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### The Position of Present Scholarship with Regard to the Hypothetical Document Designated as Logia or "Q"

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#### Recommended Citation

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**THE POSITION OF PRESENT SCHOLARSHIP WITH REGARD  
TO THE HYPOTHETICAL DOCUMENT DESIGNATED AS LOGIA OR "Q"**

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**A Thesis Presented to  
The Faculty of Concordia Seminary  
Department of New Testament Theology**

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**In Partial Fulfillment  
of the Requirements for the Degree  
Bachelor of Divinity**

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**by  
Arno E. Krentz  
May 1947**

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THE POSITION OF PRESENT SCHOLARSHIP WITH REGARD  
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Introduction

One of the perplexing problems in the field of New Testament Introduction is the relationship of the first three Gospels to each other. A careful reading of these Gospels reveals that they are much alike and seem to have much in common. There are many similar or strikingly similar events in all three. Then, too, there are clearcut differences. The Evangelists who wrote these Gospels tell us nothing concerning how their writings were related to each other. Luke alone says something about how his Gospel came to be written. Apostolic testimony on these three Gospels is something unknown to us.

This similarity of these three Gospels aroused the curiosity of Christian teachers from time to time. Dr. Weiss, an eminent New Testament scholar of the 19th century, claims that in the second century one of the Church Fathers was interested in these three Gospels. He says, "Papias already expressed surprise that Mark should have given the sayings of the Lord in a different

manner from Matthew"<sup>1</sup> He feels that the statements made by Papias warrant such a conclusion. Almost as soon as the first three Gospels were widely circulated and distributed this similarity was noticed. Writing at that time was still done on parchments thereby making it relatively simple to unroll the three Gospels side by side in order to read the accounts and notice their similarities in order of events, words, and structure.

In the third century this problem was again taken up by a man named Ammonius. It seems as if he too noticed that the first three Gospels were very much alike. He expressed this relationship by combining the three Gospel accounts into one document. Zahn says of him, "As early as the third century, a certain Ammonius, of whom nothing more definite is known, prepared an edition of Matthew in which the sections of the other Gospels agreeing more or less closely with Matthew were arranged alongside of the Matthew text, which was given in full."<sup>2</sup> Zahn also adds that this work was entitled Diatessaron. Ammonius, according to Zahn, expressed no definite theory or opinion on how the three Gospels were interrelated or why they were similar. He merely combined them into one composite work.

The end of the fourth century and the early part of the fifth saw the first solution offered to the problem of the similarity of the first three Gospels. St. Augustine upon studying

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1. Dr. Bernhard Weiss, A Manual of Introduction to the New Testament, p. 203.

2. Theodor Zahn, Introduction to the New Testament, II, p. 401.

these Gospels wrestled with the problem. Filson reports, "But as far back as the time of Augustine it was seen that the characteristics of the Synoptic Gospels demand some theory of interdependence."<sup>3</sup> Augustine realized that some explanation should be given for this phenomenon which he noticed in the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke. Thiessen asserts that Augustine ventured a theory on how these Gospels are related. He says,

"Augustine is probably the first that expressed an opinion in this respect. He suggested that the similarities of language in the Gospels indicated literary dependence among them. In his opinion Mark was a condensation of Matthew."<sup>4</sup>

After Augustine expressed his theory of interdependence and his views on Mark, there were no more opinions or hypotheses expressed during the early Middle Ages.

The later Middle Ages also saw nothing done about this problem. The old Catholic scholars weren't sufficiently interested in the Bible and especially Biblical Introduction to concern themselves with this problem. The question lay dormant during the Middle Ages, because the Bible was largely a closed book even to so-called theologians.

The next period was that of the Reformation introduced by Martin Luther. Luther took a great interest in the Scriptures and also in questions of introduction. From his pen we have introductions to the books of the Bible, but nowhere do we find him treating the questions involved in these three Gospels. He either did not regard these similarities as problems or was un-

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3. Floyd V. Filson, Origin of the Gospels, p. 118.

4. H. C. Thiessen, Introduction to the New Testament, p. 102.

aware that a problem existed in the similarities of these three Gospels.

The problem of the interrelation of the first three Gospels, however, has been studied much during the past 150 years. Much information has been gleaned. The similarities and dissimilarities of Matthew, Mark, and Luke have been catalogued. Various theories and hypotheses have been advanced. It behooves us who are believers in the verbal inspiration of Scripture to examine these theories and evaluate them. We are seekers after the truth. The Bible is a book which true facts will not contradict or disparage. We need have no fear of honest Biblical scholarship. While we will not and cannot accept everything that the critics postulate, we are willing to give them an impartial hearing.

The problem involving the interrelationship of these three Gospels has been given the name of the Synoptic Problem. The three Gospels themselves are generally known as the Synoptic Gospels. Charles Callan has given the reason for this term being coined in an article in the "Catholic Biblical Quarterly" in which he writes,

"Synopsis is a Greek word which in its literal or primary meaning signifies looking at together, that is, comparing two or more things one with the other. If we look thus at our first three Gospels, especially when arranged in parallel columns, we are at once impressed with their striking similarities, on the one hand, and their not less remarkable differences, on the other hand."<sup>5</sup>

The main events pictured in all three Gospels are: 1) the min-

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5. Charles J. Callan, "The Synoptic Problem," in the Catholic Biblical Quarterly, I, Jan. 1939, p. 55.

istry of John the Baptist, 2) the Baptism and Temptation of Jesus, 3) the great Galilean ministry of Jesus, 4) the withdrawals of Jesus into northern parts of Palestine, 5) the activity in Southern Palestine, 6) the last journey to Jerusalem, and 7) Christ's last public ministry in Jerusalem -- His suffering, death and resurrection. We note with regard to their similarity of events that they have, "the same historical scheme: within this scheme the record, in general, of the same events; frequently the same order of events (although this is somewhat broken by the topical method of Matthew); verbal relation in the record of events ranging from identity to a more general sameness."

Statistical data has also been compiled regarding the similarities of the three Synoptic Gospels. A comparison of Matthew and Luke with Mark respectively reveals that Matthew seems to take about one half of his material directly from Mark while Luke seems to take about one third of his material. In regard to the number of verses we find that out of a total of 1068 verses Matthew has about 500 similar to or identical to those found in Mark, and 550 verses peculiarly his own. Out of a total of 1149 verses Luke has about 320 similar or identical to

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6. Wm. F. Arndt, New Testament Introduction Notes, p. 31.

7. Floyd V. Filson, op. cit., pp. 17 & 18.

8. E. F. Scott, The Literature of the New Testament, pp. 21 & 22, sums up the problem by saying, "The three Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke are independent works, and yet bear a very close relation to each other. They cover much the same ground; they give nearly the same selection of incidents; when one of them records a saying of Jesus, it is usually repeated in one or both of the others. This similarity might be set down to the fact that all three writers are telling the same story and inevitably overlap."

9. Canon B. H. Streeter, The Four Gospels, p. 182

those found in Mark and about 830 seemingly different from Mark.

Lexically there is also a similarity to be found among these three Gospels. Orello Cone has compiled these figures,

"The words common to all three are found to be in Matthew and Luke 14 per cent.; in Mark 23 per cent.; Matthew has of words peculiar to himself 56 per cent.; Mark 40 per cent.; and Luke 67 per cent. About half the words in Mark are found in Matthew, but only a fourth of those in Luke, while a third of the words of Mark are in Luke. Lexically the first two are most alike, the first and third most unlike."<sup>11</sup>

Obviously similarities of this kind are worthy of some accounting. There must be some reasons behind the similarities of Mark to both Matthew and Luke. It is not just an accident that three accounts should have so many similar events and even the same words in many events and instances.

As noticeable as the similarities in the Synoptic Gospels are, still there are also obvious dissimilarities. Upon close examination of these books we find, "divergence in general purpose; varying treatment of the same recorded events to serve the general purpose; different accounts of the same happening; and certain material peculiar to each of the documents."<sup>12</sup> To this list may be added the fact that the order of events is not always the same.

Dr. Arndt has catalogued five main differences in the Synoptic Gospels. They are: 1) Mark has no infancy narratives, he begins with John's public ministry, 2) Mark omits most of the long speeches of Jesus found in Matthew and Luke, 3) Matthew at

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10. Cf. Ernest Wm. Parsons, "Recent Advances in the study of the Gospels," Colgate Rochester Divinity School Bulletin, vol. 8, p. 16.

11. Orello Cone, Gospel-Criticism and Historical Christianity, pp. 123 & 124.

12. Ernest Wm. Parsons, op. cit., p. 18.

times has a different order of events from that given in Mark and Luke,<sup>13</sup> 4) Luke has a long report of the activity of Jesus in Southern Palestine which is not found in Matthew and Luke,<sup>14</sup> 5) Luke does not have the incidents, related Mark 6, 45 - 8, 30.<sup>15</sup> This is commonly referred to as the great omission.<sup>15</sup> From this list it is evident that the differences also cannot be overlooked. They have a definite bearing on the Synoptic Problem. The one section where there is no omission on the part of all three is in the passion narrative.

Orello Cone calls attention to yet another phenomenon in the Synoptics. He has made a study of the use of the Old Testament on the part of the Synoptic writers, and offers the following observation, "It is quite significant that some citations from the Old Testament common to the three records are found to differ from the Hebrew text in the manner of the Septuagint, and yet to have certain peculiarities which are the same in all of them."<sup>16</sup> In my reading of the various scholars Cone was the only one to comment on this similarity of the Synoptics' use of the Old Testament.

In the main the similarities of the Synoptics are more numerous than the dissimilarities. Minor changes are found in the accounts of some of the miracles and discourses as in the case

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13. In Matthew 8 and 9 the Evangelist places the story of the Centurion of Capernaum, of the storm on the Sea, of Demoniacs among the Gerasenes, of the Infirm Woman before the calling of the Twelve. Mark places the calling first, (iii, 13-19) and Luke (vi, 13-16) does likewise.

14. Cf. Luke chapters 10-17.

15. Cf. Wm. F. Arndt, op. cit., p. 32.

16. Orello Cone, op. cit., p. 122.

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of the healing of blind Bartemaeus. Another striking example is the account of Jesus' walking on the water.<sup>18</sup> Some of the accounts are found only in two of the writers. Zahn comments on these phenomena,

"And so all three of the synoptists follow closely the main outlines of the history as given in the missionary preaching, which covered the activity of Jesus after the arrest of the Baptist--from this point onwards giving an uninterrupted and progressive account of His public ministry up to the time of His death and resurrection. As is often the case in the popular treatment of complex historical development, intermediate steps are omitted and the whole progress of events so set forth that the movement which began in Galilee ends in 'Judea.'" 19

Much study has been devoted to these phenomena in the Synoptics. Critics have attempted to answer the following questions: 1) Which one of the Gospels was written first? 2) What materials or sources did the authors use? 3) Were they dependent upon each other? and 4) In what ways were they dependent upon each other if they were dependent?

From the voluminous writing that has been done on this subject there has arisen a number of variations upon a theory or hypothesis which presupposes that either Mark or Matthew wrote first and that the other two each used one of these Gospels as one of his sources together with another document that has been designated Logia or "Q" believed by many critics to have consisted mainly of the sayings of Jesus. The letter "Q" is an abbreviation for the German Quelle meaning source. This theory has been

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17. Cp. Matt. 20, 29-34 with Mark 10, 46-52 and Luke 18, 35-43.

18. Cp. Matt. 14, 24-33 with Mark 6, 47-53.

19. Theodor Zahn, op. cit., III, pp. 166 & 167.

developed in varying forms and with individual modifications.

It is the aim of this thesis to examine this theory and its variations by presenting them in concise form, to determine what results have accrued from these studies, to determine if possible, whether the existence of a document "Q" or Logia can be assumed, and to arrive at some acceptable conclusions with regard to this problem which do not violate the doctrine of verbal inspiration of the Holy Scriptures.

1. Cf. Acts 2, 14-36.

2. Cf. Acts 3, 15-26.

3. Jonathan J. Marshall, *The Bible: Its Origin and Growth*, p. 114.

## C H A P T E R I

### The Existence of the Unwritten Gospel

The Disciples of Christ did nothing to further other men's knowledge of Christ's life immediately after His resurrection and ascension into heaven. Scripture nowhere records any activity of the Disciples outside of their own group till the great day of Pentecost dawned and they received the gift of the Holy Spirit into their hearts. Then, first, did they begin to tell about Christ, His Life, and His Work.

Peter was the first apostle to arise and speak about Christ. He told the assembled Jews on Pentecost about Jesus' ministry, His miracles, His death, His resurrection, and ascension.<sup>1</sup> A short time later Peter healed the lame man at the temple and again spoke about Jesus.<sup>2</sup> This same thing can be said of all the apostles. Their first task was not to give us a record of Christ's life but to instill faith in this Christ. As Harrell says, "The New Testament plainly tells us that the preaching of the Gospel preceded the writing of the Gospels. The first pas-<sup>3</sup>sion of the apostles was not literary, but evangelistic." The apostles felt it most urgent for them to be preaching. St. Luke records 12 instances in the book of Acts where he definitely

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1. Cf. Acts 2, 14-36.

2. Cf. Acts 3, 12-26.

3. Consten J. Harrell, The Bible: Its Origin and Growth, p. 114.

states that Jesus was preached. All together the word preach occurs 38 times in the book of Acts. The apostles considered this their chief mission in the world.

The substance of the preaching about Jesus probably assumed a somewhat fixed pattern. Riddle claims that this was the oral Gospel when he says, "Long before there were any Gospels, before what became a gospel source existed, before a line of the story of Jesus was written, there was the message of his death and his triumph over death. This was the gospel before the gospels."<sup>4</sup> He then continues his proof for the existence of the unwritten Gospel by quoting a report of Paul on his preaching,

"Moreover, brethren, I declare unto you the gospel which I preached unto you, which also ye have received, and wherein ye stand; by which also ye are saved, if ye keep in memory what I have preached unto you, unless ye have believed in vain. For I delivered unto you first of all that which I also received, how that Christ died for our sins according to the Scriptures; and that he was buried, and that he rose again the third day according to the Scriptures; and that he was seen of Cephas, then of the twelve: after that, he was seen of above five hundred brethren at once; of whom the greater part remain unto this present, but some are fallen asleep. After that, he was seen of James, then of all the apostles. And last of all he was seen of me also, as of one born out of due time." 5

He then comments on these words,

"Obviously there was already a degree of fixity in the account: Paul 'passed on' to his hearers what he had 'received.' Obviously, also, what is reported here is by no means a purely primitive account; by this time reflection and explanation of the basic facts had developed. This is indicated in the statement that Christ's death and being raised from the dead were 'according to the Scriptures.'" 6

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4. Donald W. Riddle, The Gospels: Their Origin and Growth, p. 15.  
 5. I Cor. 15, 1-8.  
 6. Donald W. Riddle, op. cit., pp. 17 & 18.

We cannot here admit that Christianity was development. What Paul means to say is that the preaching he carried on was all in testimony of Christ's work and that his message had these elements in it each time. His preaching was limited to Christ, and thus it assumed a fixed though not rigid form.

Though the substance of the preaching was fixed upon certain events in the life of Christ, nevertheless, there was also much individuality on the part of the various Christian preachers.<sup>7</sup> It was the plastic age of the Gospel since apparently no attempt at an oral chronological life of Christ was deemed essential in Palestine where Christ lived and labored. The facts of His life that were rehearsed were the ones that had an important bearing on His work of redeeming the world from sin.

As time went on the Christian Church spread to many parts of the world especially under the zealous mission work of the Apostle Paul. Many non-Jews were brought into the fold of the Christian religion. To them Christ was something new and unheralded. They knew absolutely nothing about the life and work of Jesus Christ. It was necessary to give them many more details concerning the life of Christ since they were totally ignorant of any events in His life. St. Paul tells how he brought them these facts, "For I have received of the Lord that which I also delivered unto you."<sup>8</sup> Goodspeed considers this passage as

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7. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 15.

8. I Cor. 11, 23.

a proof that there was an oral tradition that was fluid and not fixed. He also says that all Christians thus became acquainted with the facts of Christ's life. Maclean asserts that aside from the facts of Christ's life received in the sermons there was also much more passed on by word of mouth. He says,

"It is clear from N. T. (e.g. Lk. 1.2) and early ecclesiastical writers (e.g. Papias, who tells us that he laid special stress on 'the utterances of a living and abiding voice,' see Eusebius H E iii, 39), that the narrative teaching of the Apostles was handed on by word of mouth in a very systematic manner. Eastern memories are very retentive, and this fact favours such a mode of retention." 10

The oriental mind is much more retentive of tradition in general than the western mind. The oriental peoples lay much stress on tradition. Since this is the case, the gospel story would well be retained in the groups of early Christians. They would treasure any facts that they heard concerning Christ's life, and would remember them with the Christian tradition they already had in their minds.

Ernest Parsons sums up the proof for the existence of the unwritten gospel very well when he says,

"There is no longer need for argument to support the claim that Christian gospel traditions underwent a period of oral transmission. Apart from the eschatological hope of an imminent return of the Messiah and the inauguration of the new age of the kingdom and apart from an apparent inherent reluctance of the Aramaic speaking followers of Jesus to commit their thoughts and sayings to writing, both of which aided in producing and lengthening the period when traditions were preserved orally, there was the probable

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9. Cf. Edgar J. Goodspeed, An Introduction to the New Testament, p. 126.

10. A. J. Maclean, "Gospels," in Hasting's Bible Dictionary, p. 305.

fact that they were so busily engaged in the activities of missionary preaching and catechetical instruction of their converts that they had no time for extended writing. The needs of instruction, preaching, and control of the problems arising in the developing institutions largely determined the selection and the form of the traditions which were used and preserved." 11

It was only natural for such an oral gospel to develop in Apostolic times. The need for a written gospel did not yet seem to be pressing, and the Apostles had enough to do to establish the Church in all the world.

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11. Ernest Wm. Parsons, op. cit., p. 21.

## C H A P T E R II

### The Common Tradition in the Church Concerning the Origin of the Gospels

Before proceeding to an examination of the present-day solutions to the Synoptic Problem, it is necessary for us to examine the tradition concerning the first three Gospels. In the writings of the Church Fathers we find fragmentary references to the individual Gospels as well as to the Gospels as a whole. There are also extant, besides the writings of the Church Fathers, a few writings of the first two centuries of uncertain authorship. These also contain some information on the Gospels.

The references to the Gospels found in both of these groups of writings deserve a hearing for several reasons. These are: 1) Many of these men who wrote were directly connected with the apostles, being disciples of men who in turn were disciples of one of the Twelve; e. g., Polycarp was a disciple of the apostle John, and Irenaeus in turn was a disciple of Polycarp. Men of this sort would be able to discover many facts concerning the Gospels which we would have no way of knowing otherwise. 2) Most of these men also were connected with Christian centers where tradition reports the apostles to have labored. This would give them a chance to inquire into traditions which were current at the time in order to determine which were true. Thus if they reported some tradition in their writings, we may assume that they had done some investigating in the matter. 3) None of

these men had anything to gain by falsifying any of the accepted tradition with regard to the Gospel writers and their works.

4) All of these men were educated Christian leaders. Since they were men of unquestionable character and earnest leaders of the Church, we can assume that they were also interested in knowing whether the Gospels as well as the other books of the New Testament really had apostolic authority behind them.

We shall examine the writings of these men first with regard to the general evidence they give for the existence of the Synoptic Gospels. In subsequent chapters we shall discuss the specific evidence for each of the three Synoptic Gospels. The statements of the Church Fathers will be treated in a chronological order. Due attention will also be given to the Christian writings whose authors are unknown.

The first century finds no Church Father mentioning the four Gospels by name. This does not necessarily mean that these men were not in the possession of the Synoptic Gospels, for Jouin says,

"The authors of the first century do not mention the Four Gospels explicitly, but we find in their writings quotations evidently taken from the first three. They do not always cite the text verbatim, they give the sense rather than the words; but they follow the same method in quoting the Old Testament." 1

These first century writers thereby show that they knew the Synoptic Gospels. There is also no argument here for more Gospel writings than those we now have. Salmon argues thus for

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1. Louis Jouin, Evidences of Religion, p. 174.

this fact,

"And it appears to me unreasonable to suppose that these written sources of information were works which have disappeared, and not those works to which we find testimonies very little less ancient than the quotations to which I refer, and which contain the passages quoted, the verbal differences not exceeding those that are commonly found in memoriter quotations." 2

The ancients did not consider it necessary to quote verbatim when using the material taken from another source. The fact that there were deviations of a word here or there on the part of the first century Fathers does not constitute any argument for more Gospels then existing than the canonical Gospels accepted by the Church today.

The first Church Father to mention anything of a Gospel was Justin Martyr (100-167). In his writing Justin shows his familiarity with the Gospels. Salmon analyses Justin's references,

"and so now he tells his heathen readers that he is quoting from 'memoirs' of our Lord which are called 'Gospels,' and which were composed by the Apostles and by those who followed them. Observe how accurately this agrees with our present Gospels -- two being composed by Apostles, two by their immediate followers." 3.4

It was no accident that Justin's references took the form that they did. He did not mention the names of the authors of his references taken from the Gospels. He merely stated that he drew his accounts of the life of our Lord from written sources. At his time, however, the Gospels as we know them were al-

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2. George Salmon, Historical Introduction to the Books of the New Testament, pp. 96 & 97.

3. Ibid., p. 58.

4. Donald W. Riddle, op. cit., p. 85, shows that Justin's work could be relied upon by saying, "Justin Martyr is an early witness of the currency and use of the Four Gospels, but it is apparent from what he says that he knew of many things in the story of Jesus which were not contained in them. In alluding to Jesus' crucifixion Justin reports that the people who watched 'shook their heads, twisted their lips, and turn up their noses'-human details surely."

ready complete works. It can safely be assumed from this fact that he drew his material containing references to events in the Lord's life from them.

The next Church Father to give general evidence for the existence of the Gospels in his writings was Irenaeus (130-200). Irenaeus was reared in Smyrna and was a pupil of Polycarp and Papias. Irenaeus gives testimony to the existence of the Gospels in the words, "It is not possible that the Gospels be either more or fewer than they are."<sup>5</sup> Irenaeus then does not speak of the Gospels as anything new. At his time there seems to be no reasonable doubt that this work belonged to the four.<sup>6</sup> Four Gospels were accepted as official at this time by most if not all of Christianity. His writings contain no quotations from the life of Christ that cannot be identified as coming from the Gospels.

Clement of Alexandria is the next Church Father who provides evidence for the existence of the Gospels. He lived during the latter part of second century and died in 220 A. D. Concerning his writings Reilly comments, "Clement makes it abundantly clear that not only the Church's Gospels were attributed to Matthew, Mark, and Luke, and John, but that no other Gospels were regarded as authoritative."<sup>7 8</sup> Fisher adds to this assertion, "Clement of Alexandria in referring to a statement

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5. Irenaeus, Against Heresies, Bk. iii, Chapt. 11.

6. George Park Fisher, Manual of Christian Evidences, p. 48.

7. Wendell S. Reilly, op. cit., p. 118.

8. For the passage referred to, consult, Eusebius, Church History, Bk. v, chapt. 11.

in an apocryphal Gospel, remarks that it is not found, 'in the four Gospels which have been handed down to us.'<sup>9</sup> From these quotations we can summarily say that Clement recognized only the four Gospels as canonical and official. Any other sources for the life of Christ were considered to be on a much lower level of authority for him. The evidence he had at hand for the four Gospels evidently was satisfactory to him.

The great Church Historian of the Early Church, Eusebius (260-339), also gave testimony concerning the four Gospels. Reilly after examining his writings for testimony to the Gospels says, "The 'holy quaternion of the Gospels' is ascribed by Eusebius unhesitatingly to Saints Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John. He regarded them as canonical, acknowledged, and undisputed Scriptures."<sup>10.11</sup> The third century, which Eusebius represents, accepted the Gospels as they are just as the second century Fathers did in their writings.

In addition to the evidence found in the writings of these Church Fathers, there is also evidence of the use of the Gospels in other writings of the first two centuries of the Christian era. These writings are not all of equal value, but we find that some of them give evidence for the existence and acknowledgment of the Gospels as we have them today.

The first of these writings we turn to is the Teaching of

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9. George Park Fisher, op. cit., p. 50.

10. Wendell S. Reilly, op. cit., p. 116.

11. For Eusebius' report on the formation and reliability of these three Gospels consult his Church History, Bk. iii, Chapt. 24.

the Twelve. It has been variously dated between the years 70 and 165 A. D. It is largely a practical work on how the Church is to conduct itself in the world. Fisher has this to say concerning its testimony to the existence of the Gospels,

"This book contains passages which imply a use of the Gospels of Matthew and Luke. In one place it says: 'But your prayers and your alms and all your deeds so do ye, as ye have it in the Gospel of our Lord.' The same word -- the Greek for 'Gospel' -- occurs in three other places in this work. It is probable that the term denotes a written record." 12

This work is valuable only insofar that it quotes passages from Matthew and Luke. It gives evidence for the existence of these two Gospels. Its failure to quote passages from Mark does not constitute an argument that Mark was not yet in existence at that time. The argument e silentio is no proof that Mark was not yet in existence at this time.

Another work that deserves to be mentioned is the Diatessaron. This work is only extant in fragments, but, "Eusebius tells us that Tatian made a combination of the Gospels, and that he called it 'Diatessaron,' which, being a recognized musical term, answers in some sort to what we call harmony." 13 Gould says this with regard to the value of this work, "But the real value of the Diatessaron is in the fact, established at last, that it was compiled from the four canonical Gospels, and from no other sources. The importance of this is unmistakable." 14 Here is ad-

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12. George Park Fisher, op. cit., p. 56.

13. George Salmon, op. cit., p. 74.

14. Ezra P. Gould, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary of St. Mark, p. xxxviii.

ditional confirmation of the existence of the Gospels by the year 150 A. D. All of them were used in the composition of this work.

The enemies of Christianity also do not in any place attack the Gospels as not being from the men whose names they bear. The Jews nowhere attacked these Gospels. It would have been to their best interests to do so.<sup>15</sup> The heretical groups also show the same phenomenon, as Fisher points out, "A striking proof of the genuineness of the canonical Gospels is the use made of them by heretical leaders, by whom they are dealt with as having authority in the Churches. From these Gospels they endeavor to draw support for their eccentric opinions."<sup>16</sup> Nowhere do we find the enemies of Christianity saying anything against the Gospels or against the way they were composed. They acknowledged them as being from the hands of the men whose names they bear without question.

The result of this general testimony is summed up in a few words by Salmon when he says, "It may now be regarded as proved, that towards the end of the second century our four Gospels were universally accepted in the Catholic Church as the peculiarly trustworthy records of the Savior's life, and that they were then ascribed to the same authors as those to whom we now ascribe them."<sup>17. 18</sup>

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15. Cf. Louis Jouin, op. cit., p. 175.

16. George Park Fisher, op. cit., p. 58.

17. George Salmon, op. cit., p. 57.

18. C. B. Streeter, op. cit., p. 7, also speaks of their canonical standing in his summary of the general evidence. He says, "Whether the explicit recognition of the N T writings as inspired Scripture was the result of some official pronouncement agreed upon by the authorities of the Christian Churches we do not know. What we know is that by the year A. D. 180 the Four Gospels had attained this recognition in Antioch, Ephesus, and Rome."

### C H A P T E R III

#### The Tradition in the Church Concerning Matthew

The Gospel according to St. Matthew was quoted as far back as tradition goes. It was accepted as authoritative Holy Scripture very early. Matthew was frequently quoted in the early Church.

Lenski says that the letters of Ignatius and Polycarp written about 100 A. D., give evidence that the congregations to whom they were addressed were entirely conversant with Matthew's Gospel. Ignatius in his letter to the Ephesians refers to Matthew 2, 1-12, and in other letters to Matthew 3, 15 and Matthew 10, 16. Polycarp does likewise. <sup>1</sup> This quoting is done in a free way, as the custom of the period was.

The Epistle of Barnabas written about 110 A. D. also quotes a passages from Matthew. The passages is Matthew 22, 14, "Many are called, but few are chosen." This was the first New Testament passage to be quoted with *ἰσχυρῶς*. The writer of Barnabas showed that <sup>2</sup> he considered this Gospel as having been composed by Matthew.

About this same time a work entitled Didache or Teaching of the Twelve Apostles quotes Matthew 6, 9f. in admonishing Christians not to pray like hypocrites, but to use the Lord's Prayer. Lenski, in speaking of this reference, says,

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1. Cf. R. H. C. Lenski, Interpretation of Matthew, p. 8.  
2. Ibid.

"This is quoted from Matthew with only minor liturgical changes and adds even the doxology, found in Matthew in abbreviated form. The Didache mentions 'the Lord's yoke,' Matthew 11, 29, etc., quotes Matthew 7, 6, shows knowledge of Matthew 28, 19 etc., and in various ways reveals its intimacy with the Sermon on the Mount and with the first Gospel in general." 3

The value of this Gospel was recognized by the author of this work. He did not feel it necessary to quote each passage verbatim in order to retain its value.

The first Church Father to mention Matthew by name as author of a Gospel was Papias. Papias was a disciple of the apostle John and later bishop of Hieropolis about 100 miles East of Ephesus. Papias, in his lifetime, took the pains to do some writing. Salmon says of this writing,

"Papias, was the author of a book called *λογίων κρυφαίων ἐξηγήσεις*, an Exposition of the oracles of the Lord, of which Eusebius and Irenaeus have preserved a very few fragments; and in this is the earliest extant mention of the names of Matthew and Mark as the recognized authors of Gospels." 4

As to the sources and reliability of Papias' information he, himself, testifies how he verified the facts which he had at hand. He says,

"If I met anywhere with anyone who had been a follower of the elders, I used to inquire what were the declarations of the elders; what was said by Andrew, by Peter, by Philip, what by Thomas or James, what by John or Matthew, or any other disciples of our Lord; and the things which Aristion and the elder (or presbyter) John the disciples of the Lord say; for I did not expect to derive so much benefit

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3. Ibid.

4. George Salmon, op. cit., p. 82.

from the contents of books as from utterances of a living and abiding voice." 5

Papias according to his own words makes it abundantly clear that he regarded the oral testimony of the disciples of Jesus as more valuable than the testimony of books to the Gospels. By this oral inquiry he could ask about the authorship of the Gospels, and could also verify statements and events recorded in them.

What then does Papias say concerning Matthew? He has only a short statement about Matthew's literary work. He says, as Eusebius has recorded it, "So then Matthew wrote the oracles (τὰ λόγια) in the Hebrew language and everyone interpreted them as he was able." 6 These words of Papias have proved difficult to interpret, and much has been written about them. Weiss holds that they are not original with Papias but probably are from the Presbyter John when he says,

"Although Eusebius unquestionably repeats words spoken by Papias, yet their substance is most probably derived from the Presbyter (John), whose communications respecting Mark's Gospel already presuppose a knowledge of this writing of Matthew's." 7

Whatever their origin may be, whether of Papias or someone else first, they have been variously interpreted and understood.

In the main we distinguish two interpretations placed upon these words. One group holds that the words τὰ λόγια refer to a group of sayings of Jesus together with some narrative compiled by Matthew in Aramaic while the other group of scholars

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5. Eusebius, op. cit., Bk. iii, Chapt. 39.

6. Ibid.

7. Bernhard Weiss, op. cit., pp. 228 & 229.

maintain that this word  $\lambda\acute{o}\gamma\iota\alpha$  refers to a complete Gospel written in Aramaic by Matthew.

Orello Cone in discussing Papias' statement argues for the existence of a collection of sayings from the use of the word  $\lambda\acute{o}\gamma\iota\alpha$ . He says,

"There can be no doubt, however, that the term 'logia' describes a composition in the Aramaic dialect containing some account of the teachings and possibly the life of Jesus." 8

He then proceeds to a lengthy exegesis of the word which in part says,

"Now the Greek word  $\lambda\acute{o}\gamma\iota\omicron\nu$  (plural  $\lambda\acute{o}\gamma\iota\alpha$ ) is a diminutive of  $\lambda\acute{o}\gamma\omicron\varsigma$ , and means 'a little word,' 'an oracle,' but 'chiefly any utterance of God, whether precept or promise.' It is applied to oracles which commonly take a sententious or gnomic form. Accordingly, in Romans, (iii,2) Paul writes of the Jews as having been 'entrusted with the oracles of God' apropos of the law of which each precept was regarded as an effatum Dei. In Christian literature the word is applied to passages in the Bible taken separately and regarded as an expression of a will or a truth divinely revealed. The  $\lambda\acute{o}\gamma\iota\omicron\nu$  is, then something of a didactic character, and is not necessarily connected with the narration of events. The fact that it is sometimes applied to the Bible as a revelation does not affect the conclusion respecting the use of it by Papias, for in his time nothing was known of inspired Christian writings (I. e. as being a part of the New Testament which was probably not assembled at this time.), as has been shown in the discussion of the canon. He, then, could not have used it in reference to a canonical writing supposed to possess divine authority, but, as in the title of his own work, only of discourses of Christ with the difference that his writing as an  $\epsilon\gamma\kappa\lambda\eta\sigma\iota\varsigma$ , or explanation, may very likely have contained considerable matter explanatory of the  $\lambda\acute{o}\gamma\iota\alpha$   $\kappa\upsilon\sigma\iota\kappa\acute{\alpha}$ , or oracles of the Lord (Christ)." 9

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8. Orello Cone, op. cit., p. 174.

9. Ibid., pp. 175 & 176.

Gone feels that the word  $\lambda\acute{o}\gamma\iota\alpha$  is wrongly interpreted if it is explained to mean a Gospel writing as we know them today. He holds that it can merely refer to a collection of the sayings of Jesus.

Meyer adds an argument for the word  $\lambda\acute{o}\gamma\iota\alpha$  referring only to the discourses of Jesus when he says,

"On the other hand, our Matthew contains in its present shape so much proper history, so much that is not given us as a mere accompaniment of the discourses, or as a framework for their insertion, that the entire contents cannot be designated by the one-sided  $\tau\acute{\alpha}$   $\lambda\acute{o}\gamma\iota\alpha$ , especially if we look to the title of the word of Papias itself." 10

Our present Matthew would not fit the description of  $\tau\acute{\alpha}$   $\lambda\acute{o}\gamma\iota\alpha$  according to his argument, because it includes much more than this term implies or includes.

Maclean argues that  $\tau\acute{\alpha}$   $\lambda\acute{o}\gamma\iota\alpha$  refers only to the sayings, but he adds a qualification by saying,

"It is quite probable that Papias refers to a record of sayings only. While, then, it is probable that discourses formed the greater part of the non-Markan document, we may by comparing Mt. and Lk. conclude that it described at least some historical scenes." 11

Maclean holds the opinion that the  $\lambda\acute{o}\gamma\iota\alpha$  contained historical as well as discourse material. He does not identify our Gospel of Matthew with the  $\lambda\acute{o}\gamma\iota\alpha$  of Papias' statement, however, for he further says,

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10. H. A. W. Meyer, Critical and Exegetical Handbook to the Gospel of Matthew, p. 10.

11. A. J. Maclean, "Gospels," op. cit., p. 306.

"Certainly the word in the 1st century was used of any sacred writing whether discourse or narrative. Others deny that at so early a date a N T writing as such could be called 'the Lord's oracles' and take logia to mean 'discourses.' But from this point critics have diverged. Many understand Papias to mean that Matthew wrote our Lord's sayings only; but this does not appear from his words. The argument against the translation 'oracles' is deprived of force if we understand the reference to be, not necessarily to a written word, but to the Gospel story pure and simple, whether written or oral. Papias would then mean that Matthew wrote down the Gospel story in Hebrew. Even if we take the translation 'discourses' or 'sayings,' it is extremely unlikely that Papias meant that Matthew's Gospel contained no narrative though it is quite likely that discourse predominated in it." 12

It is evident from these quotations that there is a group of scholars who accept the statement of Papias as referring only to a group of sayings of Jesus. Some of these men also maintain that these sayings contained some essential narrative material, but the discourse material accounted for the bulk of the material.

Equally imposing is the group of critics who maintain that Papias' words refer to Matthew's Gospel as being written in the whole as we now find it originally in the Hebrew (i. e. Aramaic) tongue.

Zahn holds rigidly to this viewpoint, and he argues that Papias' words are not to be taken too literally. He says,

"From this we may assume that here also, where he uses the words τὰ λόγια to designate the subject of Matthew's work, he mentions only that part of the book to which his own special interest was directed, without thereby implying that Matthew did not record

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12. A. J. Maclean, "Matthew," op. cit., p. 592.

also deeds of Jesus and the historical occasions of all the words which he preserved." 13

Zahn holds that Papias' words are only a characterization of the principal contents of Matthew's Gospel, but that the words  $\tau\acute{\alpha}$   $\lambda\acute{o}\gamma\iota\alpha$  cannot be limited to a document containing the sayings of the Lord.

Salmon adds another reason for holding Papias' words as referring to Matthew's Aramaic Gospel. He argues from the use of  $\lambda\acute{o}\gamma\iota\alpha$  in the New Testament. He lists the following passages where the word  $\lambda\acute{o}\gamma\iota\alpha$  occurs in the New Testament: Acts vii, 38; Rom. ii, 2; Heb. v, 12; and 1 Pet. iv, 11. After examining these passages he comments,

"Thus we find that in the New Testament  $\lambda\acute{o}\gamma\iota\alpha$  has its classical meaning, 'oracles,' and is applied to the inspired utterances of God in His Holy Scriptures. This is also the meaning the word bears in the Apostolic Fathers and in other Jewish writers." 14

He then continues his argument by showing that Papias uses the term in the same manner. He argues that Papias' use of the word is the usual use which permits his statement to refer to the Aramaic Gospel according to St. Matthew. He continues,

"The title of Papias' own work I take as meaning simply 'an exposition of the Gospels;' and his statement about Matthew I take as meaning: 'Matthew composed his Gospel in Hebrew,' the word  $\lambda\acute{o}\gamma\iota\alpha$  implying its Scriptural authority. I do not know of a passage where  $\lambda\acute{o}\gamma\iota\alpha$  means discourses; and I believe the notion that Matthew's Gospel was originally only a collection of speeches to be a mere dream." 15. 16

13. Theodor Zahn, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 511.

14. George Salmon, op. cit., p. 89.

15. Ibid., p. 90

16. James Moffat, An Introduction to the Literature of the N. T., p. 189, gives a resume of his concurring opinion, "A fair exegesis of the Papias-traditions forbids us then to infer that any sharp distinction was drawn between the contents of the Marcan gospel and the writing of Matthew. The latter could not have been confined to sayings, any more than could the former, or any similar narrative of Jesus, to incidents and deeds."

Zahn adds one more argument to those favoring Papias' words as referring to an Aramaic Gospel of Matthew. He argues from Papias' use of the aorist ἠερμῆρευε when he tells of the use that was made of Matthew's work. He says that ἠερμῆρευε can only mean 'translating' here, and that Papias did not need to say it was into the Greek language because this was the language of Papias and his readers. Zahn then points out that Papias is merely recording an interesting historical fact, and that this work of Matthew was no longer being used. He then shows that a Greek Gospel was implied as in existence, and that there was no reason to assume that Matthew did not write an Aramaic Gospel.<sup>17</sup>

Irenaeus is the next Church Father to record anything specific about Matthew. Like Papias he too had the advantage of still getting verbal testimony. Fisher remarks on this point, "Besides the memorable fact of his acquaintance with Polycarp, Irenaeus was familiar with many Christian disciples who were old when he was a youth."<sup>18</sup> Irenaeus says of Matthew that he composed, "a written Gospel among the Hebrews in their own language."<sup>19</sup> Like Papias he affirms that Matthew wrote originally in Aramaic, but he states definitely that it was a Gospel.

Origen gives the same testimony to Matthew. The following is his report,

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17. Cf. Theodor Zahn, op. cit., vol. 2, pp. 511 & 512.

18. George Park Fisher, op. cit., p. 49.

19. Ibid., p. 48.

"I have learned by tradition concerning the four Gospels, which alone are unquestionable in the Church of God under heaven, that the first to be written was that according to Matthew, who was once a tax-collector but afterwards an Apostle of Jesus Christ, who published it for those who from Judaism came to believe, composed as it was in the Hebrew language." 20

Zahn also adds that this testimony of Origen is independent of Papias' in the words,

"Origen, whose writings betray not the slightest trace of acquaintance with Papias' work, speaks of the original language of Matthew with as much confidence as does Irenaeus, who had read Papias' book." 21

The fact that this testimony is independent of Papias' makes it a valuable piece of evidence for a Hebrew Gospel of Matthew.

Pantaenus the next testimony to a Hebrew Gospel of Matthew left no written evidence of his testimony. As Cone points out, we have only a report about him in the Church History of Eusebius which reports,

"Pantaenus, who lived in the latter part of the second century, is said by Eusebius (His. Eccl. v. 10) to have found in India (Southern Arabia?) a Gospel of Matthew in Hebrew which had been left there by Bartholemew." 22. 23

This testimony cannot be counted too strongly, but nevertheless, it may be accounted as reporting something in harmony with the testimony of the Fathers.

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20. Eusebius, op. cit., Bk. vi, Chapt. 25.

21. Theodor Zahn, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 517.

22. Orello Cone, op. cit., p. 177.

23. Theodor Zahn, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 519, gives the impression of Eusebius on this report of Pantaenus, "In his account of the incident, Eusebius expresses surprise that the Hebrew Matthew should be still in existence in Pantaenus' time (180), as he concluded from the incident which he narrates."

Tertullian (160-220) has only a very vague reference to Matthew's Gospel. He says, "Of the Apostles John and Matthew impart to us the faith."<sup>24</sup> His testimony can only be used to prove the existence of the Gospel of Matthew at his time. Nothing can be proven from his report as to what language it was in or had been in at one time.

The Muratorian fragment which is extant today says nothing about Matthew. However, Maclean surmises, "In the Muratorian fragment (c 180-200?), a list of N T books, Mt. seems to have come before the rest, though, as it is incomplete at the beginning, this is not certain."<sup>25</sup>

Cyril of Jerusalem (315-386) in one of his writings also gives testimony to a Hebrew Matthew. Meyer points this out by saying, "Cyril of Jerusalem Catechet. 14; 'Matthew, the same who wrote the Gospel in the Hebrew dialect, wrote this.'<sup>26</sup> Cyril believed this and passed this information on in his writings.

The next Church Father of note to speak about Matthew's Gospel is Jerome (340-420). Jerome is often referred to as the most learned of the Latin Fathers, and is famous for his translation of the Bible into the Latin language. Jerome says of Matthew,

"The first evangelist is Matthew, the publican, who was surnamed Levi. He published his Gospel in Judaea in the Hebrew language, chiefly for the sake of Jewish believers in Christ, who adhered in vain

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24. Tertullian, Against Marcion, Bk. 1, Chapt. 5.

25. A. J. Maclean, "Matthew," op. cit., p. 593.

26. H. A. W. Meyer, op. cit., p. 6.

to the shadow of the law, although the substance of the Gospel had come." 27

Jerome gives the same testimony that Origen, Tertullian, and Cyril of Jerusalem give for a Hebrew Gospel of Matthew.

The last Father to give any testimony for an Aramaic or Hebrew Matthew was Epiphanius (d. 535). Maclean is certain of this fact, for he says, "Epiphanius says that the Aramaic Gospel of Matthew existed in his day, in the possession of an Ebionite sect (distinguished in modern times as Elkasites), and describes it:" 28. 29

In his opinion Epiphanius not only gives proof for his conviction in this statement, but affirms the use of a Hebrew Matthew by an heretical sect, the Ebionites. Meyer quotes Epiphanius directly as asserting that there was a Hebrew Gospel of Matthew in the words, "Epiphanius, Haec. xxx 3: 'Matthew alone made his setting forth and proclamation of the Gospel in the New Testament according to the Hebrew and in Hebrew characters.'" 30

Weiss in reviewing the evidence of the Church Fathers for Matthew says,

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27. Jerome, "Preface to the Gospel of Matthew," addressed to Eusebius of Cremana and written A. D. 398, found in Wace-Schaff, Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church, Vol. vi, p. 495.

28. A. J. Maclean, "Matthew," op. cit., p. 592.

29. J. Hutchison, "Apocryphal Gospels," the International Standard Bible Encyclopedia, p. 197, holds that the reference of Epiphanius is merely to an Heretical Gospel of the Ebionites rather than to the Gospel of Matthew. He holds this because Epiphanius states that the Gospel in the possession of the Ebionites was not perfectly complete, but falsified and mutilated containing no genealogies from Abraham to Christ and in other ways different from the Gospel of St. Matthew. It is, therefore, an open question whether Epiphanius' reference is to be taken to mean a Hebrew Gospel of Matthew or an heretical Gospel.

30. Bernhard Weiss, op. cit., p. 235.

"Since the end of the 2nd century the Fathers without exception look on the first Gospel as that of Matthew, although they know that it was written in Hebrew, showing that they must have had information that it was specifically connected with the former early Apostolic writing. Hence this oldest source which we have found most comprehensively and faithfully preserved in the first Gospel, which moreover was known to Mark and employed in third Gospel, can only have been the work of the Apostolic Matthew." 31

Gould also adds, "in fact there is no early tradition of Matthew's writing which does not record its Hebrew character."<sup>32</sup> There is absolutely no evidence against Matthew having been written first in Hebrew to be found among the Church Fathers. The testimony for an Aramaic (Hebrew) Gospel of Matthew is well nigh unanimous. Until evidence to the contrary can be produced, we must hold to the fact that Matthew first wrote his Gospel in Hebrew.

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31. Bernhard Weiss, op. cit., p. 235.

32. Ezra P. Gould, op. cit., p. xi.

## C H A P T E R IV

### The Tradition in the Church concerning Mark

Mark the author of the second Gospel is first mentioned in Acts 12, 12 in an incidental way to distinguish his mother Mary from the several Marys mentioned in the New Testament. His name was connected with the incident of Peter's imprisonment since Peter went to his mother's home after his miraculous release. He seems to have been an assistant to others during his entire ministry in the Church. He was associated with both Peter and Paul. The last we hear of him was that he was with Peter in Rome. It is noteworthy that he began and ended his career in closest association with Peter.

Zahn sheds light on this relationship of Mark to Peter,

"According to the usage of the apostolic age, the characterization, 'my son' employed by Peter some twenty years later (1 Pet. v. 13), can hardly mean anything else than that Mark was converted through Peter's influence, and possibly also baptized by him." 1

It was only natural for Mark to lean heavily upon Peter and his testimony; from him Mark would be likely to obtain much of his later Gospel material.

The first testimony to Mark on the part of the Church Fathers is that of Papias. He reports on Mark,

"This also the presbyter said: Mark having become the interpreter of Peter, wrote accurately though not indeed in order whatsoever he remembered of the things said or done by Christ. For he neither heard the Lord nor followed him, but afterward, as I said, he followed

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1. Theodor Zahn, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 427.

Peter, who adapted his teaching to the needs of his hearers, but with no intention of giving a connected account of the Lord's discourses, so that Mark made no error while he thus wrote some things as he remembered them. For he was careful of one thing, not to omit any of the things which he had heard, and not to state any of them falsely." 2

Meyer comments on these words of Papias,

"This account is, according to Papias, to be understood as amounting more precisely to this, that Mark made notes for himself after the discourses of Peter which he heard, and subsequently employed these in the composition of his Gospel." 3

According to this comment Meyer holds that Mark was a sort of secretary to Peter, and that he kept notes and other things he had recorded, and thus he molded them into a Gospel after Peter's death in Rome.<sup>4</sup>

Justin also speaks about Mark. He says,

"And when it is said that He changed the name of one of the apostles to Peter; and when it is written in the memoirs of Him that this so happened, as well as that He changed the names of the other two brothers, the sons of Zebedee, to Boanerges, which means sons of thunder;" 5

Lenski holds that Justin in speaking of the memoirs (*ἱστορικὰ*) of Peter, means Mark's Gospel in which the sons of Zebedee are called 'Boanerges' (Mark 3:17).<sup>6</sup> Justin thus affirms the testimony of Papias that Mark obtained most of his material from his association with Peter.

2. Eusebius, op. cit., Bk. iii, Chapt. 39.

3. H. A. W. Meyer, op. cit., pp. 2 & 3.

4. George Salmon, op. cit., p. 90, adds that it is not possible to interpret Papias' words as merely referring to a loose collection of sayings for he says, "It is clear that the Mark of which Papias was in possession did not merely consist of loose collections of unconnected anecdotes of our Lord's life, but was a Gospel aiming at some orderly arrangement."

5. Justin, Dialogue with Trypho the Jew, Chapt. 106.

6. Cf. R. C. H. Lenski, Interpretation of St. Mark's and St. Luke's Gospels, p. 10.

Irenaeus also has testimony about Mark's Gospel. While his testimony is not as extensive as Papias'; nevertheless, it does have weight. Irenaeus testifies to Mark's Gospel,

"Matthew also issued a written Gospel among the Hebrews in their own dialect, while Peter and Paul were preaching at Rome, and laying the foundations of the Church. After their departure, Mark, the disciple and interpreter of Peter, did also hand down to us in writing what had been preached by Peter." 7

Zahn says of his testimony,

--"Irenaeus does not say expressly that Mark was written in Rome, but he takes for granted that this fact is known; for only on this presupposition can we understand why he sets its date after the death of the two apostles who laboured in Rome. Evidently Papias had already borne witness to this fact." 8

Irenaeus gives no exact date for Mark, but places it after the Neronian persecution in which Peter and Paul are reported by tradition as having been executed. It is to be noted that he does not use the word Gospel, but that Mark set down what Peter preached.

Tertullian, the Father of Latin Christianity, had only a very short reference to Mark in his writings. Maclean says of this reference, "Tertullian calls Mark 'Peter's interpreter.'" 9 Mark could only be Peter's interpreter by his writing of a Gospel, because Peter was bilingual in his preaching as were all the other apostles. Though of Hebrew extraction, Peter too

7. Irenaeus, Against Heresies, Bk. iii, Chapt. 1.

8. Theodor Zahn, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 434.

9. A. J. Maclean, "Mark," op. cit., p. 579.

must have had to know Greek to carry on his business as a fisherman; hence, he could preach in Greek. Whether he had the ability to write in Greek is another consideration. Mark did not have to be an interpreter of Peter in the sense of translating his sermons to the Greek audiences that Peter preached to time after time. The fact that Mark was called Peter's interpreter by Tertullian could only refer to the fact that Mark set down the reminiscences of Peter on Jesus into writing.

A writing that also seems to give evidence to Mark about this time (ca. 170) is the Muratorian fragment or canon. This fragment opens with the words, "at which he (? Mark) was present and thus set them down."<sup>10</sup> These words are held to refer to the composition of Mark's Gospel. Zahn interprets them in this way by saying,

"In this same quarter, according to the most probable emendation and interpretation of the beginning of the Canon Muratori, we meet the report that Mark had become acquainted with a number of the facts recorded by him through personal experience, though in general he had not heard Jesus' words nor witnessed His deeds. The fragmentist adds that Mark also presented these facts as he learned them."<sup>11</sup>

The way in which he presented these facts most completely then was through the Gospel which he wrote. In its list of the books of the N. T., the Muratorian fragment does not contain Mark, but Maclean explains why by saying,

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10.-Henry Benson, "The Muratorian Canon," Documents of the Christian Church, p. 40.

11. Theodor Zahn, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 428.

"The Muratorian Fragment (c 170-200?) begins in the middle of a sentence which is generally believed to refer to Mark, and which may mean that the Evangelist was present at some of Peter's discourses only, or perhaps that he heard some of our Lord's discourses; but the latter interpretation is against the words that follow, which say of Luke: 'Neither did he himself see the Lord in the flesh.' The writer probably therefore had said that Mark had never seen the Lord." 12

Regarding Clement of Alexander on the origin of Mark's Gospel Eusebius reports on Clement's words,

"And so greatly did the splendor of piety illumine the minds of Peter's hearers that they were not satisfied with hearing once only, and were not content with the unwritten teaching of the divine Gospel, but with all sorts of entreaties they besought Mark, a follower of Peter, and the one whose Gospel is extant, that he would leave them a written monument of the doctrine which had been orally communicated to them. Nor did they cease until they had prevailed with the man, and had thus become the occasion of the written Gospel which bears the name of Mark. And they say that Peter, when he had learned, through a revelation of the Spirit, of that which had been done, was pleased with the zeal of the men, and that the work obtained the sanction of his authority for the purpose of being used in the churches." 13

This report states that Mark's Gospel was written by request of Peter's hearers and that it had his commendation for use.

Eusebius, the first Church Historian, also presents an interesting report of Clement's account of Peter's reaction to Mark's Gospel. This account which immediately followed the report of the occasion of Mark's composing his Gospel clearly contradicts the report of the other Fathers in that it states that Peter was still living when the Gospel of Mark was completed. One thing that this evidence does corroborate is that Peter and Mark were closely connected to each other.

12. A. J. Maclean, "Mark," op. cit., p. 579.

13. Eusebius, op. cit., Bk. 11, Chapt. 5.

In summing up the testimony for Mark we may agree with Lenski who says,

"While Peter is the main source of Mark's Gospel, we must remember that Mark knew the Gospel facts from the time of his stay in Jerusalem. Not only had he heard these sacred narratives from more than one apostle, he himself had used them in his missionary work. Before his close association with Peter and their final stay in Rome, Mark had been in similar association with Paul, also in Rome. All ancient testimony agrees that Mark wrote after Matthew and prior to Luke, who however, may have written about the same time as Mark." 14.

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14. R. C. H. Lenski, op. cit., p. 10.

## C H A P T E R    V

### The Tradition in the Church Concerning Luke

St. Luke's name is mentioned three times in Scripture. These are: Col. iv. 14, "Luke the beloved physician, and Demas greet you:" 2 Tim. iv. 11, "Only Luke is with me;" and Philemon 24 where he is mentioned as one of Paul's "fellow-labourers." It is evident from these passages that St. Luke, the author of the third Gospel, was a companion of St. Paul during his 1st Roman imprisonment when he still had friends about him, and also during his second Roman imprisonment when most of his friends had deserted him. This intimate companion of St. Paul has always been declared a Gentile by tradition and also the author of the third Gospel.

Justin Martyr is the first Church Father to use the third Gospel. It is certain that he knew Luke's Gospel, because he quotes Luke repeatedly. The passages he quotes could not be from any of the other Gospels since they are passages peculiar to Luke. He thus gives testimony for the existence of Luke's Gospel at his time.

Irenaeus gives very concrete testimony to Luke as author of a Gospel. Salmon gleans the following in reference to this,

"Irenaeus, for instance, says (Against Heresies, Bk. iii, Chapt. 1) -- 'Paul's follower, Luke, put in a book the Gospel preached by him.' Some ancient interpreters even understand the phrase 'according to my

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1. Cf. R. C. H. Lenski, op. cit., p. 487.

Gospel,' which occurs in the Pauline Epistles to refer to the Gospel according to St. Luke. (Euseb., Church History, Bk. iii, Chapt. 4)." 2

Irenaeus also gives an account (Against Heresies, Bk. iii, chapt. 14) of the contents of this book which show that he is referring to the book we now know as Luke's Gospel. 3

We next turn to Tertullian. He reports that his teacher Gerdon received only Luke's Gospel. He says, "The Gospel of Luke alone, and that not entire, does he receive." 4

Another valuable piece of evidence for Luke's Gospel is the Muratorian fragment. It reports of Luke,

"The third book of the Gospel is that according to Luke. Luke, the physician, when, after the ascension of Christ, Paul had taken to himself as one studious of right (or, probably, as travelling companion) wrote in his own name what he had been told (or in order), although he had not himself seen the Lord in the flesh. He set down the events as far as he could ascertain them, and began his story with the birth of John." 5

All that this fragment tells us concerning Luke's work coincides with the Gospel we have before us today.

Maclean in his article on Luke lists the foregoing Father's evidence for Luke, but he also mentions a few more names. He concludes with regard to the Fathers' testimony,

"Of 2nd cent. writers the following can without doubt be said to have known the Gospel or to imply its previous composition: Justin Martyr (c 150 A. D.), who gives particulars found in Lk. only; Tatian, his pupil, who included it in his Harmony (The Diatessaron);

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2. George Salmon, op. cit., pp. 99 & 100.
  3. Cf. R. C. H. Lenski, op. cit., p. 487.
  4. Tertullian, Against Heresies, Chapt. 6.
  5. Henry Benson, op. cit., p. 40.

Celsus (c. A. D. 160 or c. 177), who refers to the genealogy of Jesus from Adam; the Clementine Homilies (2nd cent.); the Gospel of pseudo-Peter, a Docetic work (c. A. D. 165? Swete); the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs, a Jewish Christian work (before A. D. 135, Sinker in Smith's Dict. of Christ. Biog.); the Epistle of the Church of Lyons and Vienne (A. D. 177); Marcion, who based his Gospel upon Lk. and abbreviated it; the Valentinians; and Heracleon who wrote a commentary upon it." 6

The cumulative witness of this imposing group of writers and writings leaves little or no room to doubt the Lukan authorship of the Gospel bearing his name. By the end of the 2nd century Luke's Gospel was acknowledged and known quite universally in the Church. His sources, however, do not seem to be given by the post-apostolic writers and writings.

A strong testimony for Luke's Gospel that dare not be overlooked is that of the heretical Marcion. Marcion accepted only Luke's Gospel of the four. He did not attack the Lukan authorship of this Gospel. He regarded this work of Luke's as the only real Gospel. His testimony is important because it dates from approximately the year 139 when he began to make public his teachings.

In taking all the evidence for the three Gospels found in the Church Fathers and the contemporary writings of the time we glean the following facts:

(a) The first Gospel was written by an Apostle and the second and third by followers of the Apostles.

(b) The chronological order of the composition of these Gospels was Matthew, Mark, and Luke.

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6. A. J. Maclean, "Luke," op. cit., p. 557.  
7. Cf. R. C. H. Lenski, op. cit., pp. 487 & 488.

(c) Matthew's Gospel is unanimously reported as written originally in the Hebrew (Aramaic) language.

(d) Matthew's Greek Gospel is substantially identical with the Hebrew (Aramaic) original.

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8. Cf. Charles J. Callan, op. cit., p. 56.

## C H A P T E R VI

### The Oral Gospel or Tradition Hypothesis as the Solution of the Synoptic Problem

The solution of the Synoptic problem on the basis of the oral tradition hypothesis has its origin in 1818 when it was first formulated by Giesler. Other New Testament scholars of note who have been supporters of this hypothesis are Westcott, Ebrard, Alford, Nösgen, Pressence, Guericke, Godet, Norton, Wetzel, and Veit.

These men and others hold that the Apostles were not the type of men who would write a history of Christ's life in a strict chronological sequence. They had not led the lives of literary men before becoming Christ's disciples or believers. Cone characterizes these men by saying,

"The apostles, being men without culture, could only by necessity be moved to write, and no demands could have been made upon them which they were not able to meet by means of oral communication." 1

Their mean way of perpetuating the story of Christ was oral in his opinion, since that was the way in which they had perpetuated events in their own lives and in their own tradition before they had come into contact with Christianity. These followers of Christ were not accustomed to writing biography. It was not a natural thing for these apostles to sit down and write a biography of Christ's life as soon as they had received the information after being with Christ or being converted.

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1. Orello Cone, op. cit., p. 138.

The advocates of this oral tradition hypothesis further agree that the Jewish people were a group who clung firmly to their traditions and repeated them from generation to generation by word of mouth. From this fact they conclude that an oral tradition on the life of Christ could grow and develop within a group which had a Jewish background. Goodspeed uses this argument in favor of the oral tradition theory when he writes,

- - "The earliest Gospel was unwritten. It arose in that Jewish atmosphere in which the pious course was not to write and read but to compose and memorize. Jewish ways of treating interpretation of the Law affected their first memories of Jesus, whose sayings early Jewish Christians naturally preserved as they did those of their great rabbis, in memoriter form." 2

He concedes the probability of such an unwritten oral tradition developing. The habits of the Jews would not in any way be against the development of this tradition.

The oral tradition hypothesis adds further that there would be a general uniformity to the tradition because the apostles had all been together for quite some time in Jerusalem after Christ's ascension into heaven. It is claimed on the basis of Acts i. 1 - viii. 4 that the apostles did their teaching and preaching in Palestine at first, with their headquarters in Jerusalem. Thus their sermons and their teaching covered about the same material. The upholders of this theory also argue that this close connection between the various apostles made it possible for a large amount of material on Christ's life to be retained in the minds of each of these men.

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2. E. J. Goodspeed, The Formation of the New Testament, p. 33.

When these men then scattered out into the world they had a well-stocked memory of the events in the life of Christ. They spread out to work among the non-Jewish people in the Roman Empire. Here they had to tell much more about Christ each time they spoke, since their audiences were not familiar with the events in the life of Christ. Riddle holds that this is the real cause for a connected tradition of Christ's life. He says,

"The most important effect of proclaiming stories of Jesus to Gentiles is that it was due to this activity that the early messages grew into connected stories of Jesus' life. This was the ultimate length into which the primitive tradition--at first only stories of Jesus' death and resurrection--grew." 3

This oral Gospel tradition was then adapted by the writers of the first three Gospels for the particular group or individual they were addressing in writing. The original tradition was in Aramaic, and only when the Church expanded into the Hellenized world, was there a need for putting the tradition into writing. The Hellenized minds were accustomed to having their sacred materials set down in written form. Cone substantiates this,

"This originally Aramaic oral type of Gospel-tradition was carefully translated into Greek, as considerable numbers of Hellenists were received into the Church. Finally, each of the evangelists adapted himself in the choice and use of the historical material of the tradition to the circle of readers for whom his work was primarily intended, so that Matthew wrote a purely Palestinian Gospel, Mark a modified Palestinian one, and Luke a Pauline work from the point of view of the great apostle's interpretation of Christianity." 4

By this process they would tend to write up similar events and use similar words in their accounts.

3. Donald W. Riddle, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

4. Orello Cone, *op. cit.*, *cit.*, p. 140.

This fact of each writing to a different group or individual also accounts for the dissimilarities of the Synoptic writers. Added to this fact is the one that each writer had an individual style of his own. The needs of each group written to also had to be taken into account. The interests of the persons addressed were widely different. People of a Jewish background did not need the explanation of Jewish customs, so Matthew wrote them a Gospel without these explanations while Luke, writing to a Gentile, went into a detailed explanation of Jewish customs in order to make the life of Christ intelligible to Theophilus.

The scholars who uphold this oral Gospel or tradition hypothesis assert that it was necessary to set this oral Gospel or tradition down into writing because the apostles scattered out into the world. The apostles might easily forget some of the facts of the Gospel. The opportunity to refresh their minds by consulting fellow apostles was no longer at hand. The best means of preserving the Gospel facts was to set them down into writing. Salmon uses this as a point in favor of the oral tradition in the words,

"A few detached aphorisms of a great teacher may be carried by the memory for some time, and be passed on from one to another: but discourses of the length we find in the Gospels could, in the ordinary course of things, have perished, if they had not been from the first either committed to writing, or, if committed to memory, kept alive by constant repetition. It is surprising how little of spoken words ordinary memories are able to retain." 5

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5. George A. Salmon, op. cit., p. 183.

Another piece of evidence cited by this group of scholars for the oral tradition hypothesis is Luke's preface.<sup>6</sup> They argue that this reference to the use of sources on the part of Luke points clearly to an oral tradition as the source of his Gospel. They argue further that by implication the other two Synoptic writers used the same process in the writing of their Gospels.<sup>7</sup>

This group of scholars also point to the similarities of the Synoptic writers as evidence for the use of a common oral tradition. They are reluctant to admit the possibility of the Synoptic writers using the same written source or sources for their common material because they say that the oral tradition is sufficient to account for this.<sup>8</sup>

Many scholars reject this hypothesis of an oral tradition as the complete solution of the Synoptic problem because of several considerations. Charles Callan and Floyd V. Filson have summarized the reasons why this theory is unacceptable. They give the following reasons why this theory cannot be accepted:

(a) Why have the Synoptics given us practically only the same meager accounts out of the abundant material of our Lord's words and deeds which oral tradition certainly preserved and handed down?

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6. Cf. Luke i. 1-4.

7. For elucidation on this point cf. B. F. Westcott, Introduction to the Study of the Gospels, pp. 211 & 212.

8. Cf. Ibid., pp. 201 - 210.

(b) How could a tradition dependent on memory alone account for the strange sameness of order discernible in the Synoptic writers, each of whom repeatedly breaks the common thread of thought only to resume it later at the very point where he broke it?

(c) How could an oral tradition primitively in Aramaic explain the strange coincidences in the Greek wording of our Gospels?

(d) If it be said that the Aramaic tradition was early put into Greek, how then explain the differences of the Greek of very important passages?

(e) How would it have been possible for oral tradition to be controlled without some strong official power to control it and keep watch over it?

(f) How could the close agreements between the Synoptic Gospels in the Greek be officially controlled as they were translated from the Aramaic traditions?  
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The oral tradition hypothesis appears plausible to some extent. It cannot be denied that oral tradition has a bearing on the Synoptic problem. But it cannot account for all the phenomena we find in the Synoptic Gospels. It also does not account for the verbal similarity which we find among the three Synoptic Gospels. Oral tradition is not capable of retaining verbal similarity as copious as that found in the Synoptics, nor is it able to maintain identical words in the various traditions from

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9. Cf. Charles J. Callan, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

10. Cf. Floyd V. Filson, Origin of the Gospels, p. 119.

which the discourse sections of the Synoptic Gospels were supposed to have been taken. As a theory it cannot be accepted as a wholly satisfactory solution of the Synoptic problem. It does not take into account the method of the ancients in writing.

As Salmon says,

"In ancient times it was considered legitimate to use, without acknowledgment, the very words of a preceding writer to a much greater extent than would now be regarded as consistent with literary honesty. But even when one means to copy the exact words of another, it is very easy to deviate from perfect accuracy." 11

If we accept these opinions of Salmon, we are forced to admit that the Synoptic problem is not solved by the oral tradition hypothesis. It is for this reason and the others listed that all but a few of the modern New Testament scholars reject this theory.

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11. George A. Salmon, op. cit., p. 120.

## C H A P T E R VII

### The Two-Source Hypothesis

This hypothesis proposed as a solution of the Synoptic problem arose about the same time as the oral-Gospel hypothesis. The originator of this theory was Eichhorn in the year 1794. The men generally credited with the development of the theory are B. Weiss and Holtzmann. Their theories are set down in their writings which came out in the 1860's. Since that time the theory has undergone some changes and has been revised and altered in special ways by various New Testament scholars. It has been until recently a popular hypothesis with scholars.

In this chapter the theory in general will be outlined, and in subsequent chapters the revisions that have been made by Zahn, Streeter, and others will be considered.

The Two-Source Hypothesis as the name implies tries to solve the Synoptic problem by the assumption that two sources were used by Matthew and Luke in the composition of their Gospels. The first source of these Evangelists is supposed to be the Gospel according to St. Mark and the other source a hypothetical document referred to as the "Logia" or "Quelle" often indicated by the letter "Q."

The starting point of this theory is the Gospel according to St. Mark. Proponents of the Two-Source Hypothesis assume that Mark was the first of our Evangelists to write a complete Gospel. They base this assumption on several phenomena which they have observed in comparing the Gospel of Mark with Luke

and Matthew. From these phenomena they claim that it can be proved that Mark was the earliest Gospel writer. These phenomena are:

(1) There is little matter in Mark which is peculiar to his Gospel alone. Maclean has catalogued the following incidents as peculiar to Mark: the parable of the seed growing silently (4. 26ff.), the healing of the deaf stammerer (7. 31ff.), of the blind man at Bethsaida (8. 22ff.), the questions about the dullness of the disciples when they forgot to take bread (8. 17ff.), about the dispute of the disciples (9. 33), the incident of the young man with the linen cloth (14. 51f.), of the smiting of Jesus by the servants of the high priest (14. 65), of Pilate's wonder, and of his question put to the centurion (15. 44).<sup>1. 2</sup>

(2) Mark has no infancy narrative of Christ.<sup>3</sup>

(3) Mark's order of passages never disagrees with both Luke and Matthew, and Matthew and Luke never follow the same order against Mark.<sup>4. 5</sup>

(4) The quality of the Greek in Mark is much poorer than that found in either Matthew or Luke.<sup>6</sup>

1. A. J. Maclean, "Gospels," *op. cit.*, p. 580.

2. Cf. H. A. W. Meyer, Critical and Exegetical Hand-book to the Gospel of Matthew, p. 28, for his views on why these peculiarities argue for Mark's priority.

3. Cf. Alexander Balmain Bruce, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

4. Cf. Kirsopp and Silva Lake, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

5. These same scholars, *ibid.*, p. 6, also note in this connection that the order of the paragraphs reveals the same phenomenon, "If the wording of the paragraphs is studied, rather than the order, the same phenomenon emerges, namely that Mark is in the majority. The combination Matthew-Luke is less usual than the combination Mark-Matthew and Matthew-Luke, but it is no longer true that it is never found."

6. Cf. *Ibid.*

(5) The use of Mark made by Matthew and Luke. Matthew and Luke seem to revise Mark's language for (a) reverential, (b) grammatical, or (c) stylistic reasons.<sup>7. 8</sup>

(6) Mark's use of sources in his Gospel. It is claimed that he used mostly oral tradition except for the little Apocalypse found in chapter 13.<sup>9</sup> Some scholars also claim that Mark's sources are predominantly Aramaic in character.

These arguments as a whole are cogent enough to prove the priority of Mark's Gospel. New Testament scholars on the whole acknowledge that Mark wrote first. Goodspeed holds this to be the fact when he says,

"It is now fairly settled that the Gospel of Mark is the earliest of the Gospels and did not develop out of an earlier state as a Primitive Mark, as once was supposed." 11

Bruce, too, feels that the priority of Mark cannot be disputed, for he says, "So far as our Greek Gospels are concerned, the Markan hypothesis seems likely to stand."<sup>12</sup>

This Gospel of Mark, which was the first to be written, was then used by Matthew and Luke as one of the sources of their

7. Cf. E. B. Redlich, op. cit., p. 24.

8. Willoughby C. Allen, op. cit., p. xxxv & xxxvi, shows why St. Matthew cannot have been written before St. Mark. He says, "It is hoped that the facts collected above will be sufficient to convince the reader that of the two Gospels, that of S. Mark is primary, that of S. Matthew secondary. ... From every point of view, whether it be of linguistic style, of reverence for Christ, of esteem for His Apostles, or of the consideration for the readers, the alterations made by Mt. give the impression of belonging to a later stage of evangelic tradition as compared with that represented by Mk."

9. Cf. Bernhard Weiss, op. cit., pp. 246 & 247.

10. Cf. Floyd V. Filson, Origin of the Gospels, p. 145.

11. E. J. Goodspeed, An Introduction to the N. T., p. 147.

12. M. A. Bruce, op. cit., p. 179.

Gospel accounts. Salmon believes this must be the use made of Mark by Matthew and Luke, for,

"theories as to one of the Synoptics having copied another seem to me deserving consideration, only if we confine them to the relations of Mark to the other two, for Matthew and Luke show every sign of being quite independent of each other." 13

Though they show themselves independent of each other, they both contain large sections of Mark. Matthew has roughly about 500 verses from Mark out of his 1068 verses, and Luke has 320 out of 1149.<sup>14</sup> In comparing the three Gospels from the beginning of John's preaching to the resurrection of Christ, they exhibit a marked parallelism to each other. Since these critics who uphold the Two-Source Hypothesis assume Mark to be the earliest Gospel, they also assume his Gospel to be the controlling document in this part of the Gospels of Matthew and Luke.<sup>15</sup> Thus Mark became one of the two sources used in the composition of the Gospels of Matthew and Luke.

In the development of this theory the claim has been advanced that Matthew and Luke used this Gospel of Mark in different ways. Weiss believes, for instance, that almost the entire substance of Mark was incorporated into Matthew's Gospel.<sup>16</sup> Other scholars (e. g. Lake and Lake) feel that Matthew was merely a second edition of Mark, rearranging some of his earlier material and adding a section here and there from another source.

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13. George Salmon, op. cit., p. 125.  
 14. Cf. E. B. Redlich, op. cit., p. 17.  
 15. Cf. Floyd V. Filson, op. cit., p. 124.  
 16. Cf. Bernhard Weiss, op. cit., p. 263.

They claim that Luke used less of Mark than Matthew did. But Luke is held to have adopted Mark's order in all but two instances.<sup>17</sup> He has adhered more closely to Mark's chronology than Matthew has.

These facts have caused scholars to conclude that Mark was one of the sources of Matthew and Luke. Bruce regards this as a settled question when he says,

"That Mt., like Lk., is dependent on Mk., so far at least as our Greek Gospels are concerned, is one of the few settled conclusions that do seem most clearly to emerge from a century's study of the Gospels."<sup>18</sup>

Maclean agrees with this opinion as a prevailing one among New Testament scholars.<sup>19</sup>

Weiss and Meyer have suggested that Luke probably also consulted Matthew when he wrote his Gospel. Weiss goes so far as to claim this use of Matthew on the part of Luke as one of the indisputable results of Gospel-criticism.<sup>20</sup> Meyer, on the other hand, cautiously allows the possibility of Luke's having consulted Matthew.<sup>21</sup> This use of Matthew on the part of Luke has still never been proved by actual evidence gleaned from the Gospel of Luke.

Though Matthew and Luke used Mark as one of their sources, still both Matthew and Luke also have much material in their Gospels which they did not draw from Mark. We find that Matthew has about 550, and Luke 820 verses which cannot be traced

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17. Cf. E. J. Goodspeed, op. cit., p. 205.

18. M. A. Bruce, op. cit., p. 186.

19. Cf. A. J. Maclean, "Mark," op. cit., p. 580.

20. Cf. Bernhard Weiss, op. cit., pp. 294 & 295.

21. Cf. H. A. W. Meyer, Critical and Exegetical Hand-Book to the Gospels of Mark and Luke., p. 219.

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to Mark's Gospel. E. F. Scott, in observing this phenomenon, makes the following observation,

"When we deduct from Matthew and Luke that portion of their contents which is derived from Mark, there is another portion of about two hundred verses (roughly one-sixth of each Gospel) which they have in common." 23

The proponents of the Two-Source Hypothesis assume that this represents a second source on which the two evangelists have drawn. Upon closer examination of these verses, the critics have found that these verses are all, broadly speaking, of the same character. They are concerned, not so much with the actions of Jesus, as with His sayings.

How do they prove that Matthew used a source other than Mark? Goodspeed answers that question by pointing to Luke. In comparing Matthew with Luke he finds that the things recorded in Matthew and Luke but not in Mark are often in the same form of words. 24 Cone adds that he has observed the same thing in his investigation and that Luke seems to have kept the Logia of Jesus in the same form that they appeared in this second document while Matthew has combined them into large masses. 25 Cone then offers proof for his view by saying,

"This view is confirmed by the fact that in many cases, although having the text of Mark before him, he has preferred the older source, and so, in spite of his dependence on the former, has in these passages preserved the original form." 26

His disagreements with Mark in the reporting of some incidents

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22. E. B. Redlich, op. cit., p. 17.

23. E. F. Scott, the Literature of the New Testament, pp. 37 & 38.

24. Cf. E. J. Goodspeed, op. cit., p. 172.

25. Cf. Orello Cone, op. cit., p. 188.

26. Ibid., p. 137.

found in both according to the Two-Source Hypothesis proponents is proof that Matthew used another source in addition to Mark.

Concerning Luke's use of sources in addition to Mark, Weiss remarks,

"The use of a second source in addition to Mark is also clearly visible in the 3rd Gospel in the way in which sayings already adopted from Mark afterwards recur in another connection where the author must have found them in a fixed written form. The most striking instance of such duplicates is found in the missionary discourse taken from Mark in chap. ix, recurring in chap. x in an altered address." 27

It is apparent from his remarks that the second source of Luke as of Matthew must have consisted largely of discourse material.

Louis Jouin shows why Luke could not have taken these discourses from the Gospel of Matthew. He reasons,

"The question whether Luke took these discourses from the first Gospel or from the Logia-document finds its solution in favor of the latter alternative, for the reason that he has not in his use of the material followed the arrangement of the first evangelist, who has massed the sayings of Jesus into great discourses, but has presented them rather in their original separation, with a statement of the occasion which gave rise to them or in their evidently original connection." 28

Meyer likewise feels that Luke's handling of this second source was more exacting than Matthew's, which would account for differences in the non-Marcian sections which are parallel in both Gospels. He says that at any rate Luke has worked up the apostolic collection of Logia, his second source, with more critical sifting than Matthew. <sup>29</sup> The discourse material of Luke is

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27. Bernhard Weiss, op. cit., p. 291.

28. Louis Jouin, Evidences of Religion, p. 252.

29. Cf. H. A. W. Meyer, op. cit., p. 219.

handled in such a markedly different manner from Matthew that there is no possibility of its having come from Matthew.

This second source which scholars of this school claim that Matthew and Luke used was a collection of Sayings of Jesus. The document is supposed to have consisted of various discourses and words which Jesus uttered. Because of the content of this hypothetical document, it has often been called Logia. German scholars have called the document Quelle, meaning "source," and employ the abbreviation "Q."

The first question that presents itself in regard to the existence of this document is the reason why such a document should come to be written or collected at all. Bruce ventures an opinion when he says,

"The chief impulse to collecting the sayings of Jesus was not a purely historical interest, but a desire to find in the words of the Master what might serve as a rule to believers for the guidance of their life." 30

The opinion held at the time of Christ was that the words of a famous man were the things that should be preserved rather than a biographical history of him. This is what critics claim happened. They further say that this "Q" document was written in Aramaic. M. A. Bruce says this is the opinion of the scholars. There is general agreement that Aramaic was the customary language of our Lord; and if this so, then the Sayings of Jesus in all probability go back to an Aramaic original.<sup>31</sup> The proof used is the fact that most of the discourse sections reported

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30. Alexander Balmain Bruce, op. cit., p. 22.

31. Cf. M. A. Bruce, op. cit., p. 40.

to have come from this source and are said to have an Aramaic flavoring. Salmon, for example, believes that the discourse sections retain an indisputable stamp of antiquity on account of this Aramaic flavoring.<sup>32. 33</sup>

The authorship of "Q" is another question which has come in for much discussion. Harrell, for instance, says it was Matthew,

"We know that Matthew at an early date collected and wrote down certain notable discourses of Jesus, and that his work was one of the authoritative sources from which the authors of the Synoptics drew their material."<sup>34</sup>

His assertion is made on the basis of the testimony of Papias and other Church Fathers who report Matthew as writing first in Aramaic (Hebrew). Papias specifically speaks of this work of Matthew as τὰ λόγια. This view is also favored by the previous occupation of Matthew before being called as a disciple. He would have been a likely man to write down notes as a sort of secretary of the Twelve.<sup>35</sup> While there is no positive evidence that Matthew ever held an office of this sort, still there is nothing that can be used as proof against this possibility either. Outside Matthew no one definitely has been proposed as the author of the Logia of the Lord.

The original character of the document "Q" has also been discussed widely. E. F. Scott has listed four main characteristics of this document. They are: 1) It consisted mainly of

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32. Cf. George A. Salmon, op. cit., p. 102.

33. Floyd V. Filson, op. cit., p. 175, agrees with this view in his discussion of the sources used by Luke. He says that the Mark-free areas in Luke were from an original Aramaic tradition though there was a possibility that some of the Semitic idiom could also be due in part to Luke's familiarity with the Septuagint.

34. G. J. Harrell, The Bible, its Origin and Growth, pp. 125 & 126.

35. Cf. Alexander B. Bruce, op. cit., pp. 17 & 18.

sayings of Jesus; 2) it did not consist of wholly detached sayings; 3) it was arranged in a topical manner in the main; 4) it had nothing to say about Jesus' passion.<sup>36. 37</sup> It was not a connected biography of Christ's life, and the sayings probably were not arranged in a chronological sequence. The document was then more in the form of a catalogue than in a logical, orderly book form.

Regarding the events recorded by this document, scholars have also had much to say. They are agreed that "Q" contained no passion story. Streeter gives two reasons for this fact. He says,

"1) The Passion and its redemptive significance could readily be taught in oral tradition. 2) Of less weight is the consideration that, while to Paul the center of the Gospel was the cross of Christ, to the other Apostles it was His second coming." 38

Concerning the specific events that "Q" did contain in addition to the sayings to Jesus, scholars seem quite agreed on the following: the preaching of John the Baptist, the temptation, the sermon on the Mount, the healing of the centurion's servant, the coming of John's disciples to Jesus, the instructions to the disciples, the Lord's Prayer, the controversy about Beelzebub,

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36. Cf. E. F. Scott, *op. cit.*, pp. 42 & 43.

37. Kirsopp & Silva Lake, *op. cit.*, p. 13, hold a somewhat different view on the original character of "Q"; for they say of it, "Q can hardly have been merely a collection of sayings. On the other hand, neither in Matthew or in Luke is there any hint that Q ever contained an account of events in Jerusalem. It would therefore seem probable that it was a collection (collections?) of stories illustrating the teaching which Jesus had given to the multitudes in Galilee."

38. Canon B. H. Streeter, *op. cit.*, p. 292.

the denunciation of the Pharisees, and precepts about over-anx-  
<sup>39</sup>  
 iety.

Several scholars have also attempted to list the passages of "Q" which are found in Matthew and Luke. Moffat lists the following passages of Matthew which he considers to have been drawn from "Q": 3, 7-12 (baptism of John, etc.; strictly speaking, introductory sayings about Jesus), 4, 3-11 (temptation), 5, 3-12, 13-17, 20-21, 25-30, 31-48; 6, 11b; 7, 1-12, 15-23, 24-27 (sermon on the Mount), 8, 5-13 (centurion of Gapharnaum), 19-22; 9, 13a; 10, 5f, 17-38 (coming persecutions of the disciples), (43); 11, 2-19 (question of John the Baptist), 20-30 (discourse); 12, 5-8 (preeminence of Christ), 11-13 (withered hand healed), 25-45 (disputation with Pharisees); 13, 14-15, 16-17, 24-29, 33-35, 36-43, 44-52 (group of parables); 15, 12-14 (Pharisees condemned), 23-24; 16, 17-19 (?) (Keys of heaven); 17, 19-20 (faith needed to cast out devils), (24-27) (miracle of tribute money); 18, 3-5 (child used to teach humility), 10, 12-14, 15-20 (Church discipline), 23-35 (unmerciful servant); 19, 6-12 (divorce forbidden), 28; 20, 1-16 (laborers in the vineyard); 21, 14-17 (anger of Scribes and Pharisees), 31b-32, 28-31a (parable of the two sons); 22, 1-10 (marriage of the king's son),

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39. Harnack concluded that "Q" was a document dominated by the belief in the Messiahship of Jesus. He felt that it consisted mainly of Sayings, and that it was better preserved in Matthew than in Luke. For a more complete discussion of Harnack's views on "Q," cf. M. A. Bruce, op. cit., p. 185.

11-14 (final separation); 23, 1-39 (seven woes); 24, (9), 10-12 (humility enjoined), 26-27 (Christ's sudden appearance), 37-41 (conditions at second coming of Christ), 42-44 (warning to be ready for Christ's 2nd coming), 45-51 (parable of servant unprepared for master's return); 25, 1-30 (parable of ten virgins and of the talents), (31-46); 26, 52-54 (Peter commanded to put away sword).<sup>40</sup> The underlined passages he considers to be found in Luke, though not always completely. The Lucan passages taken from "Q" have been compiled by Streeter. He assigns the following passages from Luke to "Q": Lk. 3, 2-9 (John's preaching and baptism), (10-14), 16-17 (announcement of Christ's coming), 21-22 (baptism of Jesus); 4, 1-16a (temptation of Jesus); 6, 20; 7, 10; 7, 18-35 (Christ's testimony of John after two of his disciples come to Him with question); 9, (51-56), 57-60 (three half-hearted followers), (61-62); 10, 2-16 (commission of the seventy), (17-20), 21-24 (revelations to simple-minded); 11, 9-52 (Lord's Prayer, dumb demoniac healed, discourse of Jesus against Pharisees); 12, 1a-12 (warning against doctrine of Pharisees), 22-25 (folly of anxious care); 13, 18-35 (parables of mustard seed and leaven); 14, 11, 26-27 (cost of following Christ), 24-35 (parable of king going to war); 16, 13, 16-18 (hypocrisy of covetous Pharisees reproved); 17, 1-7 (forgiving one another), 20-37 (second coming foretold); 19, 11-27 (parable of the pounds).<sup>41</sup> The bracketed passages he considers doubtful. He has a total of 272 unbracketed verses in Luke taken from the document "Q."

40. Cf. James Moffat, op. cit., p. 197.

41. Cf. Canon B. H. Streeter, op. cit., p. 292.

From these two lists it is evident that proponents of the Two-Source Hypothesis consider it possible to list passages that can be assumed as having been drawn from the document "Q." The lists of various critics vary, however, and no two men have agreed on which passages in Matthew and Luke have come from "Q." Some critics hold that "Q" was a more or less fluid document varying in size from Christian center to center. They claim that the document in general was built around the Sayings of Jesus, but that the narrative material was added by various Christian churches and their leaders.<sup>42</sup>

As to the use of "Q" in the early Church, Bruce holds that it played a teaching role. He claims that Acts and the Epistles say nothing about the Sayings of Jesus being used in early Gospel preaching (Κηρύγμα). Their place he contends was rather for use in apostolic teaching (διδάχη).<sup>43</sup> Since the Logia were thought to have played a teaching role in the Church, it was necessary that this writing be translated into Greek for the Hellenized Christian Churches. Filson holds that this translation was an early necessity and must have been done shortly after Matthew wrote or collected the Logia.<sup>44</sup> The Church needed some written authority for its teaching mission, and the Logia were used for this purpose. As far as the translating is concerned, there is no opinion put forth as to who did this work. A reasonable supposition that might be held is that each Chris-

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42. Cf. E. F. Scott, op. cit., p. 40.

43. Cf. M. A. Bruce, op. cit., p. 180.

44. Cf. Floyd V. Filson, op. cit., pp. 115, 116, 59 f.

tian center did its own translating. This supposition can be supported by the testimony of Papias on Matthew.

Much discussion also has taken place on the question of whether Mark also did not have some things in his Gospel which "Q" contained. Streeter in speaking of this possibility says,

"Many critics explain this overlapping of Q and Mark on the theory that Mark knew and made extracts from Q. In favor of this view there is the fact that in many cases where Mark and Q overlap, the Q version is longer and also looks the more original." 45

It is still an open question, however, whether Mark used or even knew of the existence of "Q." Passages in Mark which have been thought of as being parallel to "Q" are Mark vi. 7-11 (the Twelve sent out), iv. (parables of the sower, of the seed growing silently, of the mustard seed, and stilling of the tempest), iii. 21, ii. 21-22 (parables of new cloth and new bottles), iv. 21-25 (sections only), ix. 42-50 (eliminating offenses) (equivalents in Q), and viii. 34. 38.<sup>46</sup>

The date of the composition of "Q" has not received as much consideration as the content has. Streeter ventures an opinion, however. He also gives a reason for his date. On the date he writes,

"The relatively large amount of space given to John the Baptist, and the emphasis on his relations with our Lord, suggest that Q was composed at a time and place when the prestige of John was very considerable." 47

This would then place the date of the composition of "Q" not too

45. Canon B. H. Streeter, *op. cit.*, p. 187.

46. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 186-191, for a complete discussion of these passages and the reasons why they are thought to be parallel to "Q".

47. *Ibid.*, pp. 291 & 292.

long after the death of Christ and His resurrection and ascension into heaven. Critics have tentatively used the date 40 A. D. as the approximate time of the composition of this document. A date much later than this would not be in harmony with the emphasis placed on the relationship of John the Baptist with Jesus. The prestige of John the Baptist declined after Christ's suffering and resurrection because the true disciples of John had by and large turned to Jesus after His miraculous resurrection and ascension had served to convince His disciples that He was the Messiah and they in turn by their missionary efforts convinced others. The people they probably had best success with were those who had listened to John's preaching and had been baptized by him. Thus John the Baptist's influence and prestige would gradually come to be forgotten in the years immediately following Christ's ascension into heaven. A date later than 40 for the Logia or "Q" would not fit into this theory held by Streeter and others.

What proofs have proponents of this Two-Source Hypothesis advanced for the existence of the document "Q"? These critics have advanced the following proofs that a document of this sort did exist and was used as a source of Matthew and Luke:

(1) The sayings of Jesus recorded in the Gospels show much less variation than the narrative material of the Gospels do. <sup>48</sup> On the basis of this fact the contention is made that this is evidence that the Sayings of Jesus came from a common source.

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48. Cf. Floyd V. Filson, op. cit., p. 137.

(2) The existence of a document "Q" helps to bring the documentary base of the Gospel tradition much closer to the actual lifetime of Jesus.<sup>49</sup>

(3) A document containing the Sayings of Jesus would be treasured and used by the followers of Christ.

(4) A document like "Q" could be preserved for a long time especially among the Jewish Christians. This preservation could take place because (a) the title and conception of the kingdom of heaven as found in these sayings was Jewish in character; (b) the interest shown in St. Peter and the position attributed to him pointed in the same direction; (c) the mission of the Messiah and His Apostles was limited to the Jewish nation at first; (d) the insistence on the permanent validity of the Mosaic law; (e) the Jewish phraseology in the sayings; and (f) anti-Pharisaic polemic.<sup>50</sup>

(5) Luke's preface (I. 1-3, "Forasmuch as many have taken in hand to set forth in order a declaration of those things which are most surely believed among us, even as they delivered unto us, which from the beginning were eyewitness, and ministers of the word; it seemed good to me also having had perfect understanding of all things from the very first to write unto thee in order.....") leaves room for the possibility of such a document existing and being used in the composition of his Gospel.

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49. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 137.

50. Cf. Willoughby C. Allen, *op. cit.*, pp. lxxvi & lxxvii.

Meyer, after weighing the evidence for the possibility of the Two-Source Hypothesis and especially the existence of the document "Q" as a solution to the Synoptic Problem, accepts it as the best solution. His view is typical of the scholars who accept this theory. He says,

"The view, according to which one evangelist made use of the other,--where however, the gospel tradition, as it existed in a living form long before it was recorded in writing (Luke 1.2), as well as old written documents, composed before our Gospels (Luke 1. c.), come also into consideration,--is the only one which is fitted to enable us to conceive of the synoptic relationship in a natural manner, and in agreement with history." 51

Many New Testament scholars have, however, rejected "Q" as one of the documents used in the composition of the Gospels of Matthew and Luke. Their reasons for doing so are very cogent and convincing. Among the chief objections to the use and existence of a document "Q" we list the following:

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(1) The total disappearance of "Q" cannot be accounted for. There are absolutely no traces of this document in even a fragmentary form known to be in existence today.

(2) The advocates of a document "Q" cannot agree on the origin, nature, extent, time of composition, and historical value of the document "Q."<sup>53</sup>

(3) There is no reason for supposing that Matthew and Luke could not have written independently of each other without the use

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51. H. A. W. Meyer, A Critical and Exegetical Hand-book to the Gospel of Matthew, pp. 23 & 24.

52. Cf. Charles J. Callan, op. cit., p. 59.

53. Cf. Ibid.

of a document like "Q."<sup>54</sup> The evangelists had the promise of Christ that the Comforter would come to bring all that He had said to their remembrance (John 14, 26). They would then have supernatural help in writing their Gospels.

(4) A document like "Q" would find little use and have little appeal as far as the readers were concerned. Nobody enjoys reading a disjointed document such as the Logia are postulated to have been.

(5) The compilatory character of Mark's Gospel cannot be accounted for if Matthew and Luke used a document like "Q."<sup>55</sup> Mark's Gospel exhibits the same compilatory characteristics as those found in passages in the other two Synoptics listed as coming from "Q."

On the basis of the above-mentioned reasons we are compelled to reject the existence and use of the hypothetical document "Q" as a source of Matthew's and Luke's Gospels. The evidence for "Q" is not at all convincing, while the evidence against its existence and use is very impressive. Unless further evidence which is more definite can be produced for the existence and use of "Q", "Q" must be rejected as a document used as a source for the discourse material of Jesus found in Matthew and Luke.

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54. Cf. H. C. Thiessen, op. cit., pp. 115 & 116.  
 55. Cf. Charles J. Gallan, op. cit., p. 59.

## C H A P T E R VIII

### Modifications that have been made in the Two-Source Hypothesis

There are principally two modifications that have been made in the Two-Source Hypothesis. The one centers around the Gospel of Mark and the other around the Gospel of Matthew.

The first of these modifications dealing with Mark is accepted and urged, especially in recent times, by James Moffat, the eminent English New Testament scholar of the early part of this century. Moffat accepts the hypothesis of a document "Q" in his modifications. His theory is different from the generally accepted one with regard to the composition of the Gospel according to St. Mark. He holds that the present Marcan Gospel is a revision and lengthening of an earlier Ur-Markus.

Moffat defends the Two-Source Hypothesis, in general, when he contends that such a method of composing a Gospel is in harmony with Oriental habits of historiography.<sup>1</sup> He feels that the hypothesis of sources is necessary to unravel the Synoptic Problem. He claims that this use of sources is in harmony with the writing customs of that day.<sup>2</sup> He firmly believes that the Two-Source Hypothesis is capable of solving the problem of the Synoptic Gospels. The kinks remaining in this solution, in his opinion, do not argue against the acceptance of this hypothesis.

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1. Cf. James Moffat, op. cit., pp. 180 f.  
2. Cf. Ibid., p. 183.

He does not think it necessary to account for every variation in the Synoptic Gospels in order to make acceptable the documentary hypothesis.<sup>3</sup>

Moffat, however, modified the Two-Source Hypothesis in holding to his theory of the development of Mark's Gospel. He begins his theory with an interpretation of the description of Mark's relationship to Peter as described in the Muratorian Fragment. He holds that the statements found in this fragment agree well with the statement of Papias on Mark and his connection with Peter. The fragment reports that Mark had become acquainted with a number of the facts which he has recorded by personal contact with the apostle Peter.<sup>4</sup> Papias likewise reported that Mark listened to Peter's accounts of his contacts with Jesus, and then wrote them down in an orderly arrangement.<sup>5</sup> Mark then wrote a Gospel, possibly in Aramaic. This Gospel was not the present Gospel of Mark, however. This was the real apostolic Gospel written by Mark himself and known as the Ur-Markus. Moffat vigorously defends this opinion when he says,

"It is a fair hypothesis, therefore, to identify not the canonical Mark, but the rougher notes of the Ur-Marcus with the source to which the Papias-tradition refers (so, e. g. Schleiermacher, Renan, Scholten, S. Davidson, Wendt, von Soden). The fact that the canonical Gospel was based on this Marcan work was responsible for Mark's name being attached to it."<sup>6</sup>

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3. Cf. Ibid., p. 185.

4. Cf. Henry Bettenson, op. cit., p. 40.

5. Cf. E. F. Scott, op. cit., p. 55.

6. James Moffat, op. cit., p. 192.

Moffat then asserts that this Ur-Markus was later expanded into the present Gospel by another author who possibly used the document "Q" to fill in the gaps. He bases this hypothesis on two considerations--the internal structure of the gospel itself (so, e. g., P. Ewald, Wendling, Wellhausen), and on a comparison of its contents with those of Matthew and Luke (so, e. g., J. Weiss, Reville, von Soden).<sup>7</sup> He feels that our Mark can definitely be proved a later edition on internal and external grounds.

He then discusses how the present Gospel of Mark arose. Mark, in his opinion, took down notes of Peter's reminiscences while he was with him. This would account for the Aramaic coloring of his Gospel and the vivid detail found in certain sections. These notes were the original Gospel of Mark. Later on a Christian, perhaps a Roman, took this early Gospel of Mark and cast it into Greek and added sections taken from the Logia of Jesus.<sup>8</sup> The historical accuracy of this canonical Gospel is then due to Mark's relationship to Peter and his setting down of the facts he obtained from him in the Ur-Markus account. The later translation and additions would then be reliable, because they were based on this original Aramaic work and depended on it for the general outline and most of the facts.

The date given for the Ur-Markus composition is always before the years 60-70 A. D. The destruction of Jerusalem and the events connected with it are the events which are usually referred

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7. Cf. Ibid., p. 227.

8. Cf. Ibid., pp. 232 & 233.

to as influencing the final revision of Mark's Gospel. Moffat holds this when he says,

"The internal evidence of Mk. thus corroborates upon the whole the view that it represents a final revision of the Ur-Marcus composed shortly after the events of A. D. 60-70."<sup>9</sup>

One other question that enters into the theory of an Ur-Markus is whether the authors of the Gospels of Matthew and Luke used the Ur-Markus or the revised Mark in forming their Gospels. Moffat favors the use of the revised Mark.<sup>10</sup> In his opinion the similarities of the three Gospels would not be capable of being accounted for on any other basis than that Matthew and Luke used the revised Gospel of Mark.

From this description it is apparent that this hypothesis really does not have too much bearing on the solution of the Synoptic Problem as proposed by the proponents of the Two-Source Hypothesis. Most scholars have totally discarded the Ur-Markus theory. Lake and Lake say of it,

"There is no valid reason for thinking that there ever was an earlier form of Mark (the Ur-Marcus theory) of which the present text is an abbreviation. All the evidence, such as it is, points the other way."<sup>11</sup>

Streeter also rejects it altogether when he says,

"I have also, I hope--by a new use of Ms. evidence available--finally disposed of the troublesome phantom of an 'Ur-Marcus' (or earlier version of Mark) which has too long haunted the minds of scholars."<sup>12</sup>

In another place he pleads,

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9. Ibid., p. 212.

10. Op. Ibid., p. 192

11. Lake and Lake, op. cit., p. 17.

12. Canon B. H. Streeter, op. cit., p. xxix.

"Renounce once and for all the chase of the phantom Ur-Marcus, and the study of the agreements becomes the highway to the purest text of the Gospels." 13

The Ur-Marcus theory can safely be said to be out of consideration in the Two-Source solution to the Synoptic Problem.

Moffat's theory has in no way altered the picture of "Q" as presented by the proponents of the Two-Source Hypothesis. His double-Marcian hypothesis does not affect the contents or the use of the document "Q" in any way. "Q" plays the role of one of the sources of Matthew and Luke in his theory also. He likewise holds that Mark was the other source used in the composition of these Gospels of Matthew and Luke.

The other modification of this hypothesis concerns itself with the Gospel according to St. Matthew. The man who most emphatically proposed and upheld this modification was Theodor Zahn, a rather conservative scholar of the last century.

Zahn did not accept the postulation of a document "Q" as one of the sources of Matthew and Luke. He advanced the following reasons for rejecting this postulation:

- (1) Papias' words refer only to the subject matter of Matthew's work.
- (2) The words  $\tau\acute{\alpha} \lambda\acute{o}\gamma\alpha$  cannot refer to a Hebrew work.
- (3) If the words of Papias were to be interpreted as a title, then  $\lambda\acute{o}\gamma\alpha$  would have no article before it.
- (4) There is no trace of "Q" to be found in the Christian literature of Papias' time and the years succeeding.

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13. Ibid., p. 331.

(5) Papias stresses the fact that Matthew merely wrote in Hebrew.

(6) None of the succeeding Church Fathers ever uses this title<sup>14</sup> in referring to Matthew's work.

Though Zahn did not accept "Q" as a source of Matthew and Luke, still he did accept Mark as a common source for the canonical Gospels of Matthew and Luke. He says this is possible on the basis of Luke's preface.

Zahn started his theory on Matthew by taking the statement of Papias on Matthew. He says of Papias' words,

"Papias does not say that the author of the known Logia was the Apostle Matthew, but he says that the distinguished Apostle Matthew, whom he had already mentioned in his preface as a disciple of Jesus, wrote in Hebrew." 15

He feels that this reference was to a complete Gospel written in Aramaic by the apostle. For proof he gives his interpretation of the words  $\tau\acute{\alpha}$   $\lambda\acute{o}\gamma\iota\alpha$ , holding that they refer only to the principal content of Matthew's work rather than assuming them to be a title. He holds that Papias uses the words  $\tau\acute{\alpha}$   $\lambda\acute{o}\gamma\iota\alpha$  to designate the part of the book to which his own interest was drawn.<sup>16</sup> He claims that this statement does not imply that Matthew did not record also the deeds of Jesus and the historical occasions of all the words which he recorded. The exegesis of the words  $\tau\acute{\alpha}$   $\lambda\acute{o}\gamma\iota\alpha$  forbid, in his opinion, an interpretation that they refer to a work containing only the words of Jesus.

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14. Cf. Theodor Zahn, op. cit., vol. 2, pp. 509-511.

15. Ibid., vol. 2, p. 510.

16. Cf. Ibid., vol. 2, p. 511.

Zahn then continues his theory by an exegesis of the word ἑρμηνεύειν in Papias' account. Zahn believes that an ἑρμηνεύειν of Matthew's Gospel was no longer necessary at Papias' time. He does, however, give the following reasons for believing that an ἑρμηνεύειν was once necessary: 1) ἑρμηνεύειν here can mean only translating; 2) this was a translation into the Greek language, which did not need to be mentioned expressly, because this was the language of Papias and his readers; and 3) Papias does not speak of the translation of Matthew's writing, but of the words of Jesus which it contained.<sup>17</sup> These words had to be translated into the Greek for the pericopes used in the churches. These pericopes generally dealt with the words of Jesus rather than with the narrative sections of Matthew's Gospel. Thus he argues that since only an Aramaic Matthew was in existence before Papias wrote, it was necessary to translate these pericopes into the Greek language.<sup>18</sup> Papias, in employing the aorist (ἤρμηνεύετο), was speaking of times before his own. When Papias recorded this fact it was no longer necessary to translate these pericopes into Greek. But Zahn insists that Matthew wrote an Aramaic Gospel from which sections containing the words of Jesus were translated for the public services of the Greek congregations some time before Papias wrote about Matthew's Gospel. Zahn claims that this practise was similar to the oral translation of the Hebrew Scriptures made in Palestine and other Oriental

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17. Cf. Ibid., pp. 511 & 512 for elaborations on these reasons.

18. Cf. Ibid., p. 514.

synagogues. He asserts that these finally crystallized in the written Targums. He also says that the same type of oral translation of the Greek Bible into Latin took place in the African Church and resulted in Cyprian's Latin Bible.<sup>19</sup>

On the basis of this interpretation of Papias' words Zahn holds the theory that an Aramaic Gospel of Matthew was originally written by Matthew. He does not once doubt that Matthew was qualified to write an Aramaic Gospel. He feels that Matthew was well qualified to write this Gospel in spite of his obscurity, for,

"The meagreness of the record about him, with the corresponding implication that he was called late, and was one of the less important of the Apostles, gives the tradition that he was the author of the First Gospel particular weight." 20

Matthew occupies the seventh or the eighth place in all the lists of the apostles in the New Testament and is the only person who has ever been regarded as the writer of the Gospel which bears his name.<sup>21</sup> Zahn also refers to Matthew's former occupation as a publican to prove his ability to do literary work.<sup>22</sup> Other critics have supported this contention of Matthew's ability to do literary work and to write an Aramaic Gospel. Lawson, for instance, thinks that Matthew was the best qualified to write the Gospel because he was of the class and standing of a civil servant and a man of some education.<sup>23</sup> Matthew was also

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19. Cf. Ibid., p. 515.

20. Ibid., p. 508.

21. Cf. Ibid., p. 506.

22. Ibid., p. 507.

23. Cf. T. C. Lawson, op. cit., p. 284.

learned in the history and prophecies of his race, and had looked forward to their realization. Meyer also concludes that Matthew probably was originally written Aramaic (Hebrew). He feels that the internal grounds for a Greek Matthew are not altogether conclusive. He thinks that the people of Palestine on the basis of Acts xxi. 40, and xxii. 2 had a predilection for the Hebrew language and that it was, therefore, most probable the Matthew wrote his Gospel in Hebrew.<sup>24</sup>

Zahn goes on to say that Mark used this Aramaic Matthew when he composed his Gospel. Zahn, in speaking of the relationship of Mark to Matthew, concludes his discussion by saying,

"According to tradition, Matthew wrote before Mark, but there was no great interval intervening. In this case, if one used the work of the other, it must have been Mark who employed Matthew, not, however, the Greek translation, which was made considerably later than the time when Mark composed his Gospel, but the Aramaic original."<sup>25</sup>

Zahn feels that Mark used two sources--the reminiscences of Peter and Matthew's Aramaic Gospel--in the writing of his Gospel.

After Mark had formed his Gospel, Luke compiled his Gospel. He used Mark and the Aramaic Matthew as his sources. Zahn believes that it is an undeniable fact that Luke used Mark. He claims that Luke wrote between the years 67 and 90.<sup>26</sup> Because of this fact he argues that Luke had access to the Aramaic Matthew and Mark. He says that it is certain that Luke knew Mark's Gospel and gives evidence of having used it in his Gospel.

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24. H. A. W. Meyer, op. cit., p. 7.

25. Theodor Zahn, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 601.

26. Ibid., vol. 3, p. 3.

Furthermore, the preface of Luke mentions that he looked into the other Gospel writings before his time and used them.<sup>27</sup>

Zahn attempts to show how Luke used Mark in his account. He believes that Luke was not merely a copyist of Mark, but chose what he wanted for his account. He omitted parts that were not germane to his plan.<sup>28</sup> Luke then substituted things for the parts he omitted. He also smoothed out Mark's account. For example, Zahn lists the following instances: Combinations of words, such as *κηρύξωμεν βαπτισμῶν μετανοίας εἰς ἄφθαρτον σωτηρίων*, found in Mark i. 4 following *καθὼς γέγραπται ἐν τῷ Ἡσαΐα τῷ προφῆτῃ* in Luke iii. 3 before *ὡς γέγραπται ἐν βιβλίῳ λόγων Ἡσαίου τοῦ προφῆτου*, do not originate independently of each other.<sup>29</sup> Luke, in his opinion, appears here to be the stylist smoothing down the awkward expressions which Mark used in making his citations. He holds this to be the case throughout Luke's Gospel wherever he draws from Mark. He also claims that Luke removed the most marked Hebraisms and the Aramaic words of Mark.<sup>30</sup> On the whole he feels that Luke in numerous instances selects words which are more pleasing and expressive than those which Mark used. All through his Gospel Luke seems to have used a much better Greek to express the things he had taken from Mark.

Zahn, however, holds that Luke used other sources in the writing of his Gospel. He believes, for instance, that the gen-

27. *Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 49.

28. For examples see Zahn, *op. cit.*, vol. 3, p. 103 f.

29. *Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 104.

30. For other examples of stylistic and other changes that Luke made on the material he drew from Mark, see *Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 105.

eologies of Luke come from original documents. Luke was a member of the Antiochian Church at the time when the Gospel of Matthew was read to the congregation. It is also possible, Zahn argues, that Luke got a copy of this document and incorporated it into his account with some slight modifications and changes.<sup>31</sup>

After Luke's Gospel was completed Matthew's Gospel was then translated into the Greek also. Zahn believes that the Greek Matthew is the final outcome of the translation of the Hebrew Matthew, testified to by Papias, among the Greek congregations of Asia Minor.<sup>32</sup> He also holds that someone other than Matthew translated his Gospel into Greek with the help of Mark's Gospel for additions and proper expressions.<sup>33</sup> Zahn shows why this Greek Gospel was so widely accepted very shortly after its translation, for he says,

"The transference of Matthew's name from the Hebrew to the Greek Gospel, which took place under the eye of Papias and of others who, like himself, were disciples of the apostles, presupposes that in this circle the Greek Gospel was regarded as a complete substitute for the Hebrew book, i. e. as a substantially correct translation of the same."<sup>34</sup>

The time and place of this translation is, however, unknown. Maclean also holds that Matthew was translated into Greek by someone other than Matthew, but he believes that the name Matthew comes from ecclesiastical testimony of the 2nd century, and

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31. Ibid., vol. 3, p. 100.

32. Ibid., vol. 3, p. 104.

33. Ibid., vol. 2, p. 602.

34. Ibid., vol. 2, p. 516.

not from the sacred writings themselves.<sup>35</sup> Fisher likewise accepts the theory that someone else translated Matthew and that it was widely accepted. He points out, however, that this translator must have been a person held in high regard in the Church. If this had not been the case, the Greek Matthew would not have been placed on a level with Mark and Luke.<sup>36</sup>

Concerning the time when this translation of Matthew was made, Zahn gives no set date, but says,

"By 100 at the latest, the Gentile Christian Churches of Asia Minor, perhaps also of other regions, where once the Hebrew Matthew was orally translated with great effort, were in possession of a Greek translation which was considered in every sense a substitute for the original." 37. 38

The fact that the original Aramaic Gospel had disappeared by this time was due to the fact that there was no purpose in keeping it, since it had been superseded by a better Gospel of Matthew in Greek. Zahn believes that this Greek Gospel enjoyed a fairly wide circulation by the time of Papias.

Zahn also attempts to answer the objection that there was no trace of the Aramaic Gospel left a short time after the Greek translation had been made. He says,

"The disappearance of the book in no way obscures the clear traces of its earlier existence. Scholars who regard our Matthew as an original Greek work have not succeeded in showing the unanimous tradition against them, which goes back into the first century, to be in

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35. Cf. A. J. Maclean, "Matthew," *op. cit.*, p. 593.

36. Cf. George Park Fisher, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

37. Theodor Zahn, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 520.

38. Orello Cone, *op. cit.*, p. 196, asserts that the date of the final revision of Matthew is held to be later than 70 A. D. by most Protestant scholars.

error, and therefore have not succeeded in setting it aside." 39

This theory of Zahn's has come in for much discussion among New Testament scholars. Salmon, especially, has discussed and studied the theory from all angles. After reviewing all the arguments for and against this double-Matthew theory, he says,

"it still remains a subject for inquiry whether any of these preceding documents had assumed the form of a complete Gospel, and whether our Greek St. Matthew is to be regarded as a mere translation of it, or as an independent work." 40

In support of this statement he gives the following evidence against the possibility of an Aramaic and then a Greek Matthew arising in that order. These are:

(1) The translation of Hebrew words in Matthew - e. g. I. 23, XVIII. 33.

(2) The explanation of the customs of Palestine - e. g. XXII. 23, XXVII. 15. 8, and XXVIII. 15, which would not have been necessary for Jewish readers.

✓ (3) None of the Fathers show any acquaintance with any Greek  
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✓ text of this Gospel other than we now have.

The theory of a double Matthew developed by Zahn has not found the support of scholars to any great extent. Many of its points are still in need of proof.

Zahn's theory leaves no room for the document "Q." Zahn completely rejected "Q" as one of the sources of the Gospels of

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39. Theodor Zahn, op. cit., vol. 2, pp. 520 & 521.

40. George Salmon, op. cit., p. 152.

41. Ibid., pp. 155-157.

Matthew and Luke. He felt that the evidence for such a document existing was totally inadequate. The report of Papias, in his opinion, refers to a complete Aramaic Gospel of Matthew and not to a document "Q" containing the Sayings of Jesus in the main. "Q," therefore, finds no room in his solution of the Synoptic Problem. He does, however, favor the theory that the Gospels were interdependent and that one was used by the other as a source.

## C H A P T E R IX

### The Four-Source Hypothesis

In the twentieth century, Canon B. H. Streeter, a noted New Testament scholar, published a book entitled, The Four Gospels. This book appeared in the year 1925, although Streeter had already developed his theory some years before this time. In this book he set forth his Four-Source Hypothesis as the solution to the Synoptic Problem.

As in the Two-Source Hypothesis, so in the Four-Source Hypothesis, Streeter accepted the priority of Mark's Gospel. He accepted this fact for the following five reasons: (1) Matthew reproduces 90% of the subject matter of Mark. Luke reproduces more than 50%, (2) In the average section occurring in the three Gospels the language of the actual words used by Mark are reproduced by Matthew and Luke, alternately, or both together, (3) The relative order of incidents and sections in Mark in general are supported by Matthew and Luke, (4) The primitive character of Mark shows itself in a) the use of phrases likely to cause offense toned down in the other two Gospels. b) roughness of style and grammar and the preservation of Aramaic words, and (5) The distribution of Marcan and non-Marcan material in Matthew and Luke appears as if each had before him Marcan material in a single document, and was faced with the problem of combining this with material from other sources. <sup>1</sup> He thus accounts for the similar

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1. Cf. Canon B. H. Streeter, The Four Gospels, pp. 151-152.

incidents and words to be found in all three of the Synoptic Gospels as having been copied from Mark by Matthew and Luke.

Streeter next took up the question of things common to Matthew and Luke. He found five sections in which the two accounts are parallel to each other. They are: 1) Most of John the Baptist's preaching, 2) Details of the temptation, 3) The Sermon on the Mount, 4) The healing of the Centurion's servant, and 5)

John's message. In comparing the contexts of these sections he was puzzled by two facts -- 1) That the common material occurs in quite different contexts and is arranged in a different order in the two Gospels and 2) the degree of resemblance between the parallel passages varies considerably (Matt. III, 7-10 and Luke III, 7-9, agree in 97% of the words used.)<sup>3</sup> He tried to explain these discrepancies by showing the possibility of omissions in a common source which Luke and Matthew used in addition to Mark. Thus he readily accepted the "Q" hypothesis as a source of Matthew and Luke where they agreed with each other.<sup>4</sup>

In discussing the formation of the Gospel of Luke and Matthew, however, Streeter postulated a source for each from which each drew exclusively. He admitted that they both used Mark and the document "Q," but added that Luke and Matthew both used an additional source peculiarly their own.

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2. Cf. Ibid., pp. 182 & 183.  
 3. Cf. Ibid., pp. 182 & 183.  
 4. Cf. Ibid., p. 184.

Streeter, in discussing Luke, says that Luke IX, 51 - XVIII, 14 is the center and core of the third Gospel, and that it contains most of the parables and narrative peculiar to Luke as well as about half of the material in Luke which can plausibly be assigned to "Q."<sup>5</sup> The material which was not assigned to "Q" Streeter assigned to a special source on which Luke alone drew. This source he designated with the letter "L." This "L" material peculiar to Luke was supposed to come from the traditions of the Church at Caesarea and may have been set down in writing there. 6, 7

Luke in composing His Gospel, first combined the "L" and "Q" material to form his Gospel. Streeter gives the following evidence for the process when he says,

"Collateral evidence that the Q and L material had been combined before they were used by the editor of the Third Gospel can be found in the use of the style ὁ κυριος "the Lord," instead of the simple name Jesus in narrative. This usage is not found at all in Matthew and Mark though it is found twice in the spurious conclusion of Mark (XVI. 19, 20)." 8

This document representing a combination of these two sources he designated as Proto-Luke. He also held the author to be Luke. In speaking of the author of Proto-Luke, he says,

"I suggest that the author of Proto-Luke -- the person, I mean, who combined together in one document Q and the bulk of the material peculiar to the Third Gospel -- was no other than Luke the companion of Paul." 9

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5. Cf. Ibid., p. 203

6. Cf. Ibid., p. 208, for a list of passages he assigns to "L".

7. Cf. Ibid., p. 230 & 231, for a discussion of this and other local Greek traditions.

8. Ibid., p. 212.

9. Ibid., p. 218.

After this document had been formed, Luke came into possession of a copy of Mark and incorporated parts of this Gospel into his own Gospel. Luke, in his opinion, was more of a compiler than Mark and even Matthew. His prologue is used by Streeter as evidence for this fact.<sup>10</sup> Because of his compilation from these various sources, Luke's order is considered more original by Streeter than St. Matthew's. To prove his contention he advances the following arguments: 1) Luke as a rule avoids inflating<sup>11</sup> his sources, 2) He usually gives them in approximately their original order,<sup>12</sup> and 3) He has a tendency to follow one source at a time.

According to Streeter's theory, Matthew's Gospel also has three sources incorporated within it. The third source besides Mark and "Q" used in Matthew, in his opinion, represents the tradition of the church at Antioch. Matthew, then, combined these three sources first using Mark and "Q" and then adding his own source which Streeter designates by the letter "M." Streeter says of this process,

"If the suggestions put forward above be accepted, it would follow that Matthew's Gospel represents a combination of the primitive 'gospels of Jerusalem, Antioch, and Rome.' "<sup>13</sup>

Concerning Matthew's principles in handling these sources, Streeter believes his method to be that of conflation rather than editorial. In comparing the use of "Q" by Matthew and Luke,

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10. Cf. Ibid., p. 219 f., where he discusses the whole process in some detail.

11. By inflation he means following one source for a time and the other with additions being made to the accounts found in one source. This term has been a favorite one with New Testament scholars who view the Synoptic Gospels as arising in an evolutionary manner.

12. Cf. Ibid., p. 275.

13. Ibid., p. 234.

he says, for instance,

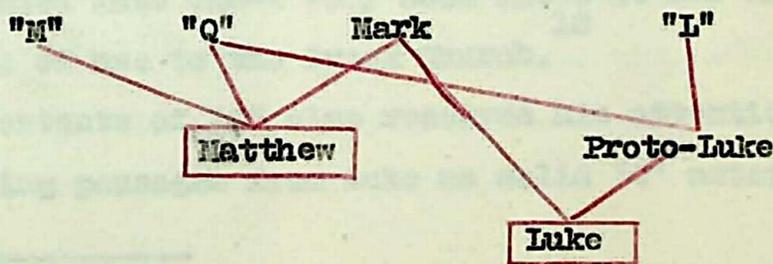
"Wherever parallel passages of Matthew and Luke exhibit marked divergence, editorial modification of Q is a less probable explanation than conflation of Q by Matthew with the language of a parallel version."<sup>14</sup>

He then illustrates this theory by showing how Matthew and Luke used the material making up the Sermon on the Mount. He says,

"The Sermon on the Mount (Matt. V-VIII) is four times as long as Luke's Sermon on the Plain (Luke VI, 20-49); but there are two considerable sections of it which, though absent from the Sermon on the Plain, occur in Luke scattered in different contexts. These show such close verbal parallelism to Matthew that they must certainly be referred to Q (Mt. VI, 22-23=Luke XI, 23-26, XVI, 13, XII, 22-31, and Matt. VII, 7-11=Luke XI, 9-13). These create no difficulty; they have obviously been inserted in their present context by Matthew in accordance with his practice of 'agglomerating,' i. e. of collecting into large discourses all the available material dealing with the same or related topics."<sup>15</sup>

He feels then that Matthew has drawn large numbers of shorter discourses together in large ones in his Gospel, and thus we get the five or six long discourses of Jesus which we find in Matthew's Gospel. Matthew's Gospel is not in chronological order for that reason.

In diagram this Four-Source Hypothesis theory would appear like this:



14. Ibid., p. 249.

15. Ibid., pp. 249 & 250.

In examining Streeter's view on "Q", it can be said that he feels that there is much less "Q" material in Matthew and Luke than the proponents of the Two-Source Hypothesis postulate. He has transferred much of what was formerly thought of as being from "Q" to his "M" and "L" sources for Matthew and Luke respectively. The only material he definitely will assign to "Q" is the discourse material of our Lord found in both Luke and Mat-<sup>16</sup>thew. He also admits that "Q" and the Marcan as well as "Q" and the Matthean sources may have overlapped.<sup>17</sup> "Q" for him then is only one of four sources for the Synoptic Gospels.

As far as the place of composition goes, Streeter holds that "Q" represents the Antiochian tradition and was composed at Antioch. He feels that it is one of the oldest Gospel sources since Antioch was one of the first Gentile cities to have a Christian congregation in its midst. He also says that Matthew was most like the author of this document "Q," and that in all probability it was written in Aramaic. He is then in agreement with the proponents of the Two-Source Hypothesis on the authorship and language of "Q." However, he also maintains that "Q" was translated into Greek very soon after it was written so that it could be of use to the Greek Church.<sup>18</sup>

The contents of "Q" also received his attention. He assigns the following passages from Luke as solid "Q" material: IX, 57-

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16. Cf. Ibid., p. 231.

17. Cf. Ibid., pp. 230-246.

18. Cf. Ibid., p. 233.

X, 24; XI, 9-XII, 12; XII, 22-XII, 57; XIII, 18-XIII, 35; and XVII, 22-37.<sup>19</sup> He selects these passages as being solid extracts taken from "Q" upon a closer scrutiny of a number of shorter passages.<sup>20</sup> He feels that such large sections can be assigned to "Q" because Luke's order of events is taken from "Q" without changes.<sup>21</sup> Streeter also lists smaller sections as coming from "Q" and allows for the possibility that his list is not entirely complete.<sup>22</sup>

In regard to the character of "Q," Streeter claims that it was a document comparable to an Old Testament prophetic book like Jeremiah. In his opinion it consisted principally of discourses with an occasional narrative injected here or there to explain some portion of teaching found in "Q." The Baptism and Temptation are included by him because these were probably regarded as the "call" of Jesus to the Messianic office. He also, in agreement with the proponents of the Two-Source Hypothesis,<sup>23</sup> says that "Q" contained no Passion narrative.

Streeter has minimized the importance of "Q" as one of the documents used in the composition of the Synoptic Gospels. He, however, has maintained that "Q" was one of the sources of the Synoptic Gospels. To him, as with the Two-Source Hypothesis proponents, "Q" is still the principal source for the discourse material of Jesus in the Synoptic Gospels.

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19. Cf. Ibid., p. 278.

20. Cf. Ibid., p. 278, for the shorter passages and how he uses them to prove that these larger passages are from "Q."

21. Cf. Ibid., p. 273.

22. Cf. Ibid., p. 292 for a list of passages in Luke which Streeter considers to be taken from "Q."

23. Cf. Ibid., p. 291 f.

Streeter advances three arguments in support of his Four-Source Hypothesis. They are:

(1) It gives a fuller meaning to the reference in the preface of Luke to the "many" who had written.

(2) It explains the curious mixture in Matthew of Judaistic with Universalistic sayings, and the concurrence of the conspicuously ancient along with some highly doubtful matter.

(3) The connection of these Gospels with the traditions of the great churches explains the authoritative position soon achieved over rivals and thus their ultimate selection as a nucleus of the Canon.  
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A number of arguments have been advanced against this Four-Source Hypothesis. These arguments are of such weight that they have practically dismantled this theory. It has never found much support from New Testament scholars. The arguments for the rejection of this theory are:

(1) It is based on an evolutionistic (naturalistic) conception of Christianity.

(2) It begs the whole question of the nature of Christ. This theory does not take the divine nature of Christ into account.

(3) It violates the doctrine of Verbal Inspiration of the Scriptures by the views of a Proto-Luke and "M" and "L" documents.

(4) It has no support in the accounts of the Church Fathers.

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24. Cf. Ibid., pp. 268 & 269.

(5) It is based on an unproven theory of development.<sup>25</sup>

(6) The passages given as coming from the various sources are merely unproven opinions of the author of this theory.

(7) It degrades the evangelists Matthew and Luke to slavish,<sup>26</sup> arbitrary, plagiaristic compilers rather than Gospel writers.

(8) It disregards the statements of Luke's preface which say that he wrote in order after examining the accounts that had been written before he wrote and making inquiry of eyewitnesses. Luke's preface leaves no room for two Lukes -- a Proto-Luke and our canonical Luke.

These arguments are impressive and compelling. On the basis of these arguments this Four-Source Hypothesis must be rejected. It has no evidence in its favor as far as Church History goes. The whole theory is merely an hypothesis of a unique method of a group of Gospels coming into being. As a solution to the Synoptic Problem this theory can be said to have contributed little.

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25. Cf. H. C. Thiessen, op. cit., pp. 110 & 111.

26. Cf. Ibid., p. 127.

## C H A P T E R X

### Conclusions

The Two- and Four-Source Hypotheses have both included the document "Q" in their solutions to the Synoptic Problem. Both these theories included the document "Q" in their solutions because they assume that a combination of sources was used in the composition of the Synoptic Gospels. The work of the proponents of these two theories has resulted in some conclusions contributing toward the solution of the Synoptic Problem. In this thesis these conclusions have been analyzed and summarized. Some of these conclusions can be considered as possibilities helping toward the solution of the Synoptic Problem. The following conclusions with regard to this problem may be accepted since they don't violate the doctrine of Verbal Inspiration of the Scriptures and don't contradict the reports of the Church Fathers and the Gospels themselves with regard to their composition. They are ten in number. They are:

- (1) The use of sources on the part of the Synoptic Writers can be accepted. Luke gives evidence for the use of sources in the prologue of his Gospel. The other Synoptic Gospels show evidence of this same fact because of their similarities to Luke in many sections. The use of sources or a source does not militate against the doctrine of the Verbal Inspiration of the Scriptures.

(2) Oral tradition probably was also incorporated into the Synoptic Gospels. Papias, for instance, reports that Mark incorporated the verbal accounts of Peter into his Gospel. It is reasonable to assume that the other two Synoptic Writers also did the same thing even though we do not have any evidence in tradition for this. Luke, in his prologue, says that he investigated the things pertaining to the life of Christ. He surely also must have consulted oral tradition since he says (I. 2) that he consulted eyewitnesses. Matthew himself was an eyewitness of most of the events in the life of Christ and surely set down the things he saw and heard in his Gospel.

(3) The priority of an Aramaic Matthew can be admitted on the basis of the testimony of the Church Fathers. They are very definite in their reporting of an Aramaic Gospel of Matthew. This does not exclude the possibility that Matthew translated his own Gospel into Greek and even made some few additions. It must be admitted that there is no tradition that Matthew translated his own Gospel into Greek. Neither is there any tradition to the contrary. The absence of any reference to a translation would point to Matthew himself as the translator. The faithful translation of Matthew by someone else into Greek would not mean the destruction of its validity or inspiration. The Church Fathers give no evidence for this supposition, however.

(4) Mark's use of Matthew's Aramaic Gospel seems to have good evidence in its favor.

(5) Mark's use of other sources than Matthew only is shown by his differences from and additions to Matthew. The report of Papias on his connection with Peter is also strong evidence for this fact.

(6) Luke's use of Mark as one of his sources is a reasonable assumption on the basis of a comparison of the two accounts. His verbal similarity in many instances is evidence for this fact. His sequence of events also follows Mark's in the main. This is also some proof that he may have used Mark.

(7) That Luke used sources in addition to Mark can be proved. His variations and additions had to come from some other sources. His prologue also indicates that more than one source was used in the writing of his Gospel.

(8) The priority of Mark's Gospel as the first in Greek is almost universally admitted by the critics of the Synoptic Gospels. As Maclean says,

"no writer having before him a smooth would gratuitously introduce harsh or difficult phraseology, whereas the converse change is natural and common." 1

All the evidence of the Church Fathers seems to point this way.

(9) The existence of a hypothetical document "Q" containing the sayings of Jesus and used as a source both by Matthew and Luke is postulated and admitted by many scholars who reject Form Criticism and the Oral Tradition Hypothesis. The evidence for the existence of such a document is based entirely on the statement of Papias on Matthew and the similarities found in Luke and Matthew. The proof for the existence of this document

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1. A. J. Maclean, "Mark," op. cit., p. 580.

is not convincing nor conclusive. All the arguments that have been advanced for the existence of this document are based on postulations or hypotheses. It is still merely an assumption to assert that such a document ever existed or ever was used in the writing of the Gospels of Matthew and Luke.

(10) As Bible scholars believing in the Verbal Inspiration of the Scriptures we can hold that the Synoptic Writers were interdependent, and that they may have used the same source materials, both oral and written. But which sources they used and how they used them has not yet been satisfactorily explained.

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