria seemed to oppose us, we dictated the words which were given us as far as the fifth book . . . . I was hindered because my accustomed stenographers were not present to take the dictations . . . . And be aware that I make this second beginning of the sixth book very eagerly because what we dictated previously in Alexandria, for some reason or other, has not been brought.[117]

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[114]ODC p. 1084.

[115]OrCJ pp. 26-27.

[116]Eccl. 12:12, OrCJ Book 5, 1, p. 160.

[117]OrCJ Book 6, 8-9 and 11, pp. 170-171.

This reference is to his expulsion from Alexandria by Bishop Demetrius and the move to Caesarea which occurred in 230-231.[118] At this point in the work Origen begins to compare the texts of the four Gospels. At first this comparison involves quotation only of those phrases which are distinct to a Gospel when relating information common to John or the Synoptics (such as John the Baptist's preaching against the Pharisees). Later he begins to quote the parallel portions of the Synoptics alongside one another, followed by commentary.

John the Baptist's teaching the crowds is the first example of Origen's use of parallel citations of the Gospels. The introduction of this pericope and its parallels is as follows:

> It is not untimely for us, since we are investigating the words, "I baptize with water," to juxtapose (παραθέσθαι) the similar (ὁμοίας) texts on this subject from the evangelists and compare (συγκρῖναι) them with the one before us.

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[118]Eusebius attributes the expulsion to the castration of Origen and Demetrius' jealousy over his popularity, ". . . when a little later the same worthy saw him prosperous, great, eminent, and universally esteemed, he yielded to human weakness and wrote to the bishops throughout the world in an attempt to make Origen's action appear outrageous, just when the most respected and outstanding bishops of Palestine, those of Caesarea and Jerusalem, judged him worthy of position in the Church and of the highest honour, and ordained him presbyter." EuHE 6:8, p. 247.

> Matthew says, therefore, "when he saw many of the Pharisees and Sadducees coming for baptism," after the rebuking words which we investigated, "I baptize you in water unto repentance; but he who comes after me is mightier than I, whose shoes I am not worthy to bear; he will baptize you in the Holy Spirit and fire." This is an avowal of his baptism in water to those sent from the Pharisees.
> Mark says, "John preached saying, `He who is mightier than I comes after me, the lachet of whose shoes I am not worthy to stoop down and loose. I baptize you with water, but he will baptize you with the Holy Spirit." He is teaching that these things have been proclaimed to the masses and to all who hear.
> Luke says, "While the people were in suspense and all were reasoning in their hearts about John, whether he might be the Christ, John answered, saying to all, `I baptize you with water, but he who is mightier than I, the lachet of whose shoes I am not worthy to loose, he will baptize you with the Holy Spirit and fire."[119]

Hereafter this method of presenting the text becomes common although he also continues to quote the unique parallel phrases of individual Gospels as they apply to the text of the Gospel according to St. John.

The practice of Origen is consistently to treat Matthew first, then Mark and Luke. He bases his reasoning on Matthean priority.

> Since then we have the parallel texts (ὁμοίας λέξεις) of the four Gospels in hand, let us see, to the best of our ability the intention (νοῦν) of each individually and the differences (διαφοράς), beginning from Matthew who is also related in tradition to have published his

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[119]OrCJ Book 6, 158-161, pp. 213-214.

> Gospel before the others for the Hebrews, i.e., for those of the circumcision who believe.[120]
> But now we must consider the remarks in the other four Gospels which are parallel to the passages on the expulsion from the temple of those who were making it a house of merchandise. Take those in Matthew first (καὶ πρῶτόν γε τὰ παρὰ τῷ Ματθαίῳ).[121]

The preference for Matthew first would be natural since among the Synoptics this was the most well known of the Gospels.[122] Matthew and John are frequently the objects of commentary in the Early Church whereas Luke is not treated very often, and Mark, hardly at all.

Two citations of Synoptic text are particularly important because in them the texts of Mark and Luke are conformed to that of Matthew. The first deals with the descent to Capharnaum.

> Matthew's words are as follows: "Then the devil left him, and behold angels came and ministered to him. And when Jesus had heard that John was delivered up, he came and settled in Capharnaum on the sea coast, in the

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[120]OrCJ Book 6, 162, p. 214. Where he says that he has "the parallel texts of the four Gospels in hand" it is likely a reference to the text he has placed in the commentary though it could also refer to a synoptic source which he has in front of him. The Greek is simply the word ἔχοντες.

[121]OrCJ Book 10, 152-153, p. 290.

[122]An exception to this order of treatment can be seen in Origen's dealing with Mark's quotation of Is 40:3. Here he quotes Mark before Matthew apparently because of Mark's attributing the quote, "Behold I send my messenger . . ." (Mal 3:1) to Isaiah. This discrepancy caught his eye and prompted him to respond to Mark first.

> borders of Zabulon and Naphthalim, that the word of the prophet Isaias might be fulfilled, who said, `Land of Zabulon,'" And after the words in Isaias, he says, "From that time Jesus began to preach, and to say, `Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand.'" Mark says, "And he was in the desert forty days being tempted by Satan; and he was with the beasts, and the angels ministered to him. And after John was delivered up Jesus came to Galilee preaching the gospel of God: `The time is fulfilled, and the kingdom of God is at hand; repent, and believe the gospel.'" Then after telling about Andrew and Peter, and James and John, he records these words: "And he entered Capharnaum, and immediately on the sabbath he began teaching in the synagogue."
> And Luke says, "And when he had ended the temptation, the devil departed from him for a time. And Jesus returned in the power of the spirit into Galilee. And a report about him went out through the whole country. And he was teaching in their synagogues, being glorified by all. And he came into Nazareth where he had been raised, and he entered the synagogue according to his custom on the sabbath day.'" And after he has related what Jesus said in Nazareth, and the wrath against him of those in the synagogue when they cast "him out of the city" and brought him "to the brow of the hill on which their city was built, that they might cast him down headlong," and that the Lord "passed through their midst and went his way," he subjoins these words: "And he went down into Capharnaum, a city of Galilee, and was teaching them on the sabbath."[123]

In this way Origen creates a synopsis of the Gospels about the devil leaving Jesus and his settling in Capharnaum, using Matthew as an outline. In the second example he treats the triumphal entry of Jesus into Jerusalem and omits the saying in Mark about the fig tree so that this text will conform with the other Gospels.

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[123]OrCJ Book 10, 5-9, pp. 255-256.

In Book 6 Origen had expressed confidence about being able to harmonize the historical accounts of the four Gospels.

> Since we think it is necessary to compare (παρατιθέναι) texts from the Gospels which resemble (ὁμοίας) the words under consideration, and to do this for each passage to the end (of our work) to demonstrate the harmony (σύμφωνα) in things which seem to clash, and to explain the things which are similar (ὁμοίως) in each individual passage, let us do this here too.[124]

But as the commentary progresses he grows frustrated with the task. At places he finds it impossible to reconcile the differences between John and the Synoptics.

> On the basis of numerous other passages also, if someone should examine the Gospels carefully to check the disagreement so far as the historical sense is concerned - we shall attempt to show this disagreement in individual cases, insofar as we are able -, he would grow dizzy, and would either shrink from really confirming the Gospels, and would agree with one of them at random because be would not dare reject completely the faith related to our Lord, or he would admit that there are four [and would say] that their truth is not in their literal features.[125]

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[124]OrCJ Book 6, 127, p. 205.

[125]OrCJ Book 10, 14, p. 257. The *regula fidei* and tradition prevents Origen from rejecting the Gospels. Also concerning the difficulty of comprehending all four Gospels he writes, "But who is so wise, and has such competence as to learn everything in regard to Jesus from the four evangelists, and to be capable of understanding each thing by himself, and to keep in sight all his visits and words and works in each place?" Book 10, 36, pp. 263-264. Again he writes further, "Now consider carefully if it is possible that the variations (ἐναλλαγὰς) at least of what is written, and the disagreements (διαφωνίας) are to be solved by the

Because of these difficulties the only means of interpreting the Gospels was by recognizing that certain portions of them were not historical but rather written "in a purely intellectual manner, with language as though it were something perceptible to the senses."[126]

2.2.2.2. Commentary on the Gospel according to Matthew

Origen had already expressed his desire to produce a commentary on Matthew while working on his commentary on John.

> We have had to make these comments, in accordance with our ability, on the events in Matthew. An account that is complete and more detailed than these words will be related more opportunely whenever it is granted to us to comment on the Gospel according to Matthew.[127]

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anagogical method (ἀναγωγῆς τρόπον) of interpretation, each evangelist describing different (διαφόρους) dispositions, which produce not identical, but similar (παραπλήσια) results." Book 10, 199, p. 299.

[126]OrCJ Book 10, 18, p. 259. "[We must, however, set before the reader] that the truth of these accounts lies in the spiritual meanings, [because] if the discrepancy is not solved, [many] dismiss credence in the Gospels as not true, or not written by a divine spirit or not successfully recorded. The composition of these Gospels, in fact, is said to have involved both. Let those who accept the four Gospels and who think the apparent discrepancy is not to be solved through the anagogical sense tell us when the Lord came to Capharnaum in relation to the difficulty we mentioned earlier concerning the forty days of temptation which can have no place at all in John." Book 10, 10, p. 256.

[127]OrCJ Book 10, 191, p. 298.

However, he would not have opportunity for this work until a much later time, after 244 according to Johannes Quasten.[128]

A peculiar feature of the work is its use of "word studies," a concordancing of a particular word through a particular author in order to determine the breadth of its meaning.

> It should be observed how often in the same passages is mentioned the word, "the multitudes," and another word, "the disciples," so that observing and bringing together the passages about this matter it may be seen that the aim of the Evangelists was to represent by means of the Gospel history the differences of those who come to Jesus; of whom some are the multitudes and are not called disciples, and others are the disciples who are better than multitudes. It is sufficient however, for the present, for us to set forth a few sayings, so that any one who is moved by them may do the like with the whole of the Gospels.[129]

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[128]"Of the *Commentary on St. Matthew*, which he composed in twenty-five books at Caesarea, after the year 244, there are only eight preserved in Greek, namely, 10-17, which deal with Matthew 13,26 to 22,33. An anonymous translation supplies a much greater portion, namely, the section which forms the commentary to Matthew 16,13 to 27,65." QP Vol. 2, p. 48.

[129]ANF Vol. X, ed. by Allan Menzies, Book XI, 4, p. 433. A further example is, "And in order that it may be more accurately understood what is represented by the house of Jesus, let some one collect from the Gospels whatsoever things are spoken about the house of Jesus, and what things were spoken or done by Him in it; for all passages collected together will convince any one who applies himself to this reading that the letters of the Gospel are not absolutely simple as some suppose, but have become simple to the simple by a divine concession; but for those who have the will and the power to hear them more acutely there are concealed things wise and worthy of the Word of God." Book X, 1, p. 414. The reading "His house" at Mt 13:36 is found in this

The study that follows on "multitude" and "disciples" is all based on Matthew. The commentary also involves studies of the word cosmos, based mainly on John, and symphony, based mostly on Pauline literature.

Unlike the commentary on John, that on Matthew was not intended to function as a Synopsis.

> And this is confirmed by two parables, one at the close of this Gospel before us, and one from the Gospel according to Luke. And not to prolong the discussion by quoting the very letter, as any one who wishes can take it from the Scripture himself, we will say that the parable according to Matthew declares, . . .[130]

Instead of providing the parallel texts he only mentions them in passing. This is the approach throughout the commentary, noting certain points of synoptic agreement and disagreement, particularly through the first three Gospels. However, the concern to harmonize, as in the earlier commentary, is not as evident.

What began as a critical concern to Origen in his refutation of the Gnostic Heraclean (and other abusers of the Gospel) became an important reinforcement for his allegorical hermeneutic. The fact that the four Gospels could only be reconciled historically through great labor

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commentary of Origen, Family 1, minuscule 1424 and a few other manuscripts.

[130]*Commentary on Matthew* Book XIV, 12, p. 502.

and speculation convinced him to see them as spiritual in intention. While not discounting the historical value of the text completely (indeed, he provides much literal interpretation in his commentaries), it was essential for the diligent disciple to read the Gospel for its ἐπίνοια, its purpose or intention disguised in the simplicity of its language and form.[131] The particular passage which seems to have inspired this is the Temptation of Jesus. Since Origen could find no place for it in the Gospel according to John he determined that it had to be spiritual rather than historical in nature.

In dictating his commentaries Origen made use of many other works. He would naturally have to have a copy of the

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[131]See Merkel *Widersprüche* p. 121. Robert M. Grant writes concerning Origen's developing hermeneutical approach, "The principle reason for this difference [between the commentaries on John and Matthew] seems to lie in Origen's diminishing confidence in the method of historical criticism set forth by the rhetoricians. By employing this method in order to assess the truth or falsity of the cleansing narrative he had reached the conclusion that it was literally, historically false [in his earlier commentary on John]. He could have used the same method in dealing with the story of the anointing, but did not do so. Instead, he restricted himself to the comparison of the various accounts. Such a comparison led him to raise questions about various details and about the time of the event. It did not lead him to suggest that the event itself was unhistorical. In other words, Origen was no longer as sure as he once had been that he could differentiate myth and fiction from history." p. 69.

Gospel in question before him as well as copies of the other Gospels. His frequent references to the Old Testament would require a copy of the Septuagint. In the *Commentary on John* he includes large portions of the commentary by Heracleon the Valentinian. In both commentaries he notes the variant readings of some manuscripts of Scripture. This accumulation of sources as well as the detailed analysis underlying the commentaries presupposes Origen's dependence upon notes which either he or another had taken. His detailed comparisons of the four Gospels implies the use of a synoptic source or study from which he could dictate to his scribes. Otherwise their writing would be greatly hindered by their master's constant stopping to flip pages.

2.2.3. Gospel Harmony by Eusebius of Caesarea

2.2.3.1. The *Gospel Questions*

Angelo Mai reproduces an epitome of the *Gospel Questions* of Eusebius from the tenth century Vatican manuscript Palat. CXX. That this work was produced first in two books for someone named Stephanus and that a third book was added for someone named Marinus, is shown from the opening lines of the third book,

> Leaving the questions and solutions at the beginning in the divinely inspired Gospels, having already earlier toiled over two writings, I now come hereafter to the

> end of those [things in the Gospels] which always among all are being questioned (passing over the middle).[132]

The complete text has not survived apart from a few fragments culled from the Catena.

D. S. Wallace-Hadrill provides a very thorough description of the type of exegesis and approach to harmony which Eusebius employs in these letters. Throughout the whole work there appears only one example of `spiritual' exegesis, the treatment of Tamar's twins in the genealogy which he sees as representing two ways of life, that of the Law and that of the Gospel.

> This answer is unique in the *Problems and Solutions* in applying typology as a method of solution for the rest of the answers treat the text in the most literal manner, to the entire exclusion of allegorization.[133]

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[132]PG 22, 937. The Greek text reads, "Τῶν ἐν τοῖς θεοπνεύστοις Εὐαγγελίοις περὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπορουμένων ζημάτων καὶ λύσεων δύο πεπονηκὼς ἤδη πρότερον συγγράμματα, πάρειμι νῦν, τὰ μέσα παρελθὼν, ἔπειτα πρὸς τῷ τέλει τῶν αὐτῶν πάντοτε τοῖς πᾶσι ζητούμενα."

[133]*Eusebius of Caesarea* (London: A. R. Mowbray & Co., 1960) p. 77. G. Bardy comments, "Elles sont l'oeuvre d'un savant qui prétend tirer au clair les difficultés sans avoir recours aux commodités que pouvait lui offrir l'emploi de la méthode allégorique." "La Littérature Patristique des `Quaestiones et Responsiones' sur l'Ecriture Sainte," in *Revue Biblique*, XLI (1932): 231. The complete article, spread throughout Tomes XLI and XLII, provides a thorough treatment of the *Questiones* literature used by Church Fathers.

This work of Eusebius thus represents the Historically Harmonized Reading described above in section 1.3.5.2.3. Berthold Altaner, in his *Patrology*, had asserted that, "In his exegetical writings he [Eusebius] follows Origen's allegorical method."[134] While this may be true of his Old Testament interpretation, it is not true of his work on the Gospels. In fact, as a general rule, Patristic writers are much more literal in interpreting the New Testament than the Old Testament.

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[134]Trans. by Hilda C. Graef (Freiburg: Herder, 1960) p. 264. C. Curti provides an excellent evaluation of Eusebius' overall methodology, "In exegesis Eusebius is indebted to Origen. This dependence is undeniable, though it has often been exaggerated to the extent of making Eusebius a slipshod and inept *expilator*. This conviction has been favoured by the fragmentary state of the exegetical texts of both of them and by the uncertain authenticity of the passages reproduced in the current editions under the names of one and the other. Eusebius' `theory' can be briefly summed up thus: he distinguishes the literal sense from the spiritual sense, which he habitually calls διάνοια or θεωρία: for him the former is something imperfect, while the latter is the only sense capable of perceiving the true spirit of the sacred text: while recognizing the importance and validity of literal exegesis, certainly more consonant with the historical narratives, he rarely claims that it exhausts the meaning of the text, while he frequently proposes the spiritual interpretation as the only one possible. His position is essentially halfway between that of Alexandria and that of Antioch, but oriented more toward the former: he does not disregard the more obvious sense, the literal but in practice he prefers the spiritual sense, though he avoids exaggerations of it." EEC Vol. 1, p. 300. See also Bardenhewer, p. 253.

2.2.3.2. *Ad Carpianum*

Eusebius' letter introducing the canon system can be found at the head of almost all ancient and medieval Greek and Latin Gospel books. Addressed to Carpianus in its opening line of greeting, it lacks any indication of who he was or why Eusebius was writing to him specifically. The letter itself gives a brief description of the work of Ammonius and then explains the canon system which this work inspired. The most recent English translation is provided by Timothy D. Barnes in his book *Eusebius and Constantine*. Eusebius describes the work of Ammonius as τὸ διὰ τεσσάρων . . . εὐαγγέλιον [the fourfold Gospel] which was formed by,

> . . . placing the corresponding passages of the other evangelists beside the Gospel of Matthew so that the thread of the other three is necessarily broken, preventing a consecutive reading.[135]

This is the same methodology employed by Origen in his arrangement and study of parallel passages in the commentary on the Gospel according to St. John. This indicates that at the very least the same method of harmonization was being employed in Alexandria and that possibly Origen also knew this work of Ammonius and was using it in his Gospel commentaries.

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[135]pp. 121-122.

Although Eusebius finds Ammonius' work useful, he does not receive it without criticism. The problem was that it destroyed the narratives of the other three Gospels because they were placed alongside of Matthew.[136] This type of disruptive and destructive approach was exactly what Eusebius criticized about the *Diatessaron* of Tatian.

> Their old leader Tatian produced a composite work by somehow combining the gospels, and called it the Diatessaron: some people still possess copies. It is said that he was bold enough to alter some of the Apostle's expressions as though trying to rectify their phraseology.[137]

From this it can be seen that Eusebius' approach was particularly interested in preserving the canonical texts of the four Gospels in their narrative form.

At the beginning of this chapter the various opinions about the nature of Eusebius' work were shown to conflict.

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[136]Burgon rightly points out that, "The Sections (popularly miscalled `Ammonian') with which Eusebius [A.D. 320] has made the world thoroughly familiar, . . . cannot be the same which Ammonius of Alexandria [A.D. 220] employed, - but must needs be the invention of Eusebius himself, - admits of demonstration . . . . Those Canons are without meaning or use apart from the Sections, - for the sake of which they were clearly invented. Those Sections, whatever convenience they may possess apart from the Canons, nevertheless are discovered to presuppose the Canons throughout: to be manifestly subsequent to them in order of time: to depend upon them for their very existence: in some places to be even unaccountable in the eccentricity of their arrangement, except when explained by the requirements of the Eusebian Canons." pp. 295-296.

[137]EuHE p. 191.

Many have described it as a harmony or synopsis while the studies of Burgon and McArthur have concluded otherwise. Eusebius describes the work of Ammonius as a `Diatessaron Gospel,' but he does not retain this title for his own work. The question is, can the *marginalia* system function as a synopsis when passages of no historical correspondence whatsoever are linked together as Burgon and McArthur have shown?

It is interesting that all the shortcomings of Eusebius' work as a synopsis relate to John's Gospel. This should surprise no one, for apart from the Baptism of Jesus, the Feeding of the Five Thousand, the Triumphal Entry, Passion Week, and the Resurrection, there is not strong, point for point, `historical correspondence' between the four Evangelists. But when the references to John are ignored or are absent, a very workable synopsis of the first three Gospels remains. To assert that Eusebius' work is not intended at all to function as a synopsis goes too far though it can be stated that it was not intended to indicate a particular chronology.

No doubt Eusebius himself was aware of the `dis-harmony' between the Synoptics and John. In an effort to remedy this he sometimes chops the fourth Gospel up into the

tiniest pieces or jumps whole chapters of material, relegating them to the tenth canon.[138] In the sum of these facts the genuine `purpose' of Eusebius is disclosed, a purpose not out of harmony with the rest of this good Father's writings.

Allen E. Johnson has written a helpful article on "Rhetorical Criticism in Eusebius' Gospel Questions" which compares Eusebius' method of defending the Gospels with the rhetorical scholarship of Graeco-Roman education.[139] He explains their standard method of criticism - refutation and defense - in relation to Eusebius' work on the Gospels.

> The second century rhetorician Hermogenes recommended attacking a narrative by maintaining that it was either unclear, unlikely, impossible, inconsequent or logically incoherent, unbecoming or `out of character', or unsuitable for public discussion . . . `to defend, do the opposite.'[140]

Eusebius is following this method in the *Gospel Questions*, using an outline of defense provided by the attack of another writer.[141]

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[138]For example see Jn 94 and 139-144.

[139]*Studia Patristica* 18, Vol. 1, ed. by E. Livingstone (1985).

[140]p. 33.

[141]The conclusion states, "Thus the questions to which Eusebius responded are fully accounted for by the rhetorical-critical method of ἀνασκευή, and represent all of the points of attack in Hermogenes' outline of that method.

One of his primary defenses is against the idea "that the gospels are unclear or `fight against themselves,'" - the central issue in his production of the *marginalia* system. Consistent with this is B. Gustafsson's description of Eusebius' use of Biblical sources:

> . . . he treated the Old Testament as one single succession of prophecies on the Messiah,[142] citing, for example Moses and the Book of Psalms as prophets; in the New Testament the Gospels are all cited as if they were a single book.[143]

From this one can see why Eusebius goes to such great trouble to revise the system of Ammonius while still handling the Gospel according to St. John so roughly - his intent is to provide an apology which demonstrates the

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Although Eusebius' arguments and choice of topics seem alien to us they would have seemed quite natural to Christian and pagan scholars of the era . . . . It is a method of attack and defense, not of analysis; refutation seeks to discredit, not to understand. This thoroughly secular critical technique, in all its quibbling ferocity, was a familiar ornament of the Graeco-Roman schoolroom. Eusebius and his readers were prepared to apply the same methods to Scripture." p. 37.

[142]This is well illustrated in his *Preparatio Evangelica* which together with his *Demonstratio* has been called, "The most systematic and comprehensive of the many apologetic works of Christian antiquity." So writes Edwin Hamilton Gifford in the preface of his translation of the *Preparation for the Gospel* Part 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1903).

[143]Footnote 1, p. 434. "Eusebius' Principles in Handling His Sources," *Studia Patristica* VI (1961).

unified content and message of the four Gospels.[144] Rejected are the methods of Tatian and Ammonius because of their radical treatment of canonical Scripture. The most appropriate means for illustrating the Gospel unity (his apologetic goal) without corrupting the Gospels themselves (his canonical necessity) was the *marginalia* system.

In a noteworthy article concerning the importance of the Vulgate for reviewing the *Eusebian Canons*, Walter Thiele proposes that Eusebius produced his system by first comparing Matthew with Luke.[145] This is based on four arguments. The first notes the order of presentation of Mark and Luke in canon tables III, IV, V, VI, and VIII.[146] The next three arguments give examples where Eusebius brings together passages in Matthew and Luke while overlooking the

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[144]"So that you may know the individual passages of each evangelist, in which they were led to speak truthfully on the same subject, with the whole context and order of the other three still preserved, I have taken my point of departure from the work of the man already mentioned, but proceeded by a different method, and have produced canons for you." Barnes, p. 121.

[145]"Beobachtungen zu den eusebianischen Sektionen und Kanones der Evangelien," *Zeitschrift für Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der Älteren Kirche*, 72, No. 1/2 (1981): 100-111.

[146]In these canons priority seems to be given to Matthew's relationship to Luke. This is most evident in canon VIII where Luke is listed before Mark. Still Thiele rightly notes that in canons one and two Mark precedes Luke.

parallels in Mark. While this is an excellent theory it is not without its problems.

This is illustrated by one of the examples found in McArthur's article from canon III where Eusebius has properly divided a section of Mt into two portions (111 and 112) in order to make them correspond correctly with eleven passages in John's Gospel (30, 114, 148, and 8, 44, 61, 76, 87, 90, 142, and 154 respectively). But he failed to divide the passage in Luke despite the fact that its wording was almost exactly the same as Matthew's. Following Thiele's line of argumentation this would mean that Eusebius had first compared Matthew and John and then neglected to make the proper adjustment in Luke.[147] While the theory that Eusebius produced this system by comparing Matthew and Luke remains workable, it perhaps does not explain every feature of the canons as they presently exist.

A few other peculiarities have surfaced within the system. McArthur notes rightly that Eusebius unnecessarily divides sections 67/68 and 163/164 in canon X of Luke.

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[147]McArthur has argued that Eusebius was least familiar with Luke's Gospel and attributed a number of other errors to this supposition. It should be remembered that Eusebius frequently, yet apparently unconsciously, departed from his methodology. The reason is obvious: the tremendous amount of work involved in preparing this system or any comprehensive comparison of the Gospels.

Since both belong to the same canon and are directly beside one another, they should be joined into one section. However, he fails to note that the same phenomena are present in John 80/81 of canon X and more surprisingly in canon II, at the sections of Mt 225/Mk 134/Lk 245 beside Mt 226/Mk 133/Lk 244, Mt 258/Mk 150/Lk 257 beside Mt 259/Mk 151/Lk 258, and again Mt 353/Mk 232/Lk 337 beside Mt 354/Mk 233/Lk 338! What happened here? According to Eusebius' normal practice there is no good reason for dividing these passages.[148]

Apparently some form of separation had already been imposed upon the Gospels preceding the final divisions provided by Eusebius. These `useless' divisions may go back to Ammonius or be the product of Eusebius' reworking of that

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[148]A similar phenomenon occurs in canon II, sections of Mt 71/Mk 21/Lk 38 beside Mt 72/Mk 22/Lk 39; Mt 194/Mk 108/Lk 219 beside Mt 195/Mk 109/Lk 220; Mt 242/Mk 137/Lk 248 beside Mt 243/Mk 138/Lk 249; Mt 248/Mk 143/Lk 253 beside Mt 249/Mk 144/Lk 254; and in canon V, sections of Mt 266/Lk 157 beside Mt 267/Lk 158. But these are explainable because either the preceding or following set of numbers show that Eusebius divided these pericopes in order to show that one of them could form another parallel with another passage in Luke. For example in canon II, Mt 72/Mk 22 are given twice. First as parallel to Lk 39 and secondly as parallel to Lk 186. Thus these passages were divided from Mt 71/Mk 21 in order to permit this double parallel with Luke. One could also note that the parallels for Mt 225 and 226 of canon two are in reverse order (Mk 134/Lk 245 beside Mk 133/Lk 244) in order to show that the order of these pericopes is inverted from that of Matthew.

system. Perhaps some measure of division was made between passages on the basis of sense before they were associated with one another through the canons and these few examples were missed in the final editing. Perhaps Eusebius thought that there were parallel passages for either the first or second set of sections but after failing to find them, simply included them without reuniting them. There is not as yet a clear explanation as to how such divisions came about.

A further problem with the letter *Ad Carpianum* concerns its date. However, internal testimony may provide some boundaries. Apart from St. Jerome, only Eusebius among the ancient writers makes clear that he knows both Ammonius the philosopher and a Christian Ammonius who composed the *Gospel Harmony*. It has been stated above that he never equates the two writers. This may have been due to the time of his writing the letter.[149] It is generally agreed that the sixth

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[149]Barnes says, "The concordance to the Gospels cannot be dated with any confidence. But it may belong to Eusebius' youth, for the canons boldly omitted the spurious last twelve verses of Mark; later in life Eusebius was more disposed to accept the idea that nothing transmitted in the Gospels should be totally rejected." p. 122. Footnote 125 directs the reader to Eusebius' *Quaestiones ad Marinum* 1,1 [c. 320] where he notes that Mark 16:9-20 is absent from most manuscripts yet one must use caution in judging whether such a reading is valid or not. See PG Vol. 22, pp. 937-940. However, an entry in the Family 1 manuscripts and

book of the *History* was composed prior to 303.[150] Eusebius' main apologetic works, many of which deal with matters of Gospel harmony, date after this, somewhere between 311 and 320. Thus it is not surprising that the *Gospel Canons* are not attributed to Ammonius in the *History*. Eusebius' interest in them would have come at a later date, at the time of his composing the apologies.

A comment from G. A. Robbins provides a date after which the *Eusebian Canons* are not likely to have been written,

> . . . it is tempting to speculate that the popularity of the sections and canons in the following centuries may have been due to the fact that Eusebius provided

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others note after verse 8 that, "In certain of the copies the Gospel is completed here up to this point as also Eusebius Pamphilius canonized; but in many others this [passage] is present." Nestle-Aland, p. 148. Bruce Metzger writes, ". . . furthermore Eusebius and Jerome attest that the passage was absent from almost all Greek copies of Mark known to them." *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* (Stuttgart: United Bible Society, 1971) p. 123. See Also Aland-Aland *The Text of the New Testament* trans. by E. F. Rhodes (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987) p. 287. Eusebius' caution is proper and noted yet does not necessitate that he acted in youthful recklessness in excluding this pericope from his canons. Perhaps they were not attested in his exemplar, his copy of Ammonius' work. The omission of these verses is no firm basis for dating the work.

[150]See the EEC pp. 299-300. Also QP, pp. 314-315; 329-332 and Wallace-Hadrill, chapter II. Pages 57 and 58 provide a helpful summary of Eusebius' writings and their possible dates.

> those [fifty] imperial copies with his own well-known apparatus. Carl NordenfaLk is certainly willing to entertain such speculation. Although his is more interested in medieval book decoration and, in particular, the way in which the Eusebian sections and canons were decorated in ancient manuscripts, he is convinced that the prototypes are early, going back to the fourth century and, perhaps, to Eusebius himself.[151]

Bruce Metzger assigns the date of these manuscripts, described in *The Life of Constantine* IV, 36, as 331.[152] It is a tempting hypothesis that the Carpianus to whom Eusebius addresses his letter concerning the canon system was the director of the scribes or someone connected with the emperor at Constantinople who received this shipment of fifty manuscripts. Such a hypothesis would fit well the above suggestion of Robbins, implying a *terminus post quem* of about 320 (the approximate time of completion for the *Gospel Questions*, the *Preparatio*, and *Demonstratio*)[153] and a *terminus ante quem* around 331.

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[151]"`Fifty Copies of the Sacred Writings': Entire Bibles or Gospel Books?" *Studia Patristica*, ed. by E. Livingstone, 19 (1989): 96.

[152]*The Text of the New Testament* 2nd. ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968) p. 7.

[153]This is also the date suggested by John W. Burgon, p. 295.

2.2.4. The Language of the Alexandrian Tradition of Gospel Harmony

At the beginning of chapter one, the basic terminology of the Greek doctrine of harmony was set forth. This same vocabulary was used by the Alexandrians in describing the relationship between the four Gospels. There is likewise a common description in methodology between Ammonius, Origen, and Eusebius.

Eusebius tells us that Ammonius placed the pericopes alongside of Matthew and uses the term παρατίθημι, a word used by Origen in the description of his approach. Both also use the word παραπλήσια to describe the similar sayings between the Gospels. Origen is fond of the term ὅμοιας and Eusebius uses ὁμόφωνος. However, the most striking similarity between them is the use of the words διὰ τεσσάρων.[154] Origen says in book 5,

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[154]Theodor Zahn had already noted the common use of the words διὰ τεσσάρων though he does not notice the similarity in methodology between the work of Ammonius as described by Eusebius and that of Origen, "Es bedarf nur des Hinweises auf die Worte τὸ διὰ τεσσάρων καταλέλοιπεν εὐαγγέλιον, um zu beweisen, daß das nicht heißt, Amm. habe ein Buch verfaßt, welches man ein Diatessaron nennen könnte, daß vielmehr Eusebius ein mit diesem Titel versehenes, also doch wohl vom Verfaßer selbst so betiteltes Werk in der Hand gehabt hat. Daraus folgt aber auch, daß Amm. seinem Werk diesen Titel nicht ohne Bezug auf die Evangelienharmonie gegeben hat, die etwa 100 Jahre früher der Syrer Tatian unter demselben Titel seiner Heimatkirche geschenkt hatte. So originelle Titel wie dieser werden nicht zweimal erfunden

> In addition, I will add an apostolic saying to this demonstration which has not been understood by Marcion's followers. As a consequence, they reject the Gospel. For when the Apostle says, "According to my gospel in Christ Jesus," and does not say "gospels," they fix their attention on this point and say that the Apostle said "gospel" in the singular because there were not any more gospels. They do not understand that as he is one whom the many preach so the gospel recorded by the many is one in power, and there is truly one gospel through the four (καὶ τὸ ἀληθῶς διὰ τεσσάρων ἓν ἐστιν εὐαγγέλιον).[155]

Origen uses this phrase for the harmony of the four Gospels over against the accusations of Marcion. It appears in other Greek Fathers as well, as a description of Tatian's harmony. The earliest use is by Eusebius, though he attributes the title `*Diatessaron*' to Tatian himself.[156] The following is a list of the uses of διὰ τεσσάρων with εὐαγγέλιον.

> Eusebius - (c. 303) Tatian produced a composite work by somehow combining the gospels, and called it the *Diatessaron*: some people still possess copies.[157]

. . . . In der Tat sagt Origenes vielmehr im Gegensatz zu einem fälschlich so genannten Diatessaron, daß das jenige Diatessaron, welchem dieser Name mit beßerem Recht zukomme, d. h. die vier kanonischen Evangelien, doch nur ein einziges Evangelium sei." p. 5

[155]OrCJ Book 5, 7, pp. 165-166.

[156]The τὸ in Eusebius' description begs for the word εὐαγγέλιον but he has not supplied it. This would make the phrase read exactly the same as that of Origen.

[157]EuHE 4:29, p. 190.

> Ammonius the Alexandrine . . . has left us the fourfold Gospel, placing the corresponding passages of the other evangelists beside the Gospel of Matthew . . .[158]
> Epiphanius - (c. 376) He [Tatian] is said to be the author of the *Diatessaron*, which some call the Gospel According to the Hebrews; This is one [Gospel] throughout the four Gospels and the apostles - to shame Marcion . . . ; But let us see through the four Gospels (throughout which the divine Logos came and built the whole of our life) whether the Christ had said, "God made me" or "the Father made me." Let us also see if the Father plainly declared in one of the Gospels that "I made the Son and I have sent [Him] to you."[159]
> Theodoret - [c. 453] This man [Tatian] also constructed the *Diatessaron* Gospel, and the genealogy pericope, and whatsoever things show the Lord having been born out of the seed of David according to the flesh.[160]

There are two notable applications of the phrase διὰ τεσσάρων in the writings of Eusebius: as the elements of the cosmos and as the four Hebrew letters which compose the name Yahweh, the Creator of the cosmos.[161] Διὰ τεσσάρων is

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[158]Barnes, p. 121.

[159]*The Panarion of Epiphanius of Salamis Book I* trans. by Frank Williams (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1987) the first reading is 46:1, 9; the second is 42:12, 3 refut. 21-24; the third is 64:9, 1.

[160]*Haereses Fabulorum Compendiorum* 1:20 in Theodoreti Cyrensis Episcopi *Opera Omnia* ed. Jacobi Sirmondi in PG Vol. 83, p. 372. The Greek text reads, "Οὗτος καὶ τὸ διὰ τεσσάρων καλούμενον συντέθεικεν Εὐαγγέλιον, τάς τε γενεαλογίας περικόψας, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὅσα ἐκ σπέρματος Δαβὶδ κατὰ σάρκα γεγεννημένον τὸν Κύριον δείκνυσιν."

[161]Gifford *Preparation for the Gospel* XIII,13, p. 677b; XI,4, p. 519d; XI,14, p. 532b; *The Proof of the Gospel* ed. and trans. by W. J. Ferrar (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1981 reprint) V,3, p. 220b; V,11, p. 237c; *Eclogae Propheticae PG* Vol. 22, I, p.1025, 1029.

also a common musical term for the "perfect fourth" from which is formed the tetrachord, the basis of all Greek musical theory.[162] By means of analogical thinking, all of these different uses come together in Eusebius' quotation of an anonymous poem,

> Seven vowels tell My Name, - the Mighty God,
> The everlasting Father of mankind:
> The immortal lyre am I, that guides the world,
> And leads the music of the circling spheres.[163]

This describes the use of the seven vowels of the Greek alphabet [αεηιουω] for the divine name Yahweh. The connection is with the Hebrew tetragrammaton, composed διὰ τεσσάρων στοιχείων (through four letters).[164] But the

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[162]"To understand the term genus in the context of Greek music we must know that their basic group of intervals was the tetrachord, that is, a group of four notes the highest and lowest of which were a perfect fourth apart. This interval is a critical one in all musical systems, and it is practically certain that the Greeks received the tetrachord organization from some Eastern source." Donald Jay Grout *A History of Western Music* revised ed. (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc, 1973) p. 27. By joining two tetrachords the octave scale was created. "The astronomical firmament was pictured in the Music of the Spheres, from whose revolutions was emitted a scale of tetrachords, each divided by two 9:8 tones with the leimma, or `remnant,' of the perfect fourth." *Ancient and Oriental Music* ed. by Egon Wellesz in *New Oxford History of Music* Vol. 1 (London: Oxford University Press, 1957) p. 341.

[163]EuPE XI, 6. Gifford, p. 520a.

[164]See the entry on ιαώ in G. W. H. Lampe's *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961) p. 662. Adolf Deissmann discusses an inscription which gives seven

universe which Yahweh created is also διὰ τεσσάρων στοιχείων, composed through the four basic elements (water, earth, air, and fire). Likewise Yahweh is "the immortal lyre," a four-stringed instrument which is tuned διὰ τεσσάρων, that is, in the perfect fourth which forms the tetrachord.[165]

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different spellings using the consecutive order of the seven vowels which are associated with the seven archangels. Some of these, when pronounced, sound like the name Yahweh. *Light from the Ancient East* trans. by Lionel R. M. Strachan (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1927) appendix IX. Another possible reason for associating the seven vowels with the divine name could be that the four Hebrew letters which form יהוה are `mater' or vocalic letters. H. I. Marrou comments in his work *A History of Education in Antiquity* trans. by George Lamb (London: Sheed and Ward, 1956), "As samples of this religious awe, the historian will note with interest the strange belief that the letters of the alphabet were symbolic of the `cosmic elements', the seven vowels being associated with the seven notes of the scale and the seven angels presiding over the seven planets; they were thus used to make charms and amulets, for since they had the marvelous power to reveal man's thoughts they must be full of a mysterious magic potency." p. 151.

[165]The question remains, about whom was this Greek poem initially written? A likely candidate is the god Apollo [Sol, Helios] who has connections with the sacred number seven and is often depicted as playing a lyre - the instrument of harmony. OCD pp. 81-82. This presents a fascinating iconographic and historical association. A number of early Christian depictions of Christ use the imagery of Apollo driving the four horses of his chariot. This is particularly well illustrated by the Constantinian basilica of St. Peter in the Vatican. ". . . the vault decoration consists of interlacing vine-shoots with, in the centre, the figure of Christ who has the attributes of Apollo, a quadriga and horses. Seven rays light up the nimbused head of this symbolic image, in obvious allusion to

That this type of association was applied by Eusebius to the four Gospels is seen in his discussion of the books

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Christ `light of the world.'" André Grabar *The Beginnings of Christian Art: 200-395* trans. by Stuart Gilbert and James Emmons (Thames and Hudson, 1967) p. 80. Further descriptions of this mosaic are found in Jocelyn Toynbee and John Ward Perkins *The Shrine of St. Peter and the Vatican Excavation* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1956) pp. 72 and 116. Perhaps the seven rays of light could be associated with the seven planets and the four horses with the four seasons driven by the sun. Eusebius uses this Apollonic imagery in the *In Praise of Constantine* III, "Meanwhile, as the light of the sun shines upon settlers in the most remote lands by the rays sent off from itself into the distance, so too does he [Constantine] assign, like beacons and lamps of the brilliance emanating from himself, this son here to us who inhabit the East, an offspring worthy of himself; and another of his sons to the division of mankind, and yet another elsewhere. Thus, having yoked the four valiant Caesars like colts beneath the single yoke of the Imperial chariot, he controls them with the reins of holy harmony and concord [συμφωνίας τε καὶ ὁμονοίας ἁρμοσάμενος]. Holding the reins high above them, he rides along, traversing all lands alike that the sun gazes upon, himself present everywhere and watching over everything." *In Praise of Constantine: A Historical Study and New Translation of Eusebius' Tricennial Orations* by H. A. Drake (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976) p. 87. See also pp. 73-74. Glen F. Chesnut notes, " Constantine's religion shortly after the battle of the Milvian bridge seems to have been some sort of crude mixture of sun worship and partially understood Christian monotheism . . . . One must also not forget that the vision just before the battle of the Milvian bridge had hardly been Constantine's first such experience. Only two years previously, in 310, there had been a vision of Apollo, that is, of the Unconquered Sun, which Constantine had immediately celebrated on the coins he minted." In the 2nd ed. (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1986) pp. 171 and 173. It would appear that the Greek doctrine of harmony was important not only for Eusebius but also for the Emperor and could have served as common ground in discussions of theology.

of the New Testament in the *History* 3:25 where he begins with τὴν ἁγίαν τῶν εὐαγγελίων τετρακτύν, "The holy tetractus of the Gospels." Also Carl Nordenfalk explains the tetractus in relation to the ten tables of the *Eusebian Canons*.

> The hidden reason for limiting the Canons to ten must have been the particular significance attached in ancient numerology to that figure. Just as according to St. Irenaeus there had to be four Gospels, neither more nor less, because the number four conformed to the cardinal points of the Universe, so the Canon Tables attained a similar degree of perfection by being ten. Since Pythagoras, the numbers "four" and "ten" had been considered to be mutually connected by mathematical laws....The restriction of the Canon Tables to ten thus made them particularly well suited to be a "harmony" of the life and teaching of Jesus Christ.[166]

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[166]"Canon Tables on Papyrus," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* No. 36 (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1982) pp. 29-30. He adds illustrations from *The Oration of Eusebius* VI, 5 and 15 which are provided here with more context, "For first of all he framed in it formless matter, as a substance capable of receiving all forms. He next, by the power of the number two, imparted quality to matter, and gave beauty to that which before was void of all grace. Again, by means of the number three, he framed a body compounded of matter and form, and presenting the three dimensions of breadth, and length, and depth. Then, from the doubling of the number two, he devised the quaternion of the elements [τὴν τῶν στοιχείων τετρακτὺν], earth, water, air, and fire, and ordained them to be everlasting sources for the supply of this universe. Again, the number four produces the number ten. For the aggregate of one, and two, and three, and four, is ten . . . . Again, the number ten, which contains the end of all numbers, and terminates them in itself, may truly be called a full and perfect number, as comprehending every species and every measure of numbers, proportions, concords [συμφωνιῶν], and harmonies [ἁρμονιῶν]." NPNCF Series 2, Vol. 1, pp. 587 and

Thus, according to Nordenfalk, the harmonious music of the spheres could serve as a paradigm for Gospel harmony, a doctrine which would be confirmed for Eusebius by his reading of Origen's *Commentary on John* already mentioned above in chapter one, "Now, in my opinion, there are four Gospels, as though they were the elements of the faith of the Church."[167]

Στοιχεῖα is especially frequent in the *Preparatio* because of the numerous quotations from Greek philosophers. It is commonly followed by the terms κόσμου and καθόλου. And following the lead of Philo, Eusebius affirms the creation of the four basic elements by Yahweh,

> Naturally therefore will neither all earth be dissolved by all water which its bosom contains, nor will fire be extinguished by air, nor on the other hand will air be burnt up by fire since the divine Word sets Himself as a boundary of the elements, like a vowel between consonants, in order that the universe may be harmonious as in the case of music expressed in writing, since He by the persuasion of his concurrence mediates and reconciles the threatenings of the adverse elements.[168]

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589. The Greek is supplied from GCS Vol. 7.

[167]pp. 36-37.

[168]Gifford EuPE VII, 13, p. 323cd. In *De Ecclesia Theologia* III, 2, 25 Eusebius writes, "For Moses on the one hand in the creation account of the supramundane and unseen powers [does] not even [give] one record of its having been made on account of the incomplete[ness] of the things being guided through it, but while passing through the

Unlike Origen, Eusebius never makes explicit the analogy between the four Gospels and the four basic elements of the world. Yet a study of his use of the term στοιχεῖα shows how important the word was for his doctrine of cosmic harmony from which other terms are borrowed and applied to the Gospel.

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introduction of the visible world, having recorded the four elements in the beginning, heaven and earth and abyss and water, and on the one hand having mentioned that two had been made by God (`in the beginning' for he says `God created the heaven and the earth'), on the other hand no longer in the same manner [does he] make a record concerning the water and the abyss so that accordingly these things also exist, simply having mentioned that `and darkness was upon the abyss; and the Spirit of God bore himself upon the water,' unknowingly through the setting forth of these things the Son of God teaches also through them that they might also exist so that He also might be before all things and He made all things through Him." The Greek text reads, Μωσέως γὰρ ἐν τῇ κοσμοποίᾳ τῶν μὲν ὑπερκοσμίων καὶ ἀφανῶν δυνάμεων μηδεμίαν μνήμην πεποιημένου διὰ τὸ ἀτελὲς τῶν δι' αὐτοῦ παιδαγωγουμένων, τοῦ δὲ ὁρατοῦ κόσμου τὴν σύστασιν διεξελθόντος, τεττάρων τε στοιχείων ἐν ἀρχῇ μνημονεύσαντος, οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς καὶ ἀβύσσου καὶ ὕδατος, καὶ δύο μὲν πεποιῆσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ εἰρηκότος ("ἐν ἀρχῇ" γάρ φησιν "ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν"), οὐκέτι δὲ ὁμοίως καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ὕδατος καὶ τῆς ἀβύσσου μνησθέντος ὡς ἄρα εἴη καὶ ταῦτα γενητά, ἀλλ' ἁπλῶς εἰρηκότος "καὶ σκότος ἐπάνω τῆς ἀβύσσου· καὶ πνεῦμα θεοῦ ἐπεφέρετο ἐπάνω τοῦ ὕδατος", ἀναγκαίως διὰ τῶν προκειμένων διδάσκει καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ὅτι τε γενητά εἴη καὶ ὡς αὐτὸς πρὸ πάντων εἴη καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ τὰ πάντα πεποίητο." *Eusebius Werke*, 4 Erich Klostermann ed. in GCS Vol. 14, pp. 143-144.

One such term for cosmic harmony is συμφώνος. It is used twice in the *History* for Africanus' letter concerning the genealogies of Matthew and Luke.

> Book 1, 7 - This is to be found in a letter which Africanus, to whom I referred a little while back, wrote to Aristides on the harmony of the gospel genealogies.
> Book 6, 31 - In it he demonstrates the harmony of the evangelists most convincingly, from an account which has come down to him . . . .[169]

This is also the word used in the title of Ammonius' work *The Harmony of Moses and Jesus*.[170] It finds wide application in his other works with the usual variety of meaning found in Greek literature. Special significance is ascribed to it as a theological term in his apology *Contra Marcellum*, being employed by those with Arian tendencies for the relationship between the members of the Trinity.[171]

The cognate term ὁμοφώνος is used eleven times by Eusebius and is most important because of its occurrence in the letter *Ad Carpianum*.[172] It essentially means to speak

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[169]pp. 53 and 269.

[170]EuHE p. 259.

[171]For references see p. 1293 of Lampe.

[172]EuPE Book I, 7, p. 21a; III, 10, p. 107b; VIII, 14, p. 400; and IX, 15, p. 416d. EuDE Book III, 4 and VII, 2. *Onomasticon* 40, 15. *Vita Constantini* 3, 4. *Commentary on Psalms* PG 23, p. 1173. *De Solemnitate Paschali* PG 24, p. 700.

the same language and this comes to signify agreement. In application to the Gospels it could bear the sense of `same words' or simply points of agreement.

'Αρμονία is the work of Jesus Himself in His participation in the creation of the world. Eusebius explains this in the *Demonstratio* IV, 13.

> Did He not ever and everywhere reach through the matter of the elements and of bodies themselves, as being the creative Word of God, and imprint the words of His own wisdom upon them, impressing life on the lifeless, form on that which is formless and shapeless by nature, stamping His own beauty and unembodied ideas on the qualities of matter, moving things by their own nature lifeless and immovable, earth, air, fire, in a wise and harmonious motion, ordering all things out of disorder, increasing and perfecting them, pervading all things with the divine power of reason, extending through all places and touching all, but yet receiving hurt from naught, nor defiled in His own nature.[173]

The presence of the Logos means harmony. It would be very difficult for Eusebius to think of the Gospels as anything but harmonious since Christ was their main character and content.

The goal of this chapter has been twofold: 1) To determine what can be known about the views of Gospel harmony in Ammonius, Origen, and Eusebius and 2) To compare these methods to one another to see whether they are related. There is a strong resemblance between the

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[173]EuDE, p. 188.

methodology and vocabulary of Origen in studying the Gospels in his commentaries on Matthew and John and Eusebius' description of the harmony of Ammonius. While it is possible that the similarities in method may be the result of the similar content of the Gospels themselves, it is difficult to attribute such strong resemblance to this factor alone. This is particularly so when one considers the chronological and geographical proximity of Ammonius and Origen to one another, both stemming from Alexandria during the same era. Other early studies of the relationship between the Gospels bear a starkly different character, Tatian having melded the four together, and Julius Africanus (a contemporary and correspondent with Origen) having limited himself to a particular problem, the genealogies of Matthew and Luke. The Alexandrians and their successor, Eusebius, permit all four Gospels to speak independently while relating their similar pericopes according to the outline of Matthew.

Connected with this matter is the whole question of just who was Ammonius. As noted above, one could posit several men named Ammonius but only with great difficulty. All the ancient witnesses agree that he lived in Alexandria at about the same time. All describe him as harmonizing,

whether it be the Gospels, the teachings of Moses and Jesus, or of Plato and Aristotle. Both Plotinus and Eusebius agree that Ammonius was a Christian of great philosophical learning who taught Origen, though they cannot agree on whether he remained a Christian all his life. And finally Jerome, by no means ignorant of church history, Origen's writings, or philosophy, declared that they are the same person, the common name, home, time, and labor belong to one man.

Unfortunately, Origen does not describe his master in any of his extant writings, nor does he attribute the synoptic study upon which he bases his comparison of the Gospels in the commentaries to another author. However, this should not be thought unusual. Early Christian authors often borrowed from one another without declaring their sources.[174] For example, Eusebius borrowed from the *Chronicles* of Julius Africanus without admitting his dependence.[175] Ambrose relied on Didymus the Blind for his

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[174]Writing on Origen's hermeneutic, W. A. Bienert notes, "Obwohl Origens an keiner Stelle seines erhalten Werkes Clemens namentlich erwähnt, zeigt er sich doch weithin von ihm abhängig." In " *"Allegoria" und "Anagoge" bei Didymos dem Blinden von Alexandria* aus *Patristische Texte und Studien,* K. Aland und W. Schneemelcher eds., 13 (Berlin: Walter DeGruyter, 1972): 55.

[175]"Moreover, at the beginning of the third century, Julius Africanus based his *Chronicles*, which represent the

work *De Spiritu Sancto.*[176] Augustine may have used Eusebius' canon system for his *De Consensu Evangelistarum* but never gave him credit.[177] We have already heard from Porphyry that some of the private works of Ammonius were in circulation and Nemesius of Emesa confirms the existence of such sources by appealing to arguments of Ammonius specifically. It is not unthinkable that Ammonius had prepared his harmony for private use and made it available to his students.

Ultimately one must speak in terms of historic probability since the sources do not provide as complete a

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first synchronistic history of the world, on the same principles. There is no doubt that Eusebius found his model and a large part of his material in Africanus, even though he does not say so." QP Vol. 3, p. 312.

[176]"This treatise, which was completed by Ambrose in 381 and dedicated to Gratian, continues the instruction begun in the *De fide.* The demonstration of the divinity of the Holy Spirit and his place in the Trinity is supported by scriptural citations. Ambrose follows closely the similarly titled work of Didymus of Alexandria, and keeps also in mind the Περὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος and the *Adversus Eunomium Liber* III of Basil and the *Epistulae ad Serapionem* I and IV of Athanasius." QP Vol. 4, pp. 169-170.

[177]"Something other again is Augustine's attempt - clearly with the aid of Eusebius' Canons - to determine the agreement, not equally strong, of the individual Evangelists with each of the other three, and to draw conclusions as to their mutual dependence." Heinrich Greeven "The Gospel Synopsis from 1776 to the Present Day," *J. J. Griesbach: Synoptic and Text-critical Studies, 1776-1976* ed. by Bernard Orchard and Thomas R. W. Longstaff (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978) p. 23.

picture of the relationship between Ammonius and Origen and their labors as is necessary. It can be said with reasonable certainty that Origen had in his possession a synoptic source or a comparative study of the four Gospels which he employed in the production of his commentaries. Whether this source was the work of Ammonius, whom Eusebius describes in *Ad Carpianum*, can not be stated definitely. However, the similarity between the method of the two men at least points toward an Alexandrian tradition of synoptic study of which the Caesarean school and its greatest student were the successors.

The purpose of Eusebius in his production of the canon system, though variously interpreted in the past, can be safely said to provide a harmony of the Gospels through the Synoptic *Gattung*. The extensive use that Eusebius makes of Greek philosophical terms and notions of cosmic harmony demonstrate his interest in harmonistic thought and the *Gospel Questions* demonstrate his Historically Harmonizing approach (in contrast to the Alexandrian School of interpretation).

Most notable is his use of the phrase διὰ τεσσάρων in describing the work of both Tatian and Ammonius. The same phrase also occurs in Origen's *Commentary on John* and

conforms thoroughly with both early Catholic analogies of Gospel unity and Greek cosmological/musical language. Through the ingenious efforts of the "Father of Church History," this melodious doctrine flowed through the margins of Gospel books and the minds of the faithful for more than a millennium, guarding their sacred text and guiding their contemplation.

CHAPTER 3

THE HISTORIC USE OF THE EUSEBIAN CANONS IN MANUSCRIPTS AND PRINTED EDITIONS

3.1. THE GREEK TRADITION OF USING THE EUSEBIAN SYSTEM

In his letter *Ad Carpianum*, Eusebius provides some indication of how the marginal notes of his system would be scribed in the manuscripts.

> This then is the underlying purpose of the following canons; their clear application is as follows: Before each section of the four Gospels stands a number in the margin, beginning with the first, then the second and third, and proceeding in order throughout until the end of the books. And underneath each number is marked a note in red [κινναβάρεως], indicating in which of the ten canons the number occurs.[178]

The section numbers ran consecutively down the margin of the manuscript and were parallel to the beginning of the passage they represented. Beneath the section numbers appeared a red canon number, referencing the tables at the beginning of the Gospel book.

The purpose of this chapter is to explore the various ways in which the Eusebian *marginalia* were presented by scribes in the various manuscript traditions as well as how

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[178]Barnes, p. 121.

they were understood and used by exegetes. The paleography and iconography of the canon tables will not be treated extensively, since they have already been very carefully studied by Carl Nordenfalk and others.[179]

3.1.1. Presentation in Greek Manuscripts

3.1.1.1. Original Design of Eusebius

It can be seen from Eusebius' description that placement of the *marginalia* was to correspond with the head of its section in such a way that the reader could readily tell where the beginning of the section lay, and where it ended (based on the location of the next number). The placement could be made in several ways. Since the text of early Gospel books is usually written continuously, without breaks between words, and because the beginning of most sections corresponds with an enlarged letter or one which extends into the left hand margin of the manuscript, the section number could either be on the same line as the beginning of the section or one line below it.

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[179]*Die spätantiken Kanontafeln: Kunstgeschichtliche Studien über die Eusebianische Evangelien-Konkordanz in den ersten vier Jahrhunderten ihrer Geschichte* (Göteborg, 1938). S. Grébaut "Les dix canons d'Eusèbe et d'Ammonius," in *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* (1913).

The two basic formats for marking the beginning of sections can be illustrated from Codices Sinaiticus and Alexandrinus. In Sinaiticus the text is written with *initia* (a capital letter which extends into the margin and may be illustrated or of a different color from the rest of the text) and punctuation as follows:

ΣΝ ΠΡΟΣΕΥΧΕΣΘΕΔΕΙΝΑ
5 ΜΗΓΕΝΗΤΑΙΗΦΥ
ΓΗΥΜΩΝΧΙΜΩ
ΝΟΣΜΗΔΕΣΑΒΒΑ
ΤΩ
ΣΝΑ ΕΣΤΕΓΑΡΤΟΤΕΘΛΙΨΙΣ
Β ΜΕΓΑΛΗΟΙΑΟΥΚΕΓΕ
ΝΕΤΟΑΠΑΡΧΗΣΚΟ
ΣΜΟΥΕΩΣΤΟΥΝΥ
ΟΥΔΟΥΜΗΓΕΝΗΤΕ
ΣΝΒ ΚΑΙΕΙΜΗΕΚΟΛΟΒΩ
5 ΘΗΣΑΝΑΙΗΜΕΡΑΙΕ
ΚΙΝΑΙΟΥΚΑΝΕΣΩ
ΘΗΠΑΣΑΣΑΡΞΔΙΑΔΕ
ΤΟΥΣΕΚΛΕΚΤΟΥΣΕΚΟ
ΛΟΒΩΘΗΣΑΝΛΑΙΗ
ΜΕΡΑΙΕΚΙΝΑΙ
ΣΝΓ ΤΟΤΕΕΑΝΤΙΣΥΜΙΝ
Γ ΕΙΠΗΙΔΟΥΩΔΕΟΧΣ
ΗΩΔΕΜΗΠΙΣΤΕΥΣΗ
ΣΝΔ ΤΕ·ΕΓΕΡΘΗΣΟΝΤΑΙ
5 ΓΑΡΨΕΥΔΟΧΡΙΣΤΟΙ

This is roughly how sections 250-254 appear in the margin of the Gospel according to St. Matthew.[180] They illustrate four

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[180]For the text itself see *Codex Sinaiticus Petropolitanus: The New Testament, the Epistle of Barnabas, and the Shepherd of Hermas* ed. by Helen and Kirsopp Lake (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911) *verso folio* 14. It was not

different ways in which a section of text begins in this manuscript. 1) Note that the first letter of the first line extends slightly into the left margin. This was one way of physically showing the beginning of a section. 2) The line break before the beginning of 251 makes it plain where this next section begins, therefore, there is no *initium* (the same is true for section 253). 3) Number 252 corresponds to the line beginning with καὶ, showing that this is the first word of the next section. 4) 254 has a small colon written before its first word (in the manuscript the colon is placed between and above the two letters) marking its inception.

The second basic approach is illustrated by the text of Alexandrinus at Matthew 26.

ΤΙΑ ΤΟΤΕΟΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΥΣΔΙΕΡΡΗΞΕΝΤΑ
5 ΙΜΑΤΙΑΑΥΤΟΥΛΕΓΩΝΟΤΙΕΒΛΑΣ
ΦΗΜΗΣΕΝΤΙΕΤΙΧΡΕΙΑΝΕΧΟ
ΜΕΝΜΑΡΤΥΡΩΝ ΙΔΕΝΥΝ
ΤΙΒ ΗΚΟΥΣΑΤΕΤΗΝΒΛΑΣΦΗΜΕΙΑΝ
Β ΑΥΤΟΥΤΙΥΜΙΝΔΟΚΕΙ

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possible to illustrate some features of the manuscript such as the inclusion of small letters above the lines by the correctors. The arabic numberal `5' corresponds to the Greek numeral `6' in appearance.

Number 311 has the *initium* extended into the left margin as was seen in Sinaiticus above.[181] But section 312 begins at the line break on the line above the one corresponding to the section number (at ἴδε νῦν . . .). This way of marking the divisions between sections becomes very common and is perhaps the most frequent method used in later manuscripts.

It has been argued that Codex Sinaiticus is the oldest extant example of the Eusebian system. This conclusion depends on whether or not the marginal notes were scribed contemporaneously with the text of Sinaiticus or were added at a later time. In response to Tischendorf's claim that this codex was (at that time) the most ancient text of the Gospels,[182] John Burgon argued that it could not be since the chapter divisions in Vaticanus were more ancient than the system of Eusebius and that besides, the *marginalia* had

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[181]The *initia* of Alexandrinus are oversized in comparison to the letters of the text. See *The Codex Alexandrinus in Reduced Photographic Facsimile: New Testament and Clementine Epistles* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1909) verso folio 27.

[182]*Novum Testamentum Graece* Vol. I, ed. octava (Lipsiae: Giesecke & Devrient, 1869) p. IX. The history of this debate is provided by Eberhard Nestle in "Die Eusebianische Evangelien=Synopse," *Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift* Vol. 19 (1908).

"been confessedly added at a subsequent date."[183] This is, however, incorrect. The very careful study of the various scripts by H. J. M. Milne and T. C. Skeat has shown that although the *marginalia* were added in a haphazard fashion, the presence of *folia* 28 and 29 demonstrate that the scribe who wrote the marginal notes was contemporary with the production of the manuscript. This is scribe "D" to whom numerous *folia* in the book of Psalms are attributed. The Gospels were, for the most part, the work of scribe "A" and the marginal notes that of "D". But the presence of the twentyeighth and twentyninth *folia* inserted in the Gospels and from the hand of "D" makes it clear that the manuscript had received the *marginalia* prior to its final binding. Thus Sinaiticus is the oldest example of the use of the *Eusebian Canons*.[184]

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[183]"The (all but unique) sectional division of the Text of Codex B, - confessedly the oldest scheme of chapters extant, is in itself a striking note of primitiveness. The author of the Codex knew nothing, apparently, of the Eusebian method." p. 291. See also p. 294.

[184]*Scribes and Correctors of the Codex Sinaiticus* (London: British Museum, 1938). The relevant pages are 8-9 and 36-37. Figure 10 shows the distinctive "mu" of scribe "D" both in the Psalms and the marginal notes. The first 52 numbers in Matthew were apparently written by scribe "A" and then over written by "D." "The insertion of the Eusebian apparatus represents almost the last stage in the production of the manuscript. That it is subsequent to the correction of the text by the scribe himself, A, is shown by N.T. 6,

The fact that the shape of the text of Sinaiticus was not conformed to the placement of the Eusebian *marginalia*, as is the case of later manuscripts, and that they were never completely written out in the Gospel according to St. Luke are likely indications that its exemplar did not include the system. It is not entirely clear whether, when a manuscript was scribed, the *marginalia* would be added by the writer of the text as he went or were only added after the text was finished. Sinaiticus is an obvious example of their subsequent addition. However, the fact that most later manuscripts conform the shape of the text to the placement of the sections indicates that they must have been considered at the time of the writing of some texts. Once such exemplars were prepared, the addition of the *marginalia* could be held off until the text itself was completed.

A further application of this basic system of Eusebius was in conjunction with the lectionary system. That this was so can be seen from minuscule 371 in which the Eusebian *marginalia* were written first by one scribe and then later a

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where an omission made good by him in the lower margin has been furnished with the Eusebian numbering by D; and that it is also later than the revision by D can be seen from N.T. 49, where the previous marginal insertion of ϵΔωκϵν by D has slightly displaced the numeration of John 27." p. 37. Quire number 73, which was intended to contain the canon tables, was never inserted. p. 8.

second scribe came through and added the notes for the lectionary system.[185] This second scribe has also rewritten a number of the Eusebian sections when the placement of the first scribe did not correspond with the beginning of the lectionary reading. Thus it can be seen that the Eusebian *marginalia* functioned as basic versification around which the readings of the lectionary system were established.[186] This is likewise confirmed by the presence of the Eusebian *marginalia* in the eighth century Lectionary 135 where they are essentially unnecessary, being perhaps a remnant of the transition from the Gospel book with lectionary notes to a lectionary manuscript proper.[187] Just when such a transition

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[185]Manuscript (Gregory number) 371 is Vatican Library Manuscript, Greek 1159, a Gospel book dating from the 10th century.

[186]This use as versification explains why many manuscripts add the section numbers but not the canon numbers of tables - the sections continued to be valued as a reference point even after interest in the system itself had failed.

[187]The underwritten lectionary (Gregory number) 135 is Vatican Library Manuscript, Barberin. gr. 472, and the overwritten lectionary is (Gregory number) 136, dating from the twelfth century. The marginal notes can be readily discerned on folio 8 (Mk 227) and folio 13 (Jn 13). Aland-Aland comment concerning the beginning of the lectionary system, ". . . even a fourth-century date for the origin of a lectionary system is doubtful. It may be objected that lectionary manuscripts actually existed in the fourth century, but this is beside the point because these early manuscripts represent something quite different from the Byzantine lectionary system - a system which is

took place is unclear as is also the time of the coordination of the lectionary with the Eusebian system. At the very latest, as Lectionary 135 shows, they had been merged in the eighth century.

The various readings for the different feasts would be kept in a calendar/catalog at the back of the manuscript which would provide the lector with the beginning of the pericope and the Eusebian section number which marked its location. This interdependence of the two systems had potentially positive and negative effects on the *marginalia*. Once the discovery of the proper beginning for the lectionary reading had superseded the correct placement of the Eusebian *marginalia*, a great many errors could be introduced into the system since the placement of the section number would then depend on where one wanted to begin the lectionary reading. However, this interdependence could also help to preserve the placement of the *marginalia* so long as the choice of readings remained stable. This is because in such a lectionary the scribe would want to insure

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understandably although incorrectly assumed to represent the only lectionary system because it is found in some two thousand manuscripts. As the papyri and the lectionary texts prove, the church in Egypt had another lectionary. Jerusalem had its own form, as did Antioch, despite the fact that Greek manuscript traditions have not survived (in contrast to Egypt)." p. 164.

the correct placement of the corresponding lection, thereby guiding him to scribe the Eusebian *marginalia* with more care.

From the foregoing consideration of the effect of the *marginalia* on the format of the text in Gospel manuscripts and its role in the use of the lectionary, one can see the significance of this system for the Greek manuscript tradition. Exactly when it began to exercise these influences cannot be fully determined since its earliest representation is sparse. Likewise, one cannot determine exactly how Eusebius intended his system to be represented in the manuscripts, whether in the random fashion exemplified by Codex Sinaiticus or the more organized approach of Alexandrinus. At any rate the simple marginal note system first described by Eusebius in *Ad Carpianum* remained the dominant means for presenting the system.[188]

3.1.1.2. Footnoting System

At an early stage in the application of Eusebius' work was introduced a footnoting system. Any user of the

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[188]For an excellent summary of the system including a thorough listing of manuscripts which have the section numbers but not the canon numbers see Caspar René Gregory *Textkritik des Neuen Testamentes* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1909) p. 861f.

original system soon discovers the labor of having to turn many pages and marking one's place in order to find the appropriate passages. This prompted an improvement of the system which removed the necessity of turning to the front of the manuscript to read the canon tables.

The earliest example of this in Greek manuscripts is Codex Basiliensis (Gregory E, 07) dating from the eightth century. Plate VIII in Metzger's *The Text of the New Testament* provides a good view of these footnotes. Four abbreviations for the names of the Evangelists are arranged beside one another just below the text.[189] The first abbreviation (reading from left to right) would be for the particular Gospel to which the book is open. Thus if one is reading the Gospel according to St. Mark, the first footnote will be for Mark with the other Evangelists following. Beneath this first abbreviation is placed the number(s) of the section(s) which appear on that page. Parallel to these, and below their own Evangelist's abbreviation, are the corresponding section numbers which would be found in the canon tables at the beginning of the book, thus eliminating the need to turn to the front of the manuscript. Other Greek manuscripts which employ this system are uncial

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[189]The plates are at the end of this volume.

M (9th cent.), minuscule 124 (10th cent.), part of 161 (10th cent.), 262 (10th cent.), 199 (12th cent.), and 204 (13th cent.).[190]

It is apparent from the limited number of manuscripts which use this system that it did not become very popular. This may be because of the added page space it took up as well as the extra scribal work. In the Greek tradition the original format of Eusebius predominated.

3.1.2. Use by Greek Church Fathers

3.1.2.1. Epiphanius Constantiensis

In a passage of his *Ancoratus* [A.D. 174] which refutes the errors of the Arians, Epiphanius makes a passing reference to the sectional divisions of the *Eusebian Canons*.

> For if the Son is created, he is not worshiped, according to the latter reason. For it is foolish to worship creation, and to set aside the first commandment which said, "Hear O Israel, the Lord our God, the Lord is One." Therefore the holy Word is not created because He is worshiped. The disciples worshiped him, the angels worshiped Him in heaven; "And let all the angels of God worship Him," and "Let my might adore you O Lord." But one thing is necessary to speak and summarize and present without contradiction, which no one is able to speak against. If those who hate the Son of God must receive a testimony, where is it that the Father said, "I created for myself a son,"

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[190]Many of the manuscripts listed here are mentioned in a footnote by Gwilliam, p. 247. Minuscule 161 has the footnote system on the first page of the Gospel according to St. John.

> in the Old or New Testament? Or where does the Son say that, "The Father created me"? There are four Gospels, in 1162 sections, and from the beginning to the end the Son speaks, and the Father with Him, and no where does He say, "The Father created me", nor does the Father say, "I created a Son for myself", or "I created my son."[191]

Curiously, this is the same argument that Epiphanius uses a few years later in the *Panarion* [c. 376] where he invites the reader to look "through the four Gospels" for such a statement by Christ or the Father.[192]

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[191]The Greek text reads, "Εἰ γὰρ κτιστός ἐστιν ὁ Υἱὸς, οὐ προσκυνητὸς, κατὰ τὸν ἐκείνων λόγον. Μωρὸν γάρ ἐστιν κτίσιν προσκυνεῖν, καὶ ἀθετεῖν τὴν πρώτην ἐντολὴν τὴν λέγουσαν· Ἄκουε, Ἰσραὴλ, Κύριος ὁ θεός σου Κύριος εἷς ἐστιν. Οὐ κτιστὸς τοίνυν ὁ ἅγιος Λόγος, ὅτι προσκυνητός. Προσεκύνησαν αὐτῷ οἱ μαθηταί· προσκυνοῦσιν αὐτῷ πάντες ἄγγελοι θεοῦ· καὶ Προσκυνησάτω σε, Κύριε, ἡ ἰσχύς μου. Ἓν δὲ πρᾶγμά ἐστι ρητὸν καὶ σύντομον καὶ ἀναντιθετον, ᾧ τις ἀνειπεῖν οὐ δύναται. Εἰ ἔχουσι μαρτυρίαν οἱ εχθραίνοντες τῷ Υἱῷ τοῦ θεοῦ δεῖξαι, ποῦ εἶπεν ὁ Πατὴρ, ὅτι Ἔκτισμά μοι Υἱὸν, ἐν Παλαιᾷ καὶ ἐν Καινῇ Διαθήκῃ; ἢ ποῦ εἶπεν ὁ Υἱὸς, ὅτι Ἔκτισέ με ὁ Πατήρ; Τέσσαρά εἰσιν Εὐαγγέλια, κεφαλαίων χιλίων ἑκατὸν ἑξηκονταδύο, καὶ ἀπαρχῆς ἕως τέλους ἐλάλησεν ὁ Υἱὸς, καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ Πατὴρ, καὶ οὐδαμοῦ εἶπεν, Ἔκτισέ με ὁ Πατὴρ, οὐδε ὁ Πατὴρ, Ἔκτισμά μοι Υἱὸν, ἤ, Ἔκτισα τὸ Υἱόν μου." PG 43, 104-105.

[192]Διὰ τεσσάρων εὐαγγελιων. See section 2.2.4. above. The term chosen for the `sections' is κεφάλαια rather than περικοπαί. This is what is commonly found in the manuscripts when reference is made to the *marginalia*. The primary English paleographic guides for New Testament manuscripts, William Henry Paine Hatch's *The Principal Uncial Manuscripts of the New Testament* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939) and *Facsimiles and Descriptions of Minuscule Manuscripts of the New Testament* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1951) and Bruce

3.1.2.2. Pseudo-Caesarius Nazianzenus

A second reference is made to the *Eusebian Canons* in the dialogues attributed to Caesarius, the brother of Gregory of Nazianzus. According to F. Scorza Barcellona, these writings may be dated to the mid-sixth century.[193] When one reads through the passages it becomes obvious that it was borrowed from the above statement of Epiphanius, being applied to the same theological problem and providing the same answer.

It should be stated that there remains an incredible paucity of references to the system of Eusebius in Greek Patristic and Byzantine literature. This certainly cannot be because they were unknown, having been spread abroad in almost every Greek Gospel manuscript. However, the fact that numerous manuscripts include only the section numbers and that often they were scribed in a very casual manner may be an indication that they were either not fully understood or fully appreciated for their harmonistic function.[194]

M. Metzger's *Manuscripts of the Greek Bible: An Introduction to Greek Palaeography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981), use this designation only for the chapter divisions.

[193]EEC Vol. 1, p. 138.

[194]See Gregory, pp. 861-862. Alexander Kazhdan and Barry Baldwin write concerning Eusebius, "The Byzantines often criticized Eusebios [sic]. Sokrates called him

3.2. THE LATIN TRADITION OF USING THE EUSEBIAN SYSTEM

Whereas the Greek presentation and use of the *Eusebian Canons* remained basically within the boundaries set by Eusebius, the Latin tradition shows a considerable diversity in its early stages. But over time one particular method of presentation won out over all others - the Expanded Marginal Note System. Its competitors, triumph, and use will be considered below.

3.2.1. Presentation in Latin Manuscripts

3.2.1.1. Original Design of Eusebius

While preparing his Latin translation of the Gospels at the request of Pope Damasus, St. Jerome did not fail to see the value of Eusebius' system and include it in his new work.

> Also canons we have translated, which Bishop Eusebius of Caesarea ordered in ten numbers having followed the Alexandrian Ammonius, just as they exist in Greek, in which if anyone from curiosity will desire to know whether things in the Gospels should be the same or similar or particular, he may know them by distinction.[195]

`double-tongued.' The Second Council of Nicaea of 787 prohibited quoting Eusebios [sic] as a witness to correct belief. Two events account for such a negative attitude: Eusebios's [sic] pro-Arian stance and his rejection of the cult of icons." "Eusebios [sic] of Caesarea," in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* Vol. 2 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991) p. 752. This may be one of the reasons that the Canons are not often quoted or described.

This was completed in 383, only about sixty years after Eusebius prepared his system.[196] Thus the canons became imbedded in the standard biblical text of Medieval Europe and probably, as with the Greeks, served as their system of versification. Vulgate manuscripts without the Eusebian *marginalia* are a rarity in the Early and High Medieval periods.

However, it is possible that the system first passed into Latin manuscripts before the time of Jerome. The Old Latin versions began to be prepared in North Africa, sometime in the second half of the second century.[197] These translations are slavishly literal, even retaining the Greek word order. It would be strange for a scribe to make a

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[195]"Incipit Praefatio Sancti Heironymi Presbyteri in Evangelio," *Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulgatam Versionem* ed. by Weber (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1969) p. 1516. The Latin reads, "Canones quoque, quos Eusebius caesariensis episcopus alexandrinum secutus Ammonium in decem numeros ordinavit, sicut in graeco habentur expressimus, quo si quis de curiosis voluerit nosse quae in evangeliis vel eadem vel vicina vel sola sint, eorum distinctione cognoscat."

[196]This date is provided by Thiele, p. 100.

[197]Bruce Metzger *The Early versions of the New Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977) p. 289.

translation of a manuscript containing the Eusebian *marginalia* and not include them.[198]

Perhaps the earliest example of the original system of Eusebius in the Latin tradition is a fifth-century manuscript which paleographer E. A. Lowe considers to be Italian in origin and probably prepared during the lifetime of Jerome himself.[199] It is scribed in a very clear half-uncial with the initial word of the section extended slightly into the margin in a way reminiscent of the Greek manuscripts, though each section begins a new `paragraph.' The canon numbers appear to be written in red, as prescribed by Eusebius in the letter *Ad Carpianum*.

Another example of the original system is found in the Irish "Book of Mulling" which dates from the eighth century.[200] The section may begin in the margin with an

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[198]The great error that Jerome describes *in nostris codicibus* is not the state of the marginalia but the confusing of the texts of the Evangelists by copyists. Metzger comments, "Damasus commissioned him to produce a uniform and dependable text of the Latin Bible; he was not to make a new version, but to revise the texts which were in circulation, using for this purpose the Greek original." *Early Verions* p. 333.

[199]*Codices Latini Antiquiores* Part X (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963) plate 984 on p. [4].

[200]CLA II, plate 276. H. J. Lawlor in *Chapters on the Book of Mulling* (Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1987) states that, "Vermillion appears in the heading to the arguments of the several Gospels, in the subscription to that of St.

enlarged initial letter, or in the middle of a line, being marked either by an enlarged letter or some punctuation. The appearance of this manuscript with the original form of the *Eusebian Canons* at so late a date demonstrates the tenacity with which a scribal tradition continues even when it has been superseded by a superior tradition. Lawlor comments concerning the nature of the exemplar upon which the Book of Mulling was based:

> What, then, was the character of the manuscript from which the corrections were drawn? Any copy of the Latin Gospels which is furnished with the Eusebian Sections and Canons may be expected to contain a substantially Vulgate text.[201]

This is not necessarily so since a number of Old Latin manuscripts with a limited influence of the Vulgate contain the Eusebian *marginalia*. The appearance of the system is by no means proof for a particular kind of text.

John, and in the Eusebian Canons." p.8. He also argues that the corrector who scribed the *marginalia* was also the original scribe thus showing that the *marginalia* are contemporary with the text and not added at a later date. p. 71. It is interesting that the chapter divisions in Matthew, Luke, and John all disagree with the placement of the Eusebian *marginalia* whereas those of Mark agree almost completely. This shows that the manuscript has suffered mixture from different exemplars. p. 37.

[201]pp. 70-71.

3.2.1.2. Footnoting System

Alongside of the original form of Eusebius' system appears the footnoting system in the sixth century. At the foot of the manuscript were incorporated four sets of colonnades with arches, one for each of the Gospels. In each of these columns would be placed the appropriate section number that appeared in the margin along with its parallels in the other Gospels. As noted concerning the Greek form of this system, this would save the reader the trouble of turning to the canon tables in order to find the parallel section but consumed much space and meant more work for the scribes.

The earliest example of this system does not appear in either Greek or Latin codices but in the Gothic Codex Argenteus of the early sixth century. It is a deluxe manuscript with silver uncial script on purple parchment, probably produced in the Po Valley of Northern Italy. A photograph of this manuscript and its colonnades can be seen in Guilia Bologna's *Illuminated Manuscripts: The Book before Gutenberg*. Unfortunately this particular page does not show the writing of the section numbers.[202]

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[202](New York: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1988) p. 44.

A good example of this style of presentation in a Latin manuscript is the Codex Rehdigeranus, an Old Latin text from the late seventh or early eighth century.[203] It is scribed in a rough uncial, most likely also from Italy. It may be that this system with its art work developed in Italy though the idea of footnotes themselves could have come either from the Greek or Syriac traditions since they also share this system.[204] Such ideas continued to be shared between East and West despite the growing language and cultural barriers in the early Medieval period.

3.2.1.3. *Initia* System

A very curious variation on the system which is peculiar to Latin manuscripts has been described by Pierre Minard in his article "Temoins inedits de la vieille version

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[203]Heinrich Joseph Vogels *Codex Rehdigeranus in Collectanea Biblica Latina* Vol. II (Rome: F. Pustet, 1913) p. v.

[204]Vogels states in the words of Dr. E. H. Zimmermann (Wolfenbüttel-Wien), "Die Anordnung von Arkandenreihen unterhalb der Textkolumnen teilt die Hs mit dem Ulfilascodex und mit dem Codex Brixianus, was auf eine Entstehung in der östlichen Hälfte Norditaliens (Verona?) schließen läßt." p. v. There is also an as yet unexplained connection between the Old Latin and the Syriac translations.

latine des Evanglies. Les canons a *initia* des evangeliaires de Sainte-Croix de Poiteirs et de la Trinite de Vendome."[205]

> It is, however, a variety most rare and as yet unpublished of these canons, hardly described up to the present time, and which merits, we think, to be published in full. It operates from a single form, in regard to the columns of numbers, about 650 fragments of text, testifying of a pre-Jerome biblical version well enough.[206]

He reproduces these Old Latin tables of *initia* with an apparatus at the end of his article. After comparing the readings of the *initia* with readings in the apparatus of Wordsworth and White's *Novum Testamentum* he concludes,

> . . . it resulted that these fragments, while they present some points of contact with the Celtic group of the Vulgate, are however much more near to the Old Latin version (European group) and especially to Codex Brixianus.[207]

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[205]*Revue Benedictine* lvi (1945-1946) pp. 58-92. The Poitiers manuscript received some attention earlier in an article by Donatien de Bruyne, "La Preface du Diatessaron Latin Avant Victor de Capoue," *Revue Benedictine* 39 (1927): 5-11.

[206]Minard, p. 58. The French text reads, "Il est cependant une variété fort rare et encore inédite de ces Canons, à peine signalée jusqu'à présent, et qui mérite, pensons-nous, d'être publiée intégralement. Il s'agit d'une forme comportant, en regard des colonnes de chiffres, près de 650 fragments de texte, témoins d'une version biblique préhiéronymienne assez particulière."

[207]Minard, p. 61. The French text reads, ". . . il résulte que ces fragments, s'ils présentent quelques points de contact avecle groupe celte de la Vulgate, sont cependant beaucoup plus proches de la vieille version latine (groupe européen) et spécialement du *Codex Brixianus*."

This is most interesting, for Bologna presents a photograph of a portion of Codex Brixianus on page 50 of her book. There is seen a deluxe, purple manuscript, Italian uncial scribed in gold and silver, open to the tenth canon table of Matthew. But instead of the numerical system which is most often found in manuscripts, there appears the very *initia* which Minard describes in his article! Similar to Brixianus indeed! They are apparently the same system preserved not simply in the text of Brixianus but in its *initia*.[208]

This system would serve a purpose similar to that of the chapter tables which one finds in the beginning of the Gospel manuscripts. If one was looking for a particular reading, one could peruse the table of *initia* and section numbers, find the reference, and turn right to the desired page. This would be a very handy reference system but would be a lot of work to scribe. It would also add significantly to the size of the Gospel book. For these reasons it apparently found its way into only a few manuscripts.

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[208]A comparison of the text of the *initia* which are visible in Bologna's picture with that of Codex Pictaviensis (the Poitiers manuscript) revealed two variants. In Matthew section CI Brixianus had ". . . *duodecim discipulis suis*," whereas Pictaviensis reproduces this with ". . . XII." In section CXV Brixianus begins with "*Quia sabbatis sacerdotes* . . ." whereas Pictaviensis has "*Aut non legis in lege quia sabbatis sacerdotes*." The references to Pictaviensis are from p. 79 of Minard's article.

3.2.1.4. Expanded Marginal Notes

The previous three examples of the system in Latin manuscripts are greatly in the minority. In the sixth century (possibly earlier) an ingenious scribe expanded the marginal notes by simply placing the corresponding sections from the other Gospels alongside that of the manuscript being read.[209] The features are very similar to those of the original system. The initial letter of the section would be extended into the margin and was usually about twice the size of the rest of the script. Below the normal section number would be placed the canon number in red, followed by the parallel section numbers which would be found in the canon tables. Like the second and third systems, this would save the reader the trouble of turning to the front of the manuscript for the references but in contrast to these other systems would drastically cut down the amount of work for the scribe as well as the amount of space consumed in the manuscript.

As this form of presentation spread northward into France, England, Ireland, and Germany, a variety of "accents" were added to the system. In a Northumbrian manuscript the numbers are boxed, to separate them from the

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[209]For an early example see Lowe CLA II, plate 197. The other two examples uncovered are also from Italy.

rest of the text.[210] An eighth century manuscript scribed in Anglo-Saxon style was perhaps made on the continent by "Cuthberecht" whose name appears in the colophon. Underneath each section from the tenth canon, he wrote the letters "*sol*" for "*solus*", since the texts in this canon only occur in one of the Gospels.[211] Also as more illumination was used, the dots and curls added a splash of color to those initial letters which mark the beginning of the sections whether they are on the margin or within the text.[212]

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[210]Lowe CLA Supplement, plate 1229, p. 11. A later Italian example (1104) with boxed *marginalia* has completely dropped the canon numbers since they had become unnecessary. S. Harrison Thomson *Latin Bookhands of the Later Middle Ages, 1100 - 1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969) plate 56.

[211]Lowe says that the scribe was most likely from Salzburg. CLA X, plate 1500. This same notation shows up again in an eighth century manuscript scribed in Bavaria (CLA X, plate 1325, p. 36) and *Das Goslarer Evangeliar* Renate Kroos und Frauke Steenbock eds. (Goslar: Akademische Druck-u. Verlagsanstalt, 1991) which is dated about 1240 (p. 5). These locations lead one to wonder whether this is a German scribal phenomenon.

[212]The decoration of *initia* began early and reached full blossom in manuscripts like the Book of the Kells. This Gospel book was prepared with the canon tables but not the section numbers (except for two in Luke's Gospel on a folio which was later inserted). These otherwise useless canon tables were retained simply for the tradition of artwork which grew up around them. For a study on the art work in Latin canon tables see David H. Wright "The Canon Tables of the Codex Beneventanus and Related Decoration," DOP 39 (1979): 135-156.

The *Eusebian Canons* also had an important function in the Medieval Latin lectionary system. They appear already in the earliest *capitulare* manuscripts of the Gospels such as Reims MS. 10 (end of the seventh century) reproduced by Walter Howard Frere in his study of *The Roman Gospel-Lectionary.*[213] Just as in the Greek system they guided the lector to the proper reading for the day. Normally the beginning of the pericope would be marked by a cross and its ending by an `F' for *finis.*[214]

3.2.1.5. Discontinuation of the System in the Thirteenth Century

The Eusebian *marginalia* were widely spread and used in Latin Bibles during much of the Medieval period. The four different systems represented in these manuscripts seem to have developed either at the end of the fifth century or early in the sixth. The main center of activity seems to

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[213]*Studies in Early Roman Liturgy* II in *Alcuin Club Collections* No. XXX (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1934). See also *Das Römische Capitulare Evangeliorum* von Theodor Klauser in *Liturgiewissenschafliche Quellen und Forschungen* 28 (Münster: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1972).

[214]For a further description of these manuscripts see chapter seven of Cyrille Vogel's *Medieval Liturgy: An Introduction to the Sources* revised and trans. by William G. Storey and Niels Knogh Rasmussen with the assistance of John K. Brooks-Leonard (Washington, D. C.: The Pastoral Press, 1986).

have been Italy, which either fathered the systems or borrowed them for the Eastern half of the empire. The most broadly represented system was that of the expanded marginal notes because of its greater simplicity and conservation of space.

However, the *Eusebian Canons* eventually fell into disuse as a result of changes introduced during the "Twelfth Century Renaissance" in biblical studies. Christopher De Hamel describes the effect this had on manuscript production:

> Sometime in Paris in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century all this began to change. This is really very significant. The Bible was now put into a single volume. The order and names of the biblical books were standardized, the prologues ascribed to St. Jerome were inserted systematically, and the text was checked for accuracy as far as possible. For the first time the text was meticulously divided up into numbered chapters which are still in use today . . . . The pages became extremely small. They employed headings at the top of each page, little red and blue initials throughout the text to mark the beginning of each chapter, and the text was now written in black ink in a microscopic script in two columns. The effect was dramatic. The new type of Bible was an absolute best-seller. These tiny manuscripts were evidently sold in vast numbers in the thirteenth century.[215]

The new chapter divisions, traditionally attributed to Stephen Langton, became the basis for new marginal

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[215]*A History of Illuminated Manuscripts* (Boston: David R. Godine, 1986) p. 113.

references to other biblical books.[216] Following the chapter break, portions of text were distinguished alphabetically. Thus an approximate reference could be made on the basis of the chapter number and lettered subdivision.

Unlike the system of Eusebius, this approach allowed one to prepare marginal references for texts outside of the four Gospels, greatly accenting this aspect of Eusebius' system. With the margins of the new "Paris Bible" cluttered with such chapter references, there was hardly room for the old system of section and canon numbers. This supersession, and also the widespread use of the "Paris Bible," can be demonstrated from a review of the Biblical texts in the

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[216]"In one respect only did the Paris text achieve a uniformity that was to be perpetuated, and that was its canonical order and its revised chapter-division; and it is the latter which became its distinguishing external characteristics. In view of the international provenance of the student body at Paris, and the existence of numerous systems of chapter-divisions from late antiquity and the early medieval period that sometimes enjoyed localized currency and were therefore found in bibles that scholars brought with them from their native lands, there was felt in the Paris schools the absolute need for a standardized canonical order and system of capitulation. The new arrangement is ascribed to Stephen Langton, and it is substantially the one in use today. Langton was teaching in Paris until June 1206, when he was made a cardinal; between that year and 1231, the date of the earliest known dated Paris bible, written at Canterbury, Langton's chapter system had gained currency at Paris, and had come to be disseminated widely alongside Peter Lombard's *Sentences* and other textbooks in use in the Paris schools." CHB Vol. 2, pp. 147-148.

Trinity College, Cambridge microfilm series, *The Medieval Manuscript Collection* Section 7, part A. It represents fifteen Latin Bibles or Bible portions containing the New Testament. Of these fifteen, two are from the twelfth century. Both have the Eusebian *marginalia*.[217] The other thirteen are from the thirteenth century.[218] Only one of them has the *marginalia*, section numbers alone, written poorly in minuscule script (probably by a later hand) in the margin of the Gospel according to St. Matthew.[219]

While this example would be most typical of manuscripts from England, it is likely that the same trend was affecting the habits of Latin scribes throughout Western Europe. The *Eusebian Canons* continued strongly in Greek manuscripts throughout this period and right down to modern times. However, the more vibrant Latin tradition had outgrown this ingenious system of the Bishop of Caesarea.

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[217]Manuscript B.5.16 lacks the numbers in Luke and John. The other manuscript is B.5.1.

[218]They are as follows: B.10.8, 10, 18, 21, 23, 26, 27, 28; B.13.16, O.1.50, 63; O.2.9; and O.7.34. These chapter notes were being written with Arabic rather than Latin numerals. See manuscript O.1.63.

[219]Manuscript B.10.23.

3.2.2. Use by Latin Church Fathers

3.2.2.1. Jerome (d. 420)

The use of the *Eusebian Canons* by Jerome has already been described above and therefore needs only to be summarized here. In chapter LV of his *De viris illustribus* which concerns Ammonius of Alexandria, he mentions the work of Eusebius. When he prepared the revision of the Gospels for the Vulgate based on the previous work of other translators, he included the work of Eusebius as well as a translation of the epistle *Ad Carpianum.* Whether the canon system had already been incorporated into Latin Gospel books before Jerome is difficult to say. However, it was its place in the Vulgate which insured its continued use in the Early Church and throughout the Middle Ages.

3.2.2.2. Augustine (d. 480)

The possibility that St. Augustine made use of the canons has also been mentioned above. However, this thesis has been challenged by A. Penna in his article, "Il `De consensu evangelistarum' ed i `canoni Eusebiani.'"[220] David Peabody has argued that the work of Augustine does draw upon the Eusebian system.

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[220]*Biblica* Vol. 36 (1955) pp. 1-19.

> Augustine's textual comparisons at 1. [that between John and Mark apart from the others] 2. [that between Mark's Sondergut and the rest of Mark] 4. [that between Matthew and Mark apart from the others and in conjunction with any and all others] seem to reflect the data found in the Canons of Eusebius.[221]

If Augustine did in fact know the work of Eusebius, a difficulty is knowing whether he would have had the system available to him either through the Old Latin texts or the Vulgate of Jerome. There is not as yet a satisfactory treatment of these matters.

3.2.2.3. Victor of Capua (d. 554)

In the preface to his manuscript, Codex Fuldensis, Bishop Victor explains how by accident a composite Gospel came into his hands lacking the name of its author.[222]

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[221]"Augustine and the Augustinian Hypothesis: A Reexamination of Augustine's Thought in *De Consensu Evangelistarum*," in *New Synoptic Studies: The Cambridge Gospel Conference and Beyond* ed. by William R. Farmer (Macon GA: Mercer University Press, 1983) p. 41, ft. 7. Concerning the comparison of the texts of Matthew and Mark Peabody writes, "Here Augustine could have considered canons 1, in quo quattuor; 2, in quo tres; 4, in quo tres; 6, in quo duo. By totaling the sections in all four of these canons of Eusebius, Augustine would come up with some 184 passages which Mark shares with Matthew." pp. 41-42, ft. 8. It is not clear from the article whether Peabody has considered the arguments raised by Penna since he does not reference him.

[222]PL 48, pp. 251. A detailed description of the manuscript can be found in Bonifatius Fischer *Lateinische Bibelhandschriften im frühen Mittelalter* (Breisgau: Verlag Herder Freiburg, 1985) pp. 57.

Having learned that Ammonius had made a harmony designed around Matthew, and having read concerning it in the epistle of Eusebius *Ad Carpianum*, he tells how he found out that Tatian, the student of Justin Martyr, had also produced such a work. This, he says, Tatian named *Diapente*.[223]

Unfortunately after the death of Justin, Tatian founded the sect of the Encratites which Victor associates with the errors of Marcion. The bishop of Capua was able to recognize the differences between the works of Ammonius and Tatian since the one begins with St. Matthew and the other with St. Luke. He implies that Justin may in fact have been

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[223]"One of the minor puzzles connected with the study of the Diatessaron is the question why Victor of Capua referred to Tatian's Diatessaron as *diapente*. Some have thought that the expression was chosen in order to indicate obliquely that, in addition to the canonical Gospels, Tatian utilized a fifth source . . . . Others have suggested that *diapente* is nothing more than a *lapsus calami* and therefore not to be taken seriously . . . . Another suggestion, first proposed by Isaac Casaubon, that *diapente* should be understood as a musical term, was explored at length in a monograph by Bolgiani. On the basis of information derived from Martianus Capella, Fulgentius, Macrobius, and other ancient authors, Bolgiani shows that διὰ τεσσάρων and διὰ πέντε are technical terms used in ancient musicology, one referring to three intervals of four notes, the other to four intervals of five notes. He therefore interprets Victor's comment to mean that Tatian's `harmony' of the four Evangelists involves not merely four individual notes but four fundamental elements of symphonic harmony, the *diapente*." Bruce M. Metzger *Early Versions* pp. 28-29. This latter conclusion would corroborate well with the above study of the Greek philosophy of harmony.

the author of the work but even if it were composed by Tatian, the Lord could put it to good use.

Working both systems together in the text of Jerome's translation, Victor laid out the Gospels according to the order of Tatian's *Diatessaron* in 181 chapters. Each of these chapters corresponded to a rearranged set of canon tables at the head of the work.[224] A reader could thus move back and forth between the two systems though with some difficulty. There can be little doubt that this awkwardness led to the new system's abandonment. While texts influenced by the order of Tatian's *Diatessaron* have surfaced from all over Medieval Europe, the innovation of Victor seems to have remanded singular.

3.2.2.4. Cassiodorus (d. circa 580)

Cassiodorus took note of the work of Eusebius in his work entitled, *An Introduction to Divine and Human Readings.*

> Eusebius of Caesarea, moreover, has collected the *Canons* of the Gospels in compendious form, in order to point out with the greatest possible discrimination the passages in which the Gospels agree and the passages in which they disagree; and in this collection the

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[224]These tables are provided by Ernestus Ranke *Codex Fuldensis* (Marburg & Leipzig: N. G. Elverti bibliopolae Academini, 1868).

> marvelous teachings of the different writers flourish in proportion to their fullness of faith.[225]

This recognition comes after a listing of various commentaries by Latin writers on the Gospels.

3.2.2.5. Isidor of Seville (d. 636)

Isidor provides a summary explanation (in language similar to Jerome's epistle to Damasus) of how Eusebius' system works and what its purpose is. "They were made," he writes, "in order that we might be able to find and know through them where the rest of the Evangelists have spoken similar or individual things."[226]

3.2.2.6. Alcuin (d. 804)

Alcuin hymns the work of Eusebius in his *Carmina*, beginning with the question, "Whether in the 10 Canons of Eusebius the Four Evangelists are agreeing." The poem includes the imagery of the man, lion, bull, and eagle and uses numerical analogies for describing Eusebius' system.

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[225]Trans. by Leslie Webber Jones (New York: Octagon Books, Inc., 1966) p. 89. The phrase, "in which they disagree" (*in quibus propria tangunt*) is perhaps better understood as those passages in which they treat their particular material. PL 70, p. 1119.

[226]*Etymologiarum* VI, 15 in PL 82, p. 242. The Latin text reads, "*Qui ideo facti sunt, ut per eos invenire et scire possimus qui reliquorum evangelistarum similia aut propria dixerunt.*"

For example, canon three is described thus, "Then thereafter the third [canon] in order (called man, beast, ox) speaks with wing; In which number they constitute the ancient letters of the Hebrew alphabet." The three animals represent Matthew, John, and Luke respectively. In the third canon there appear 22 sets of numbers, thus making it analogous to the Hebrew alphabet.

3.2.2.7. St. Abbo of Fleury (d. 1004)

During the tenth century the Cluniac reform of the Benedictine order began and spread both North and South. One of the early leaders of this reform was St. Odilo,[227] fifth abbot of Cluny and the recipient of a letter on the Eusebian *marginalia* from St. Abbo, the abbot of Fleury.

Abbo was one of the most learned and capable monks of his time. "He began his studies in Fleury's monastic school surrounded by rare books and excellent scribes."[228] In about 986 he was called by St. Oswald, bishop of York and Worcester, to teach at the new monastery established in Ramsey, England. After a few years in England he returned

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[227]H. H. Glunz *History of the Vulgate in England from Alcuin to Roger Bacon* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1933) p. 48.

[228]J. R. Strange *Dictionary of the Middle Ages* Vol. 1 (New York: Scribner, 1982) p. 12.

to Fleury and was elected Abbot. Unfortunately he received a mortal wound while at "La Roele (Gascony), a monastery which he was visiting to reform. A scuffle broke out between monks and serving-men; Abbo attempted to calm it, but was killed in the riot."[229]

During his service as abbot, St. Abbo corresponded with St. Odilo over the nature of the *Eusebian Canons*. The substance of this letter is as follows: he begins with a few sentences on the benefits of common meals, since study alone is too burdensome. He then comes to the matter in question, apparently prompted by the confusion of Odilo's monks who had seen or scribed the marginal notes of Eusebius in the Gospels but did not understand them. Abbo warns that he cannot speak exhaustively on the topic because it is difficult and there is not enough time for such a treatment.

The "chaos of numbers" is unfolded by explaining that there are three types in manuscripts: *capitula, aeras,* and *subnotationes*. The *capitula* are written in a larger character, the *aeras* never exceed the number ten, nor do they follow in sequence unless by chance. The *subnotationes* are written in black ink continuously throughout a single

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[229]David Hugh Farmer *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints* 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978) p. 12.

Gospel.[230] Then follows an example of the system, based on canon one, the first set of sections (Mt 8, Mk 2, Lc 7, and Jn 10). Writing out all the corresponding pericopes for Matthew number eleven, he demonstrates the value of the system, showing that John has written out the same statement of John the Baptist several times, all brought together by the numbers (Mt 11, Mk 4, Lc 7, Jn 6, 12, 14, and 28).[231] The order of the numbers is always according to Matthew's Gospel and numbers can be repeated in several canons.

Abbo warns that uncertainty has occurred which could confuse the *De Consensu Evangelistarum* of Augustine with Ammonius' system. Ammonius made one Gospel out of the four, whereas Augustine explained all the difficulties between the accounts of the four Evangelists. Eusebius adopted the system of Ammonius with the concordance of numbers and Jerome accommodated this to his Latin translation. He ends

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[230]*Capitula* are the chapter numbers, not part of the Eusebian system, the *aeras* are the canon numbers which refer to the tables at the front of the Gospel, and the *subnotationes* are the section numbers which mark the particular pericopes designated by Eusebius.

[231]The printing of the text in PL 139, pp. 425-429, reproduces Abbo's abbreviations which are commonly seen in manuscripts: Matthew is M with a small t over it, Mark is M with a small r over it, Luke is L with a small v over it, and John is I with a small o over it.

the matter with a long quote from Jerome's letter *Ad Damasus*.[232]

It is evident from this letter that Abbo had a good grasp of the Eusebian system, how it functioned in the Gospels, as well as some of its limitations. But it is also evident that the system was misunderstood by those less educated or insightful, perhaps even by the very scribes who were copying it.[233] This would help explain why at times the section numbers occur in the wrong place, or do not have a clear point of beginning within the text. To the average

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[232]Concerning this work Glunz notes, "Perhaps he also did some work in textual criticism. We have at any rate a letter to Odilo, Abbot of Cluny, in which he explains the figures of the Eusebian sections affixed to the gospels. In the English gospel MSS of the Winchester class a very careful notation of these sections is to be found, and it is perhaps not mere fancy to assign to Abbo a certain share in the well-proportioned execution of the English gospel MSS of that time." pp. 131-132.

[233]Lawlor gives an example of a scribe wrestling with the space limitations of his manuscript, trying to keep the section number in its proper place. "The correction extends, however, so far into the margin, that the number referring to the Eusebian Canon, which, had to be inscribed opposite the corresponding line of the second column, is placed more to the right than is customary; while at the same time, the number of the section (cclxii) is begun too high and written in a slanting direction, so that the last letter composing it is in its proper position." p. 70.

monk it may have been nothing more than another thing to copy.[234]

3.2.2.8. Zacharias Chrysopolitanus (d. after 1157)

The renewed interest in Aristotle, literal exegesis, and lectures on the Gospels during the twelfth century naturally promoted a new approach to the relationship between the four Gospels. Whereas the system of Eusebius and the *De Consensu* of Augustine had sufficed for centuries, the changing philosophical climate made them less appreciated by the Scholastics.

Zacharias was master of the cathedral school at Besançon and a canon of the Praemonstratensian priory of St. Martin in Laon where Anselm (not of Canterbury) and his brother Ralph had made the Gospels an important topic of study. Beryl Smalley describes Zacharias' work *In Unum ex Quatuor*,

> . . . [He] wrote a commentary on a conflated text of the gospels based on Tatian's Diatessaron...[and] set out to make a compilation from the Fathers; but he thought that a `continuous exposition' ought to include doctrinal teaching.[235]

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[234]It must be noted that the Latin tradition of the *Eusebian Canons* is far more consistent than the Greek tradition in the placement of the *marginalia*.

[235]*The Gospels in the Schools: c. 1100 - c. 1280* (London: The Hambledon Press, 1985) pp. 30f. For more

This very popular work was divided into four books, arranged into 181 chronologically ordered chapters.[236] Each passage was provided with the appropriate Eusebian *marginalia* and selections from the Church Fathers. He had a working knowledge of early harmonies and is familiar with Jerome's description of Ammonius' and Eusebius' contribution.

3.2.2.9. Senatus of Worcester (d. 1200)

Senatus was Prior of the Benedictine monastery at Worcester from 1189 to November 20, 1196, having previously been a monk, precenter, and chamberlain.[237] Mary G. Cheney describes him thus:

> Nothing is known of his life before he appears as a monk at Worcester; only his unusual name hints at a continental origin, and possible continental training.[238]

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information on Zacharias and his commentary see PL 186, pp. 1f.

[236]Curiously, this is the number of chapters which were also found in Codex Fuldensis.

[237]D. D. Knowles, C. N. L. Brooke, and Vera C. M. London *The Heads of Religious Houses: England and Wales, 940-1216* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972) p. 84.

[238]*Roger, Bishop of Worcester 1164-1179* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980) p. 64.

He had the responsibilities of preaching, writing on theological topics, and hearing confession. He also wrote on the lives of St. Oswald and St. Wulstan.[239]

Falconer Madan in *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford* describes a Gospel book with,

> The Eusebian sections (698 in all) woven into a continuous narrative or Diatessaron, with notes. At folio 164v is a discourse on the Sections and the Harmony generally, addressed to a pope, apparently by a monk of St. Alban's.[240]

But the index referring to this page shows the author to be Senatus as is testified by other writers.[241] H. H. Glunz describes the manuscript thus:

> C. C. C. C. MS 48, second volume of a Bible from St. Albans, of the end of the twelfth century. The four gospels are written side by side in four parallel columns, an arrangement which is probably due to Prior Senatus of Worcester (1186-1196), who corrected the

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[239]Cheney, p. 66.

[240]Vol. III (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1895) entry 14891.

[241]It is hard to tell what exactly Madan had in mind. He states that the work begins with the words, "*Ammonius quidem Alexandrinus . . .*" This is the second sentence of Eusebius' letter *Ad Carpianum*. From the description given above the work sounds similar to Bishop Victor's *Codex Fuldensis* but one could not be certain without seeing the manuscript itself. At any rate the index seems to correct the reference to a monk at St. Alban's.

> Eusebian sections, as appears from a letter of his which is prefixed to the gospels in the present MS.[242]

Senatus claimed to have corrected the Eusebian system from an ancient Gospel book owned by King Offa. This may have been the result of confusion or exaggeration.[243] The letter is addressed to "magistro Aluredo" who may be Alvred of Rochester, a contemporary of Senatus.[244] It demonstrates knowledge of Jerome's letter to Damasas and a thorough understanding of the system.

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[242]If Glunz is correct about the twelfth century date of the manuscript that would mean that its scribing was contemporary with Senatus who died in 1207. See p. 178. However, Cuthbert Hamilton Turner in his edition of this letter in appendix II of *Early Worcester MSS* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1916) also describes this letter, "Bodley 14891 (Rawlinson G 168), a MS of the Gospels also of about A.D. 1200, which belonged to one Simon de Biham, a pupil of `William, chancellor of Lincoln' - the letter of Senatus however is neither complete (it begins at l. 27 of my text) nor contemporary, but is an addition at the end of the Gospels, fol. 164*b*, and of date at least a century later." pp. xliii-xliv.

[243]Glunz, p. 178 ft. 1. King Offa was the son of Sighere, king of the East Saxons. He became king in 707 but two years later became a monk and died in Rome. David Hugh Farmer warns that a king receiving the tonsure was not always voluntary, sometimes being the result of a palace revolution. p. 324.

[244]"La deuxieme (f. 199v-202v) etudie les canons d'Eusebe sur les Evangeles. C. H. Turner l'a examinee et editee avec grand soin: Dilecto et amico suo et socio magistro Aluerdo suus Senatus, salutem et si quid in obsequio potest . . ." P. H. Delhaye, "Deux textes de Senatus de Worcester sur le penitence." *Recherches de Theologie ancienns et medievale* XIX (1952) p. 205.

3.2.2.10. Roger Bacon (d. 1292)

At the end of Turner's reproduction of the letter of Senatus, he provides an example (Note B) of the use of the system by Roger Bacon. The text is found in *Opus Minus, Fr. Rogeri Bacon Opera quaedam hactenus inedita.*[245] Here he argues that there is an incorrect reading in Mark chapter 8 of the new Paris Bible. The ancient reading of verse 38 has *qui me confusus fuerit* while the modern text has communicated the opposite, *qui me confessus fuerit.* Bacon demonstrates the inaccuracy by using the *Eusebian Canons* to find the parallel passages in Matthew and Luke.[246]

3.2.2.11. Pseudo-Jerome (n.d.)

Turner also gives a brief example from Pseudo-Hieronymus' Commentary on Mark which shows some relation to the letter of Senatus.[247] The writer names the various canons with section numbers in which Mark is represented and

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[245]Vol. I, ed. by J. S. Brewer (Rolls Series, 1859) p. 330.

[246]This same point is made by Senatus in his letter. Turner directs the reader to lines 67-87 from which Bacon may have reproduced the argument.

[247]See Note A of appendix II. The textual correspondence is with lines 17, and 168-175 of Senatus letter. The Vallarsi edition of Pseudo-Heironymus has been reproduced in PL 30, p. 589.

the corresponding Gospels (Canons 1, 2, 4, 6, 8, and 10). Together they add up 233 *capitula*.

The many examples provided of the use of the *Eusebian Canons* among ancient and medieval authors demonstrates their importance and influence upon the study of the Gospels in the West. They were in continuous use by exegetes from the time Jerome translated them up to the high Scholastic period. Although the new referencing system incorporated into the text of the Paris Bible suppressed their use, they reemerged in the fifteenth century with the advent of printing.

3.3. OTHER TRADITIONS OF THE EUSEBIAN SYSTEM

From the original Greek system of Eusebius, the canons spread out into as many languages as received a translation of the four Gospels. However, there has been very little research done on most of these versions of the system in comparison with the study of the Greek and Latin. Considering that for even these two traditions, no comprehensive treatment has been drawn together, information on the other versions is almost non-existent.

3.3.1. Syriac

The exception among these other traditions is the Syriac. This is because of the work of G. H. Gwilliam, "The Ammonian Sections, Eusebian Canons, and Harmonizing Tables in the Syriac Tetraevangelium, with Notices of Peshitto and other Mss. which Exhibit these Accessories of the Text."[248] The following descriptions will be based largely on this article.

3.3.1.1. Original Design of Eusebius

It is very likely that the original design of Eusebius was the first form in which the canon system was introduced into Syriac. However, Gwilliam mentions no manuscripts specifically which incorporate this form. It must have been superseded at a very early point.

3.3.1.2. Footnoting System

The most common form of presentation of the system is with footnotes, very much like those described in the Greek and Latin traditions. Gwilliam comments,

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[248]This work should be consulted directly by those seeking more information on the paleographic characteristics of the Syriac tradition. A study of the art work of the Syriac Canon tables has been produced by Jules Leroy, "Nouveaux témoins des Canons d'Eusebe illustés selon la tradition syriaque," in *Cahiers Archéologiques* 9 (1957): 117-140.

> It will be seen that the references in the Syriac text are very conveniently collected together at the foot of the page. This was not intended, however, to supersede the Tables of Harmony [canon tables], for they are often prefixed to the codex as well; but whether they were given or not, Syriac scribes, almost without exception, collected them above. This is distinctly a feature of the Syriac system: rarely is a MS., which exhibits the Sections and Canons, unprovided with the Foot-harmony. The plan was imitated by the scribe of the *Cod. Argenteus*, of the Gothic Version, and was not unknown to some of the Greeks; yet it is rare in Greek MSS., and apparently borrowed from Syria.[249]

Exactly who came up with this system first can remain an open question although it has been noted above that it appeared very early in Greek, Latin, Syriac, and Gothic versions. This early appearance and wide spread is perhaps best explained by a Greek origin. Examples of this system in Syriac manuscripts are readily found in *An Album of Dated Syriac Manuscripts* by William Henry Paine Hatch.[250]

3.3.1.3. Expansion of the System

The most noteworthy feature of the Syriac tradition of the *marginalia* is the expansion of the system by creating

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[249]Gwilliam pp. 246-247.

[250](Boston: The American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1946). The earliest example provided is a Peshitta text dated 586 A. D. (Plate XXXIV). This is the famous *Rabbula Gospels*. A facsimile edition of its miniatures was edited with commentary by Carlo Cecchelli, Giuseppe Furlani, and Mario Salmi (Olten and Lausanne: Urs Graf-Verlag, Publishers, 1959). This manuscript contains side-by-side portraits of Ammonius and Eusebius, f.2a.

further subdivisions of the text. Concerning the opening verses of Mark Gwilliam writes,

> On comparing the treatment of this passage in the original, and in the Syriac, we observe how much more numerous the Syriac sections are than the Greek. Here the former are twice as many as the latter; in some other passages the disproportion is even greater, although usually it is less. The numbers in each Gospel are respectively, in Matthew, *Syriac* 426, *Greek* 355; Mark 290 and 236; Luke 402 and 342; John 271 and 232; in all 1389 in the Syriac, against 1165 in the Greek.[251]

The Syriac tradition sought out the more minute points of comparison and incorporated them into the original work of Eusebius.[252] Some mixture of the two systems is evident from a few manuscripts, showing that the two existed side by side.[253]

The critical edition of the Syriac version of the *Eusebian Canons* was provided in Gwilliam's *Tetraeuangelium sanctum juxta simplicem Syrorum Versionem*, based on a

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[251]p. 246.

[252]"That the Syriac form is based upon the Greek scheme no one can doubt after an examination of even the one example only which we have set out *in extenso* above. The more perfect and complete Syriac scheme is clearly a development of the Greek." Gwilliam p. 253. An interesting and untested hypothesis concerning the basis of these further subdivisions might be that they come from parallels provided by Tatian's *Diatessaron* which had held such a place of honor in the Syriac tradition before the harmony provided by Eusebius.

[253]See Gwilliam p. 260. The Syriac tradition is generally speaking very accurate and uniform.

careful evaluation of numerous manuscripts. His edition of the Syriac translation of Eusebius' letter to Carpianus contains an extra paragraph at the end which is not part of the Greek original.

> Therefore these numbers are set down in order that the words of the Four Gospels may not be separated one from after another, and the sequence of their arrangement corrupted, and so that the numbers may not be altered one with another, since they make known that the Gospels agree with one another. And the reading of the arrangement of the words of the Four will continue because [they] agree. For these are Matthew, Mark, Luke, John. The Epistle of Eusebius concerning the explanation of the canons is completed.[254]

The expansion does not add significantly to what Eusebius had already said but reiterates for the sake of clarity.

3.3.2. Coptic, Ethiopic, Georgian, Armenian, and Gothic

A meager amount of information is available on some other versions of Eusebius' system. G. W. Horner reproduces

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[254]This translation is based on the Syriac of Gwilliam's text, *Tetraeuangelium sanctum juxta simplicem Syrorum Versionem* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1901). He provides a Latin translation of the whole letter. A French translation was prepared by J. P. P. Martin in his *Introduction à la critique textuelle du N. T. Partie théorique* I (Paris, 1883), the portion which corresponds to the above translation can be found on p. 864 of Gregory's *Textkritik*. The section numbers may also have been used for finding the lectionary readings as in the Greek and Latin traditions. A possible example of this is found in *Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae Codicum Manscriptorum Catalogus* Partis Prima, Tomus Secundus complectens codices Chaldaicos sive Syriacos, ed. S. E. and J. S. Assemanus (Paris: Maisonneuve frêres, 1926) number XIII, p. 36.

it in the margins of his volumes on the Bohairic dialect of Coptic.[255] Carl Nordenfalk provides descriptions of the canon tables in Coptic and Ethiopic Gospel books in his article, "Canon Tables on Papyrus."[256] He also mentions their existence in Georgian and Armenian texts. G. H. Balg has reproduced the text of the Gothic Codex Argentius with the *marginalia* but not the canon tables.[257] This may be because the front of the manuscript is lost. Facsimiles of this manuscript demonstrate that it used the footnoting system as has been mentioned above. There may still be further examples of the use of the *Eusebian Canons* in other translations.

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[255]*The Coptic Version of the New Testament in the Northern Dialect* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1898). The Sahidic volumes do not contain the *marginalia*. Notes on the letter *Ad Carpianum* in Bohairic manuscripts appear in the introduction to the text.

[256]Interestingly he notes, "In the Coptic Gospel Books - whether in the Sahidic or the Bohairic dialect - the Canon Tables are either conspicuously absent or, if they do occur, are treated quite simply, without the usual architectural setting." p. 30.

[257]*The First Germanic Bible Translated from the Greek by The Gothic Bishop Wulfila in the Fourth Century and the other Remains of the Gothic Language* (Milwaukee, WI: Germania Pub. Co., 1891).

3.4. THE HISTORY OF THE SYSTEM IN PRINTED EDITIONS

Not long after the Bible began to be printed instead of copied the *Eusebian Canons* also came to press. While a great many editions of the Latin and Greek Gospels since that time have received the *marginalia*, only the more significant will be considered here.

3.4.1. Survey of Latin Bibles

The first printed edition of the *Eusebian Canons* was about 1474, a Basel edition of the Vulgate prepared by Bernhard Richel.[258] It reproduces the numbers (Latin rather than Arabic) essentially as they appear in the manuscripts of the late Middle Ages with about as many variant readings. It went through several editions, the third of which is missing a folio in the Gospel according to St. Matthew so that the first twenty or so sections are missing. The canon tables are placed at the end of the book.

As early as 1514 (or earlier?) Johannus Froben, also at Basel, was printing Latin Bibles with the canon system and representing them with Arabic numerals. This is before he

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[258]Further information on the various editions discussed can be found in the *Historical Catalogue of the Printed Editions of Holy Scripture in the Library of the British and Foreign Bible Society* in two volumes compiled by T. H. Darlow and H. G. Moule (London: The British and Foreign Bible Society, 1903).

began to work with Erasmus. In 1521 J. Sacon of Leiden began to print Latin Bibles for A. Koberger in Nuremberg. The Canons were also featured in this and the following editions of 1522 and 1523. In 1526 J. Thibault of Antwerp printed a Latin New Testament with the canon system for F. Birckmann of Cologne. From these examples it can be seen that the *Eusebian Canons* received some representation among early and significant publishers though most Latin Bibles did not add them to their pages.

3.4.2. Erasmus and the *Textus Receptus*

When Desiderius Erasmus and Johannus Froben collaborated to produce the first printed edition of the Greek New Testament in 1516, they did not include the *Eusebian Canons* which were clearly scribed in the margins of the manuscripts which they used. However, in the next edition of 1519 they were included and continued throughout subsequent editions.[259] Unfortunately the many printing errors which afflict these early editions of Erasmus are also evident within the *marginalia*. This version of the canons was taken up by Stephnanus in his 1550 edition and

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[259]Erasmus makes mention of the *Eusebian Canons* in a letter to John Botzheim, 5 August 1531. *Opvs Epistolarvm Des. Erasmi Roterodami* T. IX (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1938) p. 311, line 95. Letter 2516.

from Stephanus has been carried into a whole host of Greek New Testaments. Eberhard Nestle demonstrates this connection in his "Die Eusebianische Evangelien=Synopse", which describes his own efforts to correct the system.[260] While some errors had been recognized and corrected in subsequent printings, most editions were still dependent on the hasty work of Erasmus or someone who borrowed from him.[261]

3.4.3. von Soden

While preparing his edition of the Greek New Testament Hermann Freiherr von Soden considered the state of the *Eusebian Canons* and undertook a revision on the basis of collations of the volumes of Mill, Tregelles, and Tischendorf. Where he could not decide between these three

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[260]Especially interesting are the printing errors which passed from Erasmus right into Stephanus' text, "Wie hübsch ist z. B., daßim 7. Kanon noch Stephanus die Zahl 82 als βπ statt πβ druckt, wie schon Erasmus [editions] 4,5, oder daß im 2. Kanon die Ziffer 9 in den Markuszahlen 69 und 79 bei Stephanus mit den 2 verschiedenen Formen des th (θ und ϴ) gedruckt wird, die alte Setzkästen zur Verfügung hatten genau so wie bei Erasmus 5!" p. 96.

[261]An oddity in the history of the printed edition of the *Eusebian Canons* is the *Harmonia quatuor Evangeliorum, juxta sectiones Ammonianas et Eusebii canones* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1805). According to Darlow and Moule, this text is based on the 1763 Baskerville's New Testament which essentially follows Mill. p. 639.

he also consulted the Latin Codex Fuldensis.[262] While this attempt at restoration was very limited, at least some effort was made to correct the system.

3.4.4. Nestle

In the article mentioned above, Eberhard Nestle took stock of the neglect that had been shown the *marginalia* up to his day by comparing the canon tables of Erasmus, Stephanus, Mill, Matthaei, Lachmann, Scrivener, Lloyd, and von Soden and set out to make a more thorough study of the actual manuscript and versional traditions. The witnesses he chose for his revision were the editions of Scrivener, Gregory, and von Soden; the Greek Witnesses ℵ A C and D; the Latin b f and g; along with the Gothic and Coptic versions. These comparisons were based on the system as it was printed in the sixth edition of his Greek-German New Testament. To the present, Nestle's revision is the most thorough and reliable.

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[262]Vol. 1, pt. 1, p. 396.

CHAPTER 4

EVALUATING THE PRESENT STATE AND USE OF THE EUSEBIAN SYSTEM

4.1. RESTORATION OF THE ORIGINAL

Although the work of Dr. Nestle is to be praised for its thoroughness in contrast to the work of his peers, still it was not rigorous enough to detect all the problems in the transmission of the *Eusebian Canons*. By limiting himself to a few early witnesses, he was forced to choose between these without having the advantage of seeing how the tradition developed, whether there had been interference from the lectionary system(s), the chapter divisions, and textual variations. Also he does not seem to have thoroughly considered the help afforded by internal analysis of the pericopes, trying to understand why Eusebius grouped certain passages together. In short, he seems to have been forced to choose between a few good manuscripts and when these witnesses diverged from one another, there was not a sound basis for choosing the original reading.

4.1.1. Methodology

4.1.1.1. External Evidence

In order to amend the shortcomings in Dr. Nestle's work, a larger number of manuscripts has been considered from the Greek and Latin traditions.[263] This permits one to see how the system interacted with the other features and changes in the text that it was intended to serve. In this way most readings can be explained on one or several of the following bases: homoiarchon, scribal confusion (loosing track of the number, writing the numbers in approximately the right location, misunderstanding the system, lack of space in the margin, etc.), the tendency to place the number at the beginning of a lectionary reading, the tendency to place the number at the beginning of a chapter, the tendency to place the number at the beginning of dialogue within the narrative, the difficulties arising from a variant reading (lack or presence of a verse), and failure of the scribe to clearly indicate the beginning of the pericope by leaving a

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[263]Complete collation of every Gospel in every manuscript used was not always possible for various reasons (portions of text missing, some Gospels lacking the *marginalia*, constraints on time and library access). It must be noted that many of the collations used for the correction of the system were compiled by Jeffery Kloha, a fellow student, whose interest and advice have been invaluable since the beginning of this project.

space in the text, providing punctuation, or scribing an *initium*.

4.1.1.2. Internal Evidence

However, very often two or more readings are well represented in the scribal traditions so that it becomes impossible to tell from external evidence which reading is the one Eusebius intended. These cases are best solved on the basis of internal analysis - carefully comparing the pericopes brought together from the various Gospels in order to understand why they were placed together. This requires a broader understanding of Eusebius' principles for relating pericopes to one another. In most cases this study makes obvious what the correct reading is but occasionally it is impossible to determine the correct reading on the basis of either external or internal evidence. In those cases where a decision cannot be made with confidence, the reading proposed by Dr. Nestle should be retained. All examples of proposed and possible changes will be described below. In no case has a reading been proposed on the basis of conjectural emendation.

4.1.2. Corrections in the Gospel according to St. Matthew

The first placement to require attention is section 17 which in NA26 begins at 4:11, supported by the Greek Manuscripts 042 1 161 371 535 543 545;[264] Latin DR LG RE; and the editions of WW SV ER TISCH TREG. However, two early uncials dissent from this placement, namely 01 and 04. Their testimony is greatly strengthened by considering the parallel, Mk 7, which contains only the words καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι διηκόνουν αὐτῷ. The placement suggested by the minority of witnesses omits the reference to the leaving of the devil (thereby consigning it to Mt 16) and contains only the statement about the angels coming to minister to Jesus as is found in Mark. Also Lk 16 which corresponds to Mt 16 ends with a reference to the devil's departure. For these reasons the placement of 01 and 04 suggests itself as the original reading of Eusebius.

Mt 26 and 27 are perhaps the most unusual set of placements in the *Eusebian Canons*. However, the placements suggested by Nestle (27 before 26) are indisputable despite the fact that the manuscript tradition is divided. The fact that the corresponding parallels are in opposite order in

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[264]The reading which is described as number "one" or the "first" will always be the reading of NA26.

Luke and that in Matthew these pericopes were switched in a number of early witnesses makes clear that Eusebius had the "switched" reading in his text. Thus when the original reading is restored (μακάριοι οἱ πενθοῦντες before μακάριοι οἱ πραεῖς) the numbers must be ordered 27, 26 as given by Nestle.

Mt 82 evidences three different placements in the manuscripts tradition. NA26 has it at the beginning of 10:7 along with 04 131; DR LG RE; WW SV TISCH and TREG. The second reading is at the beginning of 10:8 supported by 01 038 042 161 371 535 and 543. The third reading begins at 10:9 supported by 1 and 157. The second reading is to be preferred because it groups verse 8 with Mt 81 as material particular to Matthew (the statement about preaching is not found in the corresponding pericopes of Mk 53 and Lk 87). Also the placement of reading one corresponds with the placement of the Latin Lectionary while reading three corresponds to that of the Greek.[265]

Mt 106 evidences four different readings but only two of them are significant. NA26 begins at 11:14 along with 042 1; TISCH and TREG-G. The other possibility begins at 11:13 in 01 04 038 131 157 161 371 543 2358; DR LG RE; WW SV

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[265]See Frere, p. 238 and Gregory, p. 348 respectively.

TREG-L and ER. In considering the preceding reading (Mt 105 with Lk 193) it is seen that the statements about the kingdom and the Law and the Prophets are in opposite order in the two Gospels. Also Mt refers to John the Baptist twice. This may have led Eusebius to include verse 13 along with verse 14 in Canon X though it seems to go against his usual practice.[266] There is no interference from either chapter or lectionary divisions. In this case the preponderance of external evidence seems preferable since the internal evidence leaves some possibility of being interpreted in its support.

Mt 109 is an example of where Nestle's placement lacks clarity. At which punctuation does the section begin? At the question mark (which would seem to be the major punctuation) or at the colon?[267] Beginning at the question mark is only supported by 157 2400 and WW. Beginning at the

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[266]Normally Eusebius will combine passages that reduplicate the same wording with other passages that only have such a line or reference once. However, it is possible that he considered Matthew's statement about the Law and Prophets prophesying different enough from what Luke records. This coupled with the fact of the double reference to John might have led him to place one in Canon V and the other in Canon X.

[267]"Where the beginning of an early division does not coincide with the beginning of a verse, it follows the stronger punctuation division, and when this is not clear, it is indicated in the text by an asterisk." NA26 introduction, p. 69.

colon is supported by 01 04 038 042 1 371 543; DR LG RE; SV TISCH TREG and internal analysis.[268] The latter placement is correct.

Mt 116 has two significant placements. NA26 along with 04 1 131 371 545; DR LG RE S; WW and SV place it at 12:9. 01 042 and 543 have it beginning at 12:8. The first reading is likely influenced by both the Greek and Latin lectionaries as well as the placement of the chapter number 21.[269] Internal analysis shows that verse 8 about the Son of Man agrees with Mk 2:28, indicating that this verse should be included in Canon V. Therefore the second reading is correct.

Mt 140 has two main readings. Nestle places it at 13:36 along with 038 543; DR LB RE S; WW SV ER TISCH and TREG. A number of Greek witnesses begin the pericope at 13:35, 01 04 1 157 371 535 and 545. Since the OT quotation in verse 35 does not appear in Mk, it is likely that Eusebius wanted to include this in Canon X just as he has the latter half of Mk 13:34. There is also interference from the Greek and Latin lectionaries which would cause the

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[268]A few other unhelpful readings are evidenced.

[269]Gregory, p. 349 and Frere, p. 238.

number to be moved to verse 36. The second reading is correct.

Mt 141 also has divided testimony to its placement. NA26 begin the pericope at 13:54 along with 01 038 042 543; DR LG; WW SV TISCH and TREG. The second placement, at 13:53, is supported by 04 1 131 157 371 535 545; RE and ER. Internal analysis shows that verse 53 could be included in section 140 of Canon X because of its reference to Jesus' ending his parables. However, it could also be included in section 141 because of its correspondence with the words in Mk 50, that is, μετῆρεν ἐκεῖθεν with καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ἐκεῖθεν. Interference from the Greek lectionary in the first reading also makes the second reading more likely. The correct reading begins at 13:53.

Mt 142 has three different readings in the scribal tradition but only two are possibly original. The first reading is at the beginning of 13:57, 042 1 535; WW and SV along with NA26. The second may have been complicated by a variant reading, some manuscripts having ὁ δὲ εἶπεν (01 04 038 543; ER TISCH and TREG) while other have ὁ καὶ Ἰησοῦς (131 157 371; DR and LG). This second reading is confirmed by internal analysis, since the comment about the brothers' offense in verse 57 also occurs in the end of Mk 50.

Mt 153 is placed at the beginning of 14:35 by Nestle with 01 038 042 131 538 543 545 2358; and SV. 04 371 535; DR LG RE S; WW ER; TISCH and TREG place it at the beginning of 14:34. Internal analysis suggests the first placement. And this is to be preferred despite the possibility of Greek lectionary interference.[270]

Mt 164 has four different placements but only two of them need to be considered. Nestle places it at the beginning of 16:5 with 1; LG RE and TREG-G. The more strongly supported second reading begins at 16:6, suggested by 04 038 042 131 157 371 535 538 543 545; S; WW SV TISCH and TREG-L. It is also confirmed by internal analysis since the statement about the disciples forgetting bread is parallel to Mk 78 (8:14) and has no place in Canon II.

Mt 239 is in a similar circumstance, with the second reading widely supported in the manuscript tradition to be at the beginning of 23:32, 01 04 038 042 161 371 535 538 541 545 2358; DR LB; WW WV ER TISCH and TREG. The placement of Nestle at 23:33 has only found the support of 1 131 157 and RE. The statement about the Scribes and Pharisees filling up the measure of their fathers finds no place in Lk 140, therefore, the second reading is correct.

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[270]Gregory, p. 349.

Mt 255 has two possible placements. Nestle has it at the beginning of 24:25 along with 01 1 131 157 161 371 535 538 545 and 2358. The second possibility is at the beginning of verse 26 along with 038 042 543; DR LG RE; WW SV ER TISCH and TREG. Since verse 25 has its parallel in Mk 149 and not Lk 202, the second reading is preferred.

Mt 259 has three possible readings from the manuscript tradition. Nestle's placement at καὶ τότε κόψονται within 24:30 is the most well attested, being supported by 01 042 131 161 543; DR LG RE; WW SV ER and TISCH. The second reading is at the beginning of 24:30, supported by 1 157 371 535 and 538. The third reading, commended by 038 and 2358 is at καὶ ὄψονται of 24:30. This is clearly a case of homoiarchon, since all three readings begin with a καὶ and the first two begin with καὶ τότε. Things are further complicated by the textual variant which corresponds to the first reading, κόψονται τότε.[271] If reading one was the original placement of Eusebius, the placement could have been driven to reading two when the word order shifted for reading one. This could have also been the case if the word

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[271]See the NA26 apparatus for manuscripts supporting this reading. It is interesting to note that the family 1 and 13 manuscripts that have been collated are divided in their support. 131 and 543 support reading one while 1 supports readings two.

order did not change because of homoiarchon. However, if Eusebius' text originally had the word order κόψονται τότε and placement was at the beginning of verse 30 then when the word order shifted this could cause a scribe to move the number from the beginning of 30 to καὶ τότε κόψονται. The third reading seems to be a mistake derived from one of the first two readings. Mt 24:30 could arguably fit into either section 258 or 259. The division here created by Eusebius is also very strange as has been noted above in chapter 3. There is no good reason to divide Mt 258, Mk 150, and Lk 257 from Mt 259, Mk 151, and Lk 258 since both belong to Canon II.[272] Unless further evidence comes to light, it is best to remain with the placement of Nestle.

Mt 274 has its witnesses divided between two readings. Nestle places it at the beginning of 26:2 along with 02 042 157 161 543 2358; DR LG S; SV and TISCH. The second reading begins at 26:1 and is supported by 04 038 1 131 371 535 538 545; RE; WW ER and TREG. Since the parallels which Eusebius draws together from the other Gospels concern the passover, 26:1 can well be understood as belonging to the preceding section and Canon X. However, it is not unthinkable that

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[272]Unless Eusebius had originally linked these verses with a passage in John and later decided that the passages were not compatible and put them into Canon II.

this verse could be part of Mt 274 though it seems less likely. The fact that the Greek and Latin lectionaries correspond to the placement of number two also suggests that reading number one is to be preferred.

Mt 279 has two possible placements. The first is at 26:20, evidenced by 02 042 1 157 161 371 535 538 545 2358 2400; RE; SV and ER along with NA26. The second is at 26:21, supported by 01 038 131 543; DR LG S; WW TISCH and TREG. When one considers the parallel in Mk one sees that 14:17 corresponds well with Mt 26:20, recommending that this verse be included in section Mt 274. However, it should be noted that the same division (which excludes the words about it being evening) occurs in the placement of some manuscripts of Mk 161 (01 038 and 545). But since this probably occurred as a result of interference from the placement of chapter number 46 in Mk, reading one is to be preferred.[273]

Mt 296 has two possible placements. Nestle agrees with 01 02 04 and 541 in beginning at καὶ λέγει of 26:40. The second reading, found in Manuscripts 038 042 1 157 161 371 535 538 543 545 2358 2400; DR LG RE S; WW SV ER TISCH and

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[273]It could also be noted that with this reading the last lines of Mt 278 Mk 160 and Lk 263 all end with the exact same words.

TREG correspond in their placement with the beginning of 26:40. Since Mk 177 also contains the opening words of Mt 26:40 while none of the parallels to Mt 295 do, it is evident that the second reading is correct.

Mt 299 is placed at two different places within 26:45. The first reading is at the beginning of the verse and has wide manuscript support, 02 04 042 131 157 161 371 535 538 541; DR LG RE S; WW SV and NA26. The second reading begins at καθεύδετε and is evidenced by 01 038 and 543. Internal evidence shows that the first reading is the correct one. The second seems to have arisen from the scribal tendency to place the beginning of the sections at the beginning of dialogue.[274]

Mt 303 shows the majority of manuscripts reading against the placement of Nestle with 02 04 038 371 and SV. The second reading is supported by 01 042 1 131 157 161 535 541 543 2358; DR LG RE; WW ER TISCH and TREG. Despite the external evidence, reading one remains preferable because of the correspondence between 26:52 to Jn 160 (18:11).

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[274]This unusual phenomenon could perhaps be explained by the use of the incipits for introducing lectionary readings. However, they occur so early (already in the fourth century) that this seems a difficult conclusion.

Mt 310 is divided over three placements though only two are significant. The first is supported by 01 02 038 042 1 161 371 538 541 543; DR LG RE S; SV ER TREG-G and NA26. The second agrees with 04 131 535 545; WW TISCH and TREG-L. A look at the internal evidence shows that the common element between the passages is the statement about the exaltation of the Son of Man. The preceding pericope, defined by Mk 190 and 191, which corresponds to Mt 309 and 310, is clearly established in the manuscript tradition. Mk 190 ends with the question of the high priest and Mk 191 begins with the response of Jesus ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν· ἐγώ εἰμι. These divisions correspond best with the second reading for Mt 310. This is the preferred placement.

Mt 330 is placed at three different places in the manuscript tradition but only two of them merit attention. The first placement is at the beginning of 27:30 and is supported by 01 02 038 042 535 543; DR LG RE S; WW SV ER TISCH and TREG. The second reading is at the beginning of 27:31 and is supported by 1 157 161 538 545 and 2400. Mt 27:30 corresponds strongly with Mk 15:19. It is obvious that these passages belong together. The point of agreement between them and John's Gospel seems to have been that in each Christ is being hit. Though it is certainly possible

that they could have been included in Canon VI (passages of agreement between Mt and Mk) Eusebius seems to have placed them in Canon IV. The second reading is to be preferred.

The last passage that needs to be considered in Mt is 353. The placement provided by Nestle at the beginning of 28:5 is supported by many manuscripts, 01 1 157 371 535 538 541 545; DR LG; WW TISCH and TREG. The second reading is supported by 02 04 038 161 543; RE S and SV and placed at the beginning of verse 4. The common element in the preceding passage (Mt 352, Mk 231, Lk 336, Jn 209 and 211) is the visitation of the women at the tomb. What is common to the passages corresponding to Mt 353 is the pronouncement made by the angels. However, the division between these two passages seems a bit ragged. The statement of verse 4 about the guards is not recorded in the other Gospels. Since no clear decision about this placement can be determined, the reading suggested by Nestle should be retained.

4.1.3. Corrections in the Gospel according to St. Mark

The first section which needs to be considered in the Gospel according to St. Mark is number 58 which has two possible placements. The first is at the beginning of 6:15 in agreement with 01 02 038 131 161 371 535 538 540 541 543 545 2358; LG and NA26. The second is at the beginning of

6:16 and is supported by 04 042 1; DR LG RE; SV ER TISCH and TREG.[275] Reading one would include verse 15 under Canon X as particular to Mk while reading two would include it in Canon II as agreeing with Mt and Lk. When one investigates the other pericopes, it seems that Eusebius would have committed an error by linking verse 14 with Mt 14:1-2 (143) since Mt has Herod speaking these words while Mk attributes them to other people. At this point the variant reading in the apparatus becomes most helpful. It is seen that in Mk 6:14 the verb ἔλεγον is ἔλεγεν in the majority of manuscripts. This must have been the reading Eusebius had in his text since it well explains why he linked Mk 6:14 with Mt 14:1-2 - they are saying the same thing. Mk 6:15 rightly agrees with Lk 9:8 (90) showing that it belongs to Canon II so that the correct placement for Mk 58 is at the beginning of verse 16. However, a further mystery remains in this passage. Mk 6:16 is very similar to Lk 9:9 in its wording, both making reference to the beheading of John the Baptist.[276] However, if Eusebius had the variant reading suggested above in his

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[275]It should also be noted that manuscripts 038 157 and 540 have placed the next number (59) at the beginning of verse 16 showing a possible need from their exemplars to have this division in the text represented.

[276]In Mark Herod expresses certainty about the resurrection of John, while in Luke he expresses curiosity.

text, the words of Mk 6:16 would seem a repetition of Herod's earlier statement. This would justify his placing this verse in Canon X since neither of the other Gospels would have this double pronouncement of Herod. Lk 9:9 would then be seen as corresponding to Mt 14:2 and Mk 6:14 since it contains the pronouncement of Herod concerning what he had heard about John despite the similar words it shared with Mk 6:16. Again, the correct placement on the basis of internal analysis would be Mk 58 at the beginning of verse 16.

Mk 60 is placed at five different points in the manuscript tradition but only two of these merit attention. The first is at the beginning of 6:18 supported by 04 038 131 161 538 541 543; DR LG and SV along with NA26. However, several other manuscripts place this number at the beginning of verse 21. They are 01 1 371 535; ER TISCH and TREG. One needs to consider whether Mk 6:18-20 belongs to Canon II or to Canon VI. Since these verses find no correspondence with Mt 145 of Canon VI and are clearly in agreement with Mt 144 of Canon II, the correct placement is with the second reading.

Mk 63 is also divided among the witnesses since the second reading is at the beginning of 6:34, supported by 01

1 371 535 538 545 and TREG-G. Mk 6:34 is an obvious parallel to Mt 9:36 since both contain the quotation of Numbers 27 (though it is also similar to Mt 14:14). However, the two passages linked by Eusebius are describing two different scenes from the Gospels. Mk 6:32-33 historically corresponds to Mt 146 and Lk 77 in which Jesus retreats to a place away from the crowds. One would expect that Eusebius would have linked these passages together. But he did not, leaving the dilemma of whether he intended Mk 6:32-33 to be in Canon X or Canon VI. The second reading mentioned above may have been influenced by the placement of chapter number 16. It seems best to stay with the placement of section 63 by Nestle at the beginning of verse 32 along with 02 038 042 161 541 543; DR LG RE S; SV ER and TISCH.

Mk 76 begins at καλῶς πάντα of 7:37 in NA26 along with 038 042 543; DR LG RE; SV ER TISCH and TREG. The second reading begins this section at 8:1 supported by 01 1 131 371 535 and 545. A third reading found in 02 and 542 start the section at the beginning of 7:37. The third reading is very unlikely since it fails to link the statement about astonishment in Mk 7:37 with Lk 9:43. The more natural beginning point for a Canon VI agreement with Mt 160 is Mk 8:1. This commends the second reading as correct (despite

possible Greek and Latin lectionary interference and the presence of chapter number 21) and best explains the relationships between the pericopes.

Mk 83 is located at 8:29 ἀποκριθεὶς supported by 01 04 131 157; DR and LG along with NA26. The second significant reading is at the beginning of verse 30. Since Peter's confession has its parallels in Canon I, the second reading is undoubtably correct. It is supported by 02 038 042 1 535 538 2358 2400; RE; SV TISCH and TREG.

Mk 121 is a matter of homoiarchon having four different placements in the manuscript tradition all of which begin with καὶ. Reading one begins at καὶ εἰσελθὼν of 11:15 and is supported by 01 02 538 543; TISCH TREG and NA26. The second significant reading is at the beginning of 11:15, evidenced in 038 042 157 161 541 545; DR LG; SV and ER. The question is whether καὶ ἔρχονται εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα belongs to Canon VI or Canon I. The beginnings of Mt 211 Lk 238 and Jn 21 all relate Jesus' entrance into the temple while Mt 214 tells of Jesus entering Jerusalem. From this it can be concluded that the first reading is most likely original.

Mk 168 has two different placements in the manuscript tradition. The first is at ὅτι πάντες of 14:27 and is supported by 02 157 371 and NA26. The second is at the

beginning of verse 27 and is evidenced in 01 042 131 161 535 538 543 545; DR LG RE S; and SV. Since an introductory statement is included in Mt 287 and Jn 152, it is seen that this is a case of placing the section at the beginning of dialogue. The correct placement is reading two.

Mk 169 is divided over two placements. The first is at πατάξω of 14:27 and is evidenced in 01 042 1; S and NA26. The second begins at ὅτι γέγραπται of the same verse. It is supported by 02 131 161 371 535 538 543 545; DR LG RE; and SV. A comparison with Mt 288 shows that the second reading is correct.

The last section number to be considered in the Gospel according to St. Mark is number 216. The reading of NA26 is correctly supported by 161 535 538 543 545; DR LG RE S; and SV. Other readings have arisen as a result of the omission of 15:28.

4.1.4. Corrections in the Gospel according to St. Luke

The manuscript evidence for the placement of Lk 10 is rather evenly divided. Nestle begins this section with ἐγὼ μὲν of 3:16. This is supported by 01 05 532 543 545; LD; BU OX vS AND SV. The second possible placement at the beginning of verse 16 is evidenced in 02 038 538 544 2364 and 2397. Since Mk, Lk, and Jn share an introduction for

this pericope it is most natural to include the first five words of verse 16 under Canon I. The correct reading is the second.

Lk 42 has the same difficulty as did Mt 116. The first possible placement is at 6:6 with 01 02 532 543 544 545 2354 2358; LD; MI OX vS SV and NA26. The second reading is at the beginning of verse 5 and is supported by 05 038 538 2397; BU and WW. Since the statement in Mk about the Son of Man certainly belongs in this pericope and the same can be agreed for Mt, it is best to include it here also for Lk. There was likely interference from the numbering of chapter 15 as was also the case in Mt. The correct reading is the second.

Lk 56 is a unique case for every witness consulted reads against the placement of NA26. This is apparently a typesetting error. The correct reading is at the beginning of 6:37.

Lk 81 has fragmented into 5 different placements but only two of them need be considered as possibly original. The first placement is at the beginning of 8:18 and supported by 02 038 545 2364 2400; LD; MI BU OX WW vS SV and NA26. The second reading is supported by 05 538 and 543 and

begins with ὃς ἂν γὰρ of verse 18.[277] Mt has no words of introduction to this pericope and therefore is of no help in resolving this problem. However, Mk 40 of Canon II does have the statement about careful listening and corresponds to Lk 80. Based on this evidence it seems that reading two is correct.

Lk 93 is placed at 9:12 by Nestle and has a minority of witnesses, 01 04 532; MI BU OX WW vS and SV. The alternate reading begins at προσελθόντες δὲ of verse 12 and is supported in 05 038 538 543 544 2354 2358 2397 and 2400. Luke's note about the day slipping away is not found in the other Gospels, therefore, internal analysis is of little assistance. Reading one may be influenced by the placement of chapter number 28. The Latin lectionary starts at the beginning of reading two. It is unclear where the Greek lectionary starts from Gregory's notes. Since no confident decision can be made the first reading is retained.

Lk 113 is placed in Canon X. NA26 begins the section in 10:7 at μὴ μεταβαίνετε along with 04 532 545 2364 2394 2397; BU OX WW and vS. The second reading places the number at the beginning of verse 8 and is supported by 02 05 038

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[277]The misplacement by 01 at καὶ ὃς ἂν is likely also evidence for this placement.

538 543 2358; S; and SV. While the statement about not going from house to house coheres thematically with the material in Canon II, it is also quite unique to Lk. The first reading remains preferable.

Lk 144 has two significant placements within verse 1 of chapter 12. The first reading begins at προσέχετε with 02 04 532 545 2397; BU OX WW vS SV and NA26. The second begins at ἤρξατο supported by 05 038 538 543 2354 2358. The first reading excludes the introductory words of Jesus for the statement about the leaven of the Pharisees. Since an introductory phrase is included in both Mt 164 and Mk 79, it makes sense that it should be here also, therefore, the second reading is preferred.

Lk 162 cannot be decided on the basis of internal analysis since 12:57 could go with either pericope. The second reading has some support (538 2354 2358 and 2397) but the placement of NA26 is to be preferred.

Lk 177 is divided over five different placements and the placement by Nestle is very weakly attested (only in 02). The clearly preferable reading is at the beginning of 14:3, supported by 05 038 538 543 2358; LD S; BU vS and SV. The question is, are verses 3 and 4 of chapter 14 unique to Luke? The five pericopes connected through the canon tables

are Mt 116, Mk 25, Lk 42, 165 and 177. Each deals with the legality of healing on the Sabbath. Mt 116, Mk 25, and Lk 42 are all the same historical event - the healing of the man with a withered hand. But Luke includes these two other pericopes: One of a woman who couldn't stand straight, and the other of a man with dropsy. In Lk 165 the details of the woman's ailment are counted as exclusive to Luke. But the anger of the ruler of the synagogue and Jesus' reaction are counted as parallel to the other Gospels. Following the same principle, the details of the man's ailment would be counted exclusive to Luke while the question, "Is it lawful to heal on the Sabbath?" and the teaching about rescuing one's animals certainly correspond with the other Gospels. The correct placement is the second reading.

Lk 199 shows a split among the witnesses and appears to be a case of homoiarchon. Should 17:3 be a part of section 198 or 199? The phrase καὶ ἐὰν μετανοήσῃ and following fits well with the theme of Mt 183 and is supported by 02 543 545 2358; MI BU OX WW vS and SV. The first reading, which is placed at the beginning of these words so that they are included with Lk 199, is evidenced in 038 532 538 544 2400; LG and NA26. If the phrase is retained in section 199 it will be a repetition of the conclusion to verse 4. It makes

more sense for it to be in section 198, corresponding to Jesus' statement about gaining back your brother. The second reading is correct.

The divided witnesses of Lk 244 are quickly understood when the internal evidence is considered. Reading one begins with 20:40 and is supported by 05 538 543 545 2358; LD S; BU OX WW vS SV and NA26. Reading two is evidenced in 02 038 532 544 2354 2394 and 2397. Since the answer of the Pharisees in verse 39 corresponds well with the reaction of the crowd in 22:33, the first reading is to be preferred.

Lk 282 has five possible placements. The two strongest possibilities are with NA26 05 538 543 2358 2364 and MI at the beginning of 22:42. The second possibility is at πλὴν μὴ of the same verse, supported by 038 532; BU OX WW and vS.[278] According to the first, Jesus' saying about the cup would be a part of the pericope concerning the submission of His will to the heavenly Father. The parallels from the previous section make apparent that the saying about the cup belongs to section 281 corresponding to Mt 294, Mk 175, and Jn 161. The second reading is correct.

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[278]The misplacement of 283 in 02 at this point in the text may also be considered as evidence for this reading.

Lk 288 has two possible placements. The first is at the beginning of 22:51 supported by 02 538 543 544 545 2354 2358 2364; MI OX and NA26. The second starts at καὶ ἁψάμενος within the same verse and is evidenced in 05 038 532; S; BU WW vS and SV. The first portion of the verse contains Jesus' rebuke to Peter for lopping off the man's ear. It rightly corresponds with Mt 26:52 and Jn 18:11; therefore, the correct placement is with the second reading.

Lk 293 is placed at three different locations in the manuscript tradition but only two of them need to be considered here. NA26 begins the section with καὶ ὑπεμνήσθη of 22:61 and is in agreement with 02 2397 and S. The second reading starts at the beginning of verse 61 and is supported by 05 038 544 545 2358 2364 2394; MI BU OX WW vS and SV. It is interesting that the parallels for the previous section all end in the exact same words: ἀλέκτωρ ἐφώνησεν.[279] This creates a very solid agreement between the Four which Luke's statement about Jesus turning to look at Peter would disturb. Still the beginning of the next pericope also strongly agrees in the other Gospels. The statement by Luke is clearly unique and could have easily been included in Canon X. But Eusebius has not done so. The unusual

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[279]The word order is transposed in Luke.

instance of strong verbal agreement at the end of the previous section speaks against its inclusion here. In Luke it is more precisely the look of Jesus which prompts Peter's memory. The statement fits more naturally with section 293.

The last reading from Luke which needs to be considered is 322. The phrase καὶ εἱστήκει ὁ λαὸς θεωρῶν has no parallel in any of the other Gospels. It cannot be determined with any confidence where Eusebius wanted it to be placed. It makes sense thematically as part of 322 (supported by 05 532 544 545 and OX) but is not impossible in 321. It is best to stay with NA26 02 038 538 543; S; BU WW vS and SV.

4.1.5. Corrections in the Gospel according to St. John

The first section in the Gospel according to St. John which requires consideration is number 107. NA26 has its placement at ἐάν τις of 12:26 along with 131 157; DR LG and RE. The second reading is at the beginning of verse 27 supported by 01 038 1 161 371 543 2358; vS ER TISCH and TREG-L. Since the object of the parallel passages is to bring together the reference to Psalm 6:4, and the end of verse 26 does fit this object, the better reading is the second.

Jn 129 is represented by four different placements but only two of them need to be examined. The first reading begins at ὁ δὲ ἀγαπῶν of 14:21 and is supported by 038 1; DR LG; vS ER TISCH and TREG. The second reading is supported by 01 04 157 and 161 and is placed at the beginning of verse 15.[280] Either reading could be possible but since the theme of Jesus' asking in verse 16 fits better with section 128, the first reading should be retained.

Jn 132 is a very difficult passage. The first reading starts at the beginning of 14:26 and is evidenced in 01 371; DR LG RE; vS and NA26. The second is at the head of verse 25 and is supported by 038 131 161 and 543. Verse 25 does not seem to be essential to either passage and is general enough to fit in either passage. Since it is not clearly linked to the theme of the verses in Canon I, it should probably be in Canon X but because this cannot be known with any confidence it ought to remain as Nestle arranged it.

Jn 155 is also a difficult passage. The first reading is at καὶ οὗτοι of 17:25 and is supported by 01 131 538; DR LG; vS ER TISCH TREG and NA26. The second reading is at the beginning of verse 26 and is evidenced in 04 157 371 and

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[280]Three manuscripts (131 371 543) place the beginning of this section at the opening words of verse 21 but this seems to be the result of Greek lectionary interference.

543. While internal analysis would certainly permit the second reading, the fact that the corresponding passage in Canon III (Jn 76) also contains a verb of sending points toward reading number one. Since a clear solution cannot be found, the placement should remain as Nestle provided it.

Jn 197 is divided over two different placements. The first is at the beginning of 19:17 supported by 131; DR LG and NA26. The second begins at παρέλαβον of the same verse and is supported by 01 038 1 157 371 538 543; vS ER TISCH and TREG-L. Since the internal evidence also leans toward the second placement, this is the preferred reading.

The last section which needs to be analyzed is Jn 202. The reading of NA26, which begins at οἱ μὲν of 19:24, is evidenced in 1 131; LG and vS. The second reading, supported by 01 038 157 371 543; ER TISCH and TREG is preferred since it completes the statement about the activity of the soldiers which is the theme of the Canon I agreement.

To summarize the foregoing conclusions, the following section numbers should be adjusted: Mt 17 82 106 109 116 140 141 142 164 239 255 296 310 330, Mk 58 60 76 83 168 169, Lk 10 42 56 144 177 199 282 288 293, and Jn 107 197 202 for a total of 32 adjustments. The rest of the sections

discussed are cases where the manuscript tradition is split, some of which may require more study before being confirmed.

4.2. A REVIEW OF THE USE OF THE *EUSEBIAN CANONS* IN TEXTUAL CRITICISM

Since the state of the *Eusebian Canons* in the manuscripts has been carefully analyzed, it is now possible to evaluate the use of the system as evidence for textual readings. Since Tischendorf, Legg, and the editors of UBS3 and 4 have used the canons to support or confirm particular readings in their editions, an assessment of the appropriateness of that usage will also be conducted. The only cases in which the canons can safely be used to verify a reading is in places were a verse or verses have been either added or dropped in part of the textual tradition. Other applications would be too speculative.

4.2.1. The Contribution to Passages with Divided Testimony

4.2.1.1. Matthew 5:4-5

The fact that Eusebius' copy of Matthew had verses 4 and 5 switched in chapter 5 of Matthew has already been discussed above.[281] Constantine Tischendorf took note of this in his *Novum Testamentum Graece editio octava critica*

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[281]See section 4.1.2.

maior and ordered the passages in the same way as Eusebius even though this order was the opposite in many Greek manuscripts.[282] The third edition of the United Bible Societies' *The Greek New Testament*[283] also cites the evidence of the canons but mistakenly includes Ammonius as a witness to this reading. Since it cannot be known with any degree of certainty how much of Ammonius' original pericopal analysis has been retained in the re-editing of his work by Eusebius, it is improper to cite Ammonius as a witness to any reading in the Greek New Testament. This error has been corrected in the fourth edition of the UBS text (UBS4). S. C. E. Legg does not cite the canons here as evidence in his *Novum Testamentum Graece*.[284]

4.2.1.2. Matthew 16:2-3

Tischendorf has cited the *Eusebian Canons* as evidence that Mt 16:2-3 was in the text of Eusebius. This had to have been the case since the proper parallel to these verses is Lk 12:54-56. This textual evidence was not cited in the

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[282]Vol. I (Lipsiae: Giesecke & Devrient, 1869).

[283]3rd ed. edited by Kurt Aland, Matthew Black, Carlo M. Martini, Bruce M. Metzger, and Allen Wikgren (Stuttgart: United Bible Societies, 1983).

[284]*Euangelium secundum Matthaeum* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1940).

edition by S. C. E. Legg or explicitly used in UBS3.[285] UBS4 does correctly recognize the use of the *Eusebian Canons* for this passage as textual evidence.

4.2.1.3. Matthew 18:11

UBS4 has improperly cited the *Eusebian Canons* as evidence regarding this verse. The parallel to this verse would be Lk 19:10 and is not included under the numbering system. Because of this it is likely that Eusebius did not have it in his text. However, this cannot be known with certainty. Eusebius has linked Lk 226 with Mt 158.

4.2.1.4. Mark 15:28

Tischendorf struggles with the evidence concerning the presence or absence of this verse, noting that in some codices it is present and included under section 215/1 in which it does not fit. He also observed that some scribes struggled over how to represent the number for the parallel passage, Lk 277. In the end he cites the canons for both readings. UBS3 seems to repeat his error when they put in their apparatus that *Eusebian Canons*^{txt} and Ammonius support the omission of the verse and that *Eusebian Canons*^{mss} support

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[285]UBS3 does include a reference to Eusebius in its apparatus but does not make clear that this is based on the Canon system.

its inclusion.[286] Legg has properly assessed the information by including the canons as evidence of the presence of this verse for Eusebius and assigning it as 216/8.[287] UBS4 has not included the textual evidence from the canons for this verse.

4.2.1.5. Mark 16:9-20

For the long ending of Mark, Tischendorf recognized that Eusebius (and he also includes Ammonius) had ended his numbering at 233 divisions and therefore did not include these verses. He cites the variants of a number of mss both Greek and Latin as well as the statements of Epiphanius and Pseudo-Caesarius about there being only 1162 sections which excludes the possibility of more than 233 in Mark. Legg follows Tischendorf's example as does UBS3, though the latter has again included a reference to Ammonius as evidence. UBS4 has ommited the reference to Ammonius but does not note that these verses were not part of the original system of Eusebius. This is not helped by Bruce

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[286]It is evident from Tischendorf's discussion of the matter that he considered the sections to be the work of Ammonius and only the canon numbers the work of Eusebius and therefore thinks it possible to cite the section numbers as evidence of Ammonius' text.

[287]*Euangelium secundum Marcum* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1935).

Metzger's statement in *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* that, "The original form of the Eusebian sections (drawn up by Ammonius) makes no provision for numbering sections of the text after 16,8."[288] While it is certainly possible (and perhaps even likely) that Ammonius omitted these verses, the *Eusebian Canons* do not constitute evidence that he did. However, they do testify that Eusebius omitted them.

4.2.1.6. Luke 22:17-20

Neither Tischendorf nor UBS3 cite the *Eusebian Canons* as evidence in the case of the confusion over the words of institution in verses 17-20. It is evident that Eusebius had all of these verses in the common Greek order since he provides parallels for them (sections 265, 266, and 267) in canons I and II. UBS4 has correctly added the *Eusebian Canons* as textual evidence for these verses.

4.2.1.7. Luke 22:43-44

Tischendorf correctly recognized that Eusebius incorporated these verses into his canon system and cites it as evidence for their presence. He also notes some variant readings of the numbers in some of the mss. UBS3 does not

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[288]p. 123.

explicitly cite the canons as evidence but only gives a reference to Eusebius. UBS4 has correctly included them.

4.2.1.8. Luke 22:62

UBS4 has improperly cited the *Eusebian Canons* here as evidence supporting the inclusion of verse 62. The difficulty is that verse 62 need not be present in order to make a proper parallel with Mt 316 and Mk 197 according to Eusebius' system.

4.2.1.9. Luke 23:17

The same circumstance holds for this passage as 22:43-44. Tischendorf and UBS4 have included the canons as evidence that Eusebius had this verse and UBS3 makes reference to Eusebius but does not cite him explicitly.

4.2.1.10. Luke 23:34

Tischendorf, UBS3, and UBS4 rightly indicate that Eusebius provided a parallel for this verse in his system.

4.2.1.11 Luke 24:40

UBS4 has improperly cited the *Eusebian Canons* as evidence for the inclusion of this verse. It does not need to be present in order to make a proper parallel with Jn 213 or 217 according to Eusebius' system.

4.2.2. Contribution to Passages with Virtually United Testimony

For the sake of completeness a number of other passages should be mentioned for which the *Eusebian Canons* serve as textual evidence. They were noted on the basis of omissions indicated in the apparatus of NA26. Since this apparatus does not contain every variant for every manuscript utilized, there may be further applications of the canons which are not included here. Thus Mt 4:21-22, Lk 12:9, 23:10-12, Jn 6:4, and 16:15 should be considered as part of the text of Eusebius.

It should be stated that the American and British Committees of the International Greek New Testament Project have failed to include the *Eusebian Canons* as evidence in their volumes *The New Testament in Greek: The Gospel according to St. Luke*.[289] This is unfortunate since they have endeavored so carefully to provide as much information from the Church Fathers as possible. It is hoped that they, as well as the editors of NA26 and UBS3, will consider this evidence in their future editions.

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[289]Pars. 1 and 2 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984).

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION: HERMENEUTICAL OBSERVATIONS

Having researched the development, history, and use of Eusebius' system and endeavored to establish its original form through careful textual analysis, a few concluding observations about its character are in order. A number of different harmonistic approaches were reviewed in chapter one including Eusebius' *Gospel Questions*. There it was seen that Eusebius interpreted the Gospels from the Historically Harmonizing perspective, being very careful to explain the historical order of the pericopes in relation to one another. However, this same concern is not strongly evident in the canons. Rather, a perspective of interpretation much more akin to allegory serves to draw many of the pericopes together.

5.1. THE NATURE OF GOSPEL HARMONY IN THE *EUSEBIAN CANONS*

Harmony between two texts or stories can be affirmed in a number of different ways. Associations may range between absolute and general agreement. The following categories of analysis could be applied not only to the work of Eusebius but also to textual harmonization in general.

Once the different categories have been defined, a number of examples from the canons will be explored to help illustrate them.

5.1.1. Verbal

The strongest possible form of agreement between two texts is verbal agreement. This is because harmony is interested in seeing how closely two or more items cohere or participate in one another. Thus the ultimate form of harmony for texts would be that they say the same thing using exactly the same words (that is unity). This amount of harmony is rare for whole pericopes in the Gospels although they frequently share common vocabulary and even sentences. Such instances would naturally suggest themselves as parallels in any harmonistic system.

5.1.2. Historical

Since the Gospels are intent upon describing the deeds and teachings of Jesus, they often relate the same historical events. Although such events may be differently described or included for different reasons, they demonstrate a measure of agreement that would cause the harmonist to associate them.

5.1.3. Structural

In cases of structural agreement events or sayings may be considered related to one another although they appear at different points in the life of Jesus in the different Gospels. What is important here is that a saying or event be related in the same basic form.

5.1.4. Thematic

The most general type of agreement between two texts is that of thematic agreement. This can be based on something as simple as having a word, location, number, person, or other feature in common. However, frequently this association is on the basis of a general theme in the two passages although it is not presented with the same words, historical juncture, or form.[290]

Passages that have verbal agreement will also likely have historic or structural agreement although this is not necessarily so. Likewise, passages that have historic

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[290]A fifth possible category of association may exist because passages were used together for some reason apart from their obvious content. For example, if two thematically unrelated passages were used together during a theological controversy or in a liturgical context, an extra-textual basis for their association could be formed. Hypothetically, John the Baptist's statement about Jesus being the Lamb of God could be associated with the hosannas of the triumphal entry since both passages are used in the liturgy. Such associations are not readily evident in the *Eusebian Canons*.

agreement are likely to have the same basic structure. All associations will at the very least have thematic agreement since this is the most basic kind of agreement.

An important factor in creating association between passages is the amount of satisfaction the association gives to the one creating the harmony. What satisfies one harmonist as sufficiently agreeable between two passages will not necessarily satisfy another. For example, readers with a Historically Harmonizing approach will be less likely to associate passages on the basis of structure or theme since their primary concern is to create a satisfying chronology of the material. Associating passages which appear early in the "chronology" with later passages would be unsatisfactory since it would imply that these passages are somehow out of order and ought to be considered together. In contrast, a reader exercising an Allegorically Harmonizing approach will find associations at many points in the texts regardless of chronology since such a reader is drawn by the similarity of such passages to see them as explaining one another. Therefore, measure of satisfaction is crucial in matters of harmony.

5.2. THE CONTRASTING APPROACH TO OTHER HARMONIES IN THE *EUSEBIAN CANONS*

A convenient choice of illustrative passages by which to evaluate Eusebius' work has been provided by Brevard S. Childs in his book *The New Testament as Canon: An Introduction*.[291] These passages present "classic" problems for the harmonist and therefore push the boundaries of his methodology in a revealing way.[292] Also, since Childs includes historical summaries as well as his own, fresh perspective on Gospel Harmony, the interested reader will find his research most helpful.

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[291](Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1984). The relevant material is in chapters 9 and 10, "The Canonical Problem of the Four Gospels" and "A Canonical Harmony of the Gospels" respectively.

[292]Childs summarizes a number of approaches in chapter 9 in such a way that the similarities between ancient and modern approaches become clear. The modern critical methodologies are no less harmonistic than those of Origen, Augustine, or Osiander. B. F. Westcott harmonized the Gospels on the basis of their common moral character. Source and Form Criticism find within them a common seed and community from which, diachronically, the various accounts stem. The History of Religions approach attempts to harmonize not only the Gospels but also all religious literature and thought generally on the basis of the common needs and experiences of humanity which run throughout all religious expression. Thus all these and subsequent approaches have struggled to bring the Gospels into conformity with an ultimately unified system of thought or world view, to smooth away the rough edges through critical analysis. They are essentially rationalistic and their certainty depends on satisfying reason or the rigors of their particular system.

5.2.1. Passages Illustrating Harmonistic Approaches

5.2.1.1. The Infancy Narratives

Eusebius has, for the most part, consigned the different accounts of the birth of Jesus in Mt and Lk to the tenth canon of his work with a few exceptions. Mt 3 has been linked together with Lk 2 both of which explain that the Holy Spirit is responsible of Mary's conception of Jesus. The types of agreement between these passages can be classified as Historical and Thematic. Also Mt 5 has been linked together with Jn 83 over the reference to Micah 5:1 and 3 that the Christ would be born in Bethlehem. This is likewise a case of Thematic agreement. It should also be noted here that Eusebius has linked together the genealogies of Mt 1 and Lk 14 with the first five verses of the Johannine prologue as well as verses 9-10 and 14 (Jn sections 1 3 and 5). Here the theological theme of the divine and human natures of Christ is operative. This interesting parallel is generally overlooked in modern synopses and harmonies.[293]

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[293]The exception is the *Synopsis Quattuor Evangeliorum* ed. by Kurt Aland (Stuttgart: Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1964) pericope number 1 which provides a further reference to pericope 6.

5.2.1.2. John the Baptist

The introduction of John the Baptist is divided up between several canons. Mt 7 has been linked with Lk 6 and Jn 2 and 25. Each of these pericopes introduces John with different words and forms and therefore the parallels may be considered Historic and Thematic in nature. Mt 8 is combined with Mk 2, Lk 7, and Jn 10 because of the quote from Isaiah 40, making this a case of Verbal agreement. Mt 9 stands alone with Mk 3 in Verbal and Historic agreement. The structure of this statement differs in that Matthew describes John's manner of dressing and eating first and then the crowds which came to be baptized whereas Mark has switched the order of these sentences. Instead of subdividing them further and representing this different order in the canons, Eusebius simply leaves the two passages together. Mt 10 has been set apart with Lk 8 in the fifth canon. They contain the summary of John's preaching which in Matthew is directed to the Pharisees and Sadducees but in Luke to the crowds in general. The two passages agree Verbally, Historically, Structurally, and Thematically being almost word for word the same. Mt 11 has been linked with Mk 4, Lk 10, and Jn 6, 12, 14, and 28. The passages from the Synoptics have a high degree of verbal and structural

agreement here but Eusebius has also included the statements in John where the Baptist says that Christ would come after him which thereby have Historical and Thematic agreement. Mt 12 is linked with Lk 11 alone and has all four categories of agreement. Mt 13 is consigned to canon 10 (material unique to Mt) because it contains the discussion between Jesus and John over whether or not He should be baptized. Finally, the passage about the descent of the Holy Spirit is drawn together through canon 1 (Mt 14, Mk 5, Lk 13, and Jn 15). Again there is strong Verbal and Structural agreement between the Synoptics while John is added for Historical and Thematic reasons. Eusebius recognizes that Lk provides some unique material in section 9 which contains more of John's instruction for the crowds. A number of small passages throughout John's account are likewise assigned to the tenth canon.

It should be noted in this pericope that Eusebius draws together parallels from John which are much more loosely associated than the Synoptics. This seems to be due in some measure to his apologetic concerns, wanting to involve John's Gospel as much as possible lest it appear disharmonious or largely unconnected to the other three.

5.2.1.3. Peter's Confession

Childs introduces this pericope as Peter's confession at Caesarea Philippi (Mt 166, Mk 82, and Lk 94) but Eusebius has also included here Andrew's confession to Peter (Jn 17) and Peter's confession in Galilee after the rejection of Jesus by the crowds (Jn 74). The Synoptic accounts have Verbal, Structural, and Historic agreement while the Johannine material is included because of the theme of confession.

5.2.1.4. The Rich Young Ruler

A measure of thematic as well as chronological interest may be illustrated from the story of the Rich Young Ruler. Here Eusebius has properly linked together Mt 193, Mk 107, and Lk 218 but has also included Lk 121 which is the lawyer's question about how one inherits eternal life. Another very natural set of parallels for this passage are Mt 224 and Mk 131 where a lawyer or scribe asks about the greatest commandment in the Law. The structural similarity between all these passages is evident. But Eusebius may be distinguishing them on the basis of the intent of the questioner as well as the larger context in which they occur. In Lk 121 and the passages about the Rich Young Ruler, the questioner's intent is not hostile but friendly.

Mt 224 and Mk 131 are set in the context of the entrapping questions of the Pharisees and Sadducees. However, the scribe in Mk 131 does not seem openly hostile. Why was this passage not included with those about the Rich Young Ruler along with Lk 121? Mk 131, unlike the passage from Luke, has a specific historical context with Mt 224. This seems to be the reason for Eusebius' arrangement.

5.2.1.5. The Cursing of the Fig Tree

This passage is composed of Mt 214 and 215 and Mk 120, 123, and 124. Eusebius has linked together the first two passages of Mt and Mk in which the fig tree is cursed. Mt notes that the result is that the fig tree withers right away while in Mk the story continues with the cleansing of the temple. After this Eusebius assigns the departure from the city and the disciples' amazement over the fig tree to the tenth canon. Finally he links together Jesus' teaching over this in Mt 215 and Mk 124. Eusebius' arrangement of these passages does not indicate how he would have solved the chronological problems here but does show that he was aware of the problem. It is curious that he has divided the words of Jesus from the action of cursing the tree.[294]

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[294]The passage in Mt did not need to be divided since it is common practice for Eusebius to leave together a larger pericope in Mt and attach two or more passages from another

5.2.1.6. The Anointing of Jesus

Eusebius has gathered together all four descriptions of the anointing of Jesus despite their different accounts and the problems of chronology. The structure of Mt 276 and Mk 158 are especially similar and these passages share with Jn 98 Jesus' words about the continuing plight of the poor and his coming departure. These passages are apparently also historically related since they are all set about the time of the Passover. But Lk 74 occurs much earlier. However, its structural and thematic similarity justify its inclusion here. John 98 is one of those unusual passages which Eusebius has included in more than one canon (both 1 and 4). This was apparently done for convenience sake. Rather than trying to link together Jn 12:2-6 and 8 by further subdivision so that verse 7 could be included with the Mt 277 and Mk 159, he simply repeated the number. Perhaps this parallel was noted at a late stage in the editing.

5.2.1.7. The Resurrection Narratives

Matthew's opening words in section 352 about the resurrection have been linked together by Eusebius with Mk 231, Lk 336, and Jn 209 and 211. These passages contain the common themes of being the morning after the Sabbath and the

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Gospel as he did above with Jn.

journey of the women to the tomb where they see the angel(s). Jn 210, which relates the visit of Peter and John, has been passed over and assigned to the tenth canon. There next follows the unusual division of the Synoptics into Mt 353, Mk 232, Lk 337 and Mt 354, Mk 233, and Lk 338. These passages, already mentioned above (section 2.2.3.2.), do not need to be divided since they are consecutive and belong to the same canon. The first set of passages is the message of the angel(s) and the second is the flight of the women from the tomb. An agreement between Mk 230 and Lk 335 was noted by Eusebius as well as the post-resurrection appearances in Lk (340 and 341) and Jn (213 with 217 and 221, 223, and 225 respectively).

From the foregoing study it can be seen that Eusebius' analysis and association of passages between the four Gospels was very carefully planned and thoroughly carried out. While other early approaches to harmony such as those of Origen and Augustine sought to find a proper chronological order, the *Eusebian Canons* are unique and much more compatible with the modern synoptic *Gattung*.

The various associations between passages reveal a methodology different from the strict, historical approach which Eusebius exhibited in his *Gospel Questions*. This

difference perhaps stems from the original design of the system by Ammonius the Alexandrian. Hermeneutically it is more compatible with an allegorical approach to interpretation not dissimilar from that practiced by the Stoics on Homer and Hesiod and introduced to Christianity through Philo, Clement, and Origen. This would help it to serve as an effective apologetic tool against those who considered the Gospel disharmonious since it demonstrates its greater thematic unity.

5.2.2. Inspiration

In introducing his letter *Ad Marinum* (the second portion of his *Gospel Questions*) Eusebius writes,

> Leaving the questions and solutions at the beginning in the divinely inspired Gospels, having already earlier toiled over two writings, I now come hereafter to the end of those [things in the Gospels] which always among all are being questioned (passing over the middle).[295]

It is no surprise that Eusebius considered the Gospels and indeed all of Scripture to be inspired by God. The expression of the doctrine of inspiration was well

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[295]PG 22, 937. The Greek text reads, "Τῶν ἐν τοῖς θεοπνεύστοις Εὐαγγελίοις περὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπορουμένων ζημάτων καὶ λύσεων δύο πεπονηκὼς ἤδη πρότερον συγγράμματα, πάρειμι νῦν, τὰ μέσα παρελθών, ἔπειτα πρὸς τῷ τέλει τῶν αὐτῶν πάντοτε τοῖς πᾶσι ζητούμενα." He calls the Scriptures divinely inspired in the Isaiah commentary (PG 24, 433D) where they are the ways and paths in which the ancient men of God fed.

established by his time and was often set forth in words related to the Greek philosophical ideas of harmony and the inspiration of the poets, the writers being described as lyres or flutes upon which the Spirit played (this practice is characteristic of most early Christian apologists - they accommodated their language to the culture which they were addressing).[296] But that Eusebius also gave an important

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[296]A helpful summary of this material and excellent dogmatic treatment are provided by Hermann Sasse's "Briefe an lutherische Pastoren Nr. 29, Zur Inspirationslehre Augustins" in *Lutherische Blätter* 5, 31 (15. April 1953). The following quotation is taken from a translation prepared by Pastor Ralph Gehrke. "The divine Pneuma descends from heaven and uses the holy man - he must be holy, just as he must be wise in the case of Philo, and no sinner and fool like Paul - as an instrument (ὄργανον), something like the plectrum, the little stick which sets the zither or lyre resounding. That this metaphorical picture not only belongs to the terminology of the learned scholars but is deeply rooted in the religious consciousness of enthusiastic paganism is shown by the Montanist movement. A reputed word of the Holy Ghost according to Montanus is: `Behold, the man is like a lyre, and I have flown hither like a plectrum' [recorded in Epiphanius, *Panarion Haer. 48, 4, 1*]. The difficult struggle the church had with Montanist heresy ended with the rejection of this intrusion of pagan enthusiasm into the faith of the church. It was a healthy reaction against the pagan misunderstanding of prophecy when the Asia Minor theologian Miltiades brought, in one of his writings, proof `that a prophet dare not speak in the state of ecstasy' [Eusebius *H. E. V, 16*]. But Christian apologetics took no notice of this. Rather, it remained with the metaphorical picture of the musical instruments, of the zither, lyre and flute that were made to sound by the divine Spirit . . . . And so it is that Pseudo-Justin [*Cohortatio ad Graecos, 37*] and Theophilus see that the revelation in the prophets and the revelation in the sibyls stand next to one another `in the most beautiful harmony'

place to the human writer can be seen from his description of St. Luke's work.

> So he has left us examples of the art of healing souls which he learnt from them [the Apostles] in two divinely inspired books, the Gospel and the Acts of the Apostles. The former, declares, he wrote in accordance with the information he received from those who from the first had been eyewitnesses and ministers of the word, information which, he adds, he had followed in its entirety from the first. The latter he composed not this time from hearsay but from the evidence of his own eyes.[297]

Instead of setting forth a strict dictation theory of inspiration, Eusebius draws a picture of the investigative historian, interviewing the most credible observers and committing to writing his own eyewitness accounts. This interest in careful historical research does not seem to have created a conflict for him with his belief in the Spirit's work.

5.2.3. History, Harmony, and the Logos of God

In chapter one it was seen that Eusebius was a supremely source-conscious historian. The practice of careful source citation which he developed from both the Jewish and Classical disciplines of historiography undergirded his approach to harmonizing the Gospels, both in

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[*Ad Autolycum, II, 9*]."

[297]EuHE 3, 4.

their particular historical facts and larger themes. In fact, the same beliefs which led him to so carefully read the Gospels also guided his reading of history. Glen F. Chesnut comments,

> The universe as a whole was also conceived by Eusebius as a single great mechanistic and architectonic process taking place in accordance with the laws of nature. It was, of course, the Logos (the rational structure of the universe) that supplied these natural laws, or to put it the other way round, the laws of nature were part of the Logos structure of the cosmos.[298]

Just as one could read the Gospels for διάνοια or θεωρία, so one could read historical events for their πρόνοια, the providential care and guidance of the Logos of God,

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[298]*The First Christian Histories: Eusebius, Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret, and Evagrius* 2nd. ed. (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1986) p. 43.

manifestto the careful observer.[299] Since both were under the Logos' guidance, harmony would be the natural result.

5.2.4. Canonicity

The particular difficulty which Eusebius expressed toward the work of Ammonius and the other earlier attempts to harmonize the texts of the Gospels (Marcion and Tatian) was that they had disregarded the canonical form in which the texts were received. Indeed, Eusebius' system was

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[299]"Eusebius believed that the human subject could, at any particular moment in time, analyze the particular historical situation in which he stood as the product of a set of external events that had taken place outside of his own personal control but in accordance with a natural causal order supplied by the universal Logos (the rational structure of the cosmos), so that the whole set of external events was amenable to rational investigation and explanation." Chesnut, p. 39. This chapter on "Eusebius: Fate, Fortune, Free Will, and Nature" demonstrates Eusebius' rejection of Classical views of fate perpetuated in such institutions as oracles and astrology in favor of a Christian view of free will and the ability of the Redeemed to understand the cosmic harmony enacted by God their Savior. A curious iconographic connection emerges at this point. Carl NordenfaLk notes regarding the structure of the canon tables, "The numerals have been entered in dark brown ink in groups of four within compartments formed by crossing vertical and horizontal lines drawn in red (minium) with the help of a ruler. There are double vertical lines on the outside of each column. Constituting the usual guiding network of all Greek Canon tables, such lines no doubt reflect the author's original scheme. Eusebius must have been familiar with it from **Classical astronomic tables**, like those copied in the Vatican Ptolemaios, Vat. gr. 1291 (fig. 5)." "Canon Tables on Papyrus." p. 33. Could Eusebius have had in mind the usurpation of these tables that were intended to illustrate cosmic harmony and lead to a harmonious life? See Chesnut p. 34.

created to accommodate just this characteristic of the Gospels. Deleting, melding, or dislocating the text was not only improper but also heretical. A solution had to be found which emphasized the unity of the Gospel message (the apologetic goal) as well as the particular ways in which it was communicated by the Apostles (the canonical necessity).[300] The ingenious system of the Bishop of

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[300]Similar complaints have been lodged by American Evangelical scholars who wish to maintain the legitimacy of harmonization while avoiding the extremes of the rationalistic, 'addative' approaches. Craig L. Blomberg concludes his article on the topic by writing, "As for the biblical texts in particular, the sample of some of the most obvious candidates for errors in the Gospels and Chronicles shows that this presumption [that a discrepancy is necessarily an error] is rash; all can be explained, even if competing explanations are not equally probable. The tools of higher criticism not only do not have to be reviewed as inherently destructive but can, in fact, join hands with traditional harmonization in the service of a high view of Scripture." "The Legitimacy and Limits of Harmonization," in *Hermeneutics, Authority, and Canon* ed. by D. A. Carson and John D. Woodbridge (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Publishing House, 1986) p. 174. See also Raymond B. Dillard "Harmonization: A Help and a Hinderance," in *Inerrancy and Hermeneutics: A Tradition, A Challenge, A Debate* ed. by Harvie M. Conn (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1988) pp. 151-164. "The Chicago Statement on Biblical Hermeneutics" drafted by the International Council on Biblical Inerrancy in 1982 speaks three times of Scriptural and hermeneutical harmony: article XVII, "WE AFFIRM the unity, harmony and consistency of Scripture and declare that it is its own best interpreter," article XIX, "WE AFFIRM that any preunderstandings which the interpreter brings to Scripture should be in harmony with scriptural teaching and subject to correction by it," and article XXI, "WE AFFIRM the harmony of special with general revelation and therefore of Biblical teaching with the facts of nature." From the

Caesarea did much to satisfy these needs of the Church for almost a thousand years.

Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society Vol. 25 (1982) pp. 397-401. Ronald Youngblood interacts with these formulations writing, "When all of this is said and done, however, we are not obliged to find a solution to every alleged contradiction in Scripture. It is better to leave some of them unresolved than to resort to forced harmonization." "From Tatian to Swanson, from Calvin to Bendavid: The Harmonization of Biblical History," in the same journal, p. 423. This observation is helpful because it illustrates that this whole issue embraces not simply historiographical and hermeneutical practice but also ideas of epistemology. What is considered valid harmonization is a matter of satisfaction within one's interpretive community. Texts can always be harmonized, even the most difficult passages in the Gospels, provided one's world view and hermeneutical approach are flexible and creative enough. The type of allegory practiced by both Classical and early Christian interpreters was exceptionally well suited for this task. Between both Ancient and Modern interpreters of the Gospels there are several bases for Gospel unity: 1. The Gospels were received and passed on by the same community, 2. They have the same basic outline, 3. They preach the same basic message, and 4. They bear witness to the same Christ. There are also bases for rejecting artificial unity (what Childs cleverly calls, ". . . the trivialization of the Gospel accounts into something resembling a bad home movie." p. 202): 1. The independent testimony of the witnesses, 2. The particular purposes of the writers, 3. The particular persons for whom they wrote, and 4. That the Church might not loose anything which she received from the Apostles concerning her Lord.

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MANUSCRIPTS AND EDITIONS

The following list contains the manuscripts and editions used for the correction of the *Eusebian Canons* listed according to either Gregory number or abbreviations. The information about library locations of the Greek witnesses comes from Kurt Aland's *Kurzgefasste Liste der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments* aus *Arbeiten zur neutestamentlichen Textforschung* B. 1 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1963-). When the collation was made from a medium other than the manuscript itself, a reference is provided to the work in the preceding bibliography. Again, special thanks are due to fellowstudent Jeff Kloha for the many collations he provided.

Greek Witnesses:

01 London, Brit. Mus. Add. 43725
Codex Sinaiticus Petropolitanus ed. by Helen Lake and Kirsopp Lake [Facsimile]

02 London, Brit. Mus., Royal 1 D. VIII
Codex Alexandrinus Oxford [Facsimile]

04 Paris, Bibl. Nat. Gr. 9
Edward H. Hansell [Printed]

05 Cambridge, Univ. Libr. Nn II 41
Frederick H. Scrivener [Printed]

038 Tiflis, Grus. Mus. Gr. 28
H. G. Beerman and C. R. Gregory [Printed]

042 Rossano, Erzbischof, s.n.
Codex Purpureus Rossanensis ed. by G. Cavallo, J. Gribomont, and W. C. Loerke [Facsimile]

1 Basel, Univ. Bibl., A. N. IV.2
Kirsopp Lake [Printed]

131 Rom, Bibl. Vatic. Gr. 359
Vatican Microfilms, St. Louis Univ.

157 Rom, Bibl. Vatic. Barb. Gr. 352
Vatican Microfilms, St. Louis Univ.

371 Rom, Bibl. Vatic. Gr. 1159
Vatican Microfilms, St. Louis Univ.

532 Ann Arbor, Univ. of Michigan Ms 22

535 Ann Arbor, Univ. of Michigan Ms 20

538 Ann Arbor, Univ. of Michigan Ms 18

540 Ann Arbor, Univ. of Michigan Ms 23a

541 Ann Arbor, Univ. of Michigan Ms 23b

543 Ann Arbor, Univ. of Michigan Ms 15

544 Ann Arbor, Univ. of Michigan Ms 25

545 Ann Arbor, Univ. of Michigan Ms 30

2354 Ann Arbor, Univ. of Michigan Ms 80

2358 Louisville/Kent., South. Bapt. Theol. Sem. Lib.
s.n. [Microfilm and Photographs]

2364 Ann Arbor, Univ. of Michigan Ms 182

2394 Chicago, Univ. Lib. Ms 131

2397 Chicago, Univ. Lib. Ms 135

2400 Chicago, Univ. Lib. Ms 965
E. J. Goodspeed, D. W. Riddle, and H. P. Willoughby eds. [Facsimile]

*l*135 Rom, Bibl. Vatic. Barb. Gr. 472
Vatican Microfilms, St. Louis Univ.

Latin Witnesses:

DR *Evangelium Quattuor Codex Durmachensis*. ed. by A. A. Luce, G. O. Simms, P. Meyer, and L. Bieler [Facsimile]

LD *The Durham Gospels*. ed. by C. D. Verey, T. J. Brown, and E. Coatsworth
[Facsimile]

LG *The Lorsch Gospels*. ed. by Wolfgang Braunfels
[Facsimile]

RE *Codex Rhedigeranus*. ed. by Heinrich Joseph Vogels
[Printed]

S St. Gall Ms 1395
The Oldest Manuscript of the Vulgate Gospels. (Sangallensis) ed. by Cuthbert Hamilton Turner
[Facsimile]

Printed Editions:

BU Buttman, Phillipus. *Novum Testamentum Graece*.

ER Erasmus, Desiderius. *Novum Testamentum Omnia*. 1519 and 1522

Legg Legg, S. C. E. *Nouum Testamentum Graece*.

MI Mill, John. *Novum Testamentum Graecum*.

NA26 Nestle-Aland. *Novum Testamentum Graece*.

OX International Greek New Testament Project. *The New Testament in Greek: The Gospel according to St. Luke*.

SV Weber, Robertus et al. *Biblia Sacra Iuxta Vulgatam Versionem.*

TISCH Tischendorf, Constantinus. *Novum Testamentum Graece.*

TREG Tregelles, Samuel Prideaux. *Greek New Testament.* (Greek and Latin)

vS Soden, Heinrich von. *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments.*

WW Wordsworth-White. *Novum Testamentum.*