

H. PROBABLE OR POSSIBLE FRAGMENTS OF THE GOSPEL ACCORDING
TO THE HEBREWS.

I have here included all such evangelic quotations in early writers as seem to me referable with more or less probability to our lost Gospel. The number of *possible* quotations might have been enlarged almost indefinitely (see p. 112), but I have excluded all those for which no better presumption can be urged than a slight divergence from the canonical text. I must, however, explain why I have inserted all the evangelic quotations but one in the so-called Second Epistle of Clement of Rome—a work dating about 130–60 A.D.

The one quotation which I have not admitted is a very peculiar one, with no canonical affinities whatever, and Clement of Alexandria, who quotes it four times, says that it is found in *the Gospel according to the Egyptians*. On the strength of this Hilgenfeld has pitchforked into his edition of the supposed fragments of that Gospel all the remaining evangelic quotations in the Second Epistle of Clement of Rome, entirely regardless of these two facts: (1) that each one of those quotations has a canonical parallel, (2) that this is not the case with any fragment of the Gospel according to the Egyptians.

But, if all the rest of the evangelic quotations in the Second Clementine Epistle correspond to passages in the canonical Gospels, why have I given them here? I have been led to do so by the phaenomena which the quotation numbered *Fr.* 43 presents. It is most certainly not taken from any of our Gospels; at the same time it partly answers to passages in Matthew and Luke, and has certain likenesses to each; and lastly the correspondence is very far nearer to Matthew than to Luke, because the two passages which both evangelists have in common with it are combined by Matthew into the same discourse of Jesus while Luke separates them into different discourses. In other words, we find in this quotation the three striking features of the Gospel according to the Hebrews, (1) close affinity with Matthew, (2) less close but still marked affinity with Luke, (3) decided independence of both.

Two other of these quotations exhibit unquestionable independence of our canonical Gospels—*Fr.* 41 and *Fr.* 57, the latter of which is also found in Irenaeus, who regarded the Gospel according to the Hebrews as Matthew's, but did not accept, and consequently would not quote, any other Gospel outside of our four—though he may have quoted from tradition. I have therefor felt fully justified in placing the rest of the quotations of this author among the *possible* Fragments, but they may equally well be more or less loose

quotations from memory of our present Gospels. It is curious that every one has a parallel in Matthew (although sometimes the likeness to Luke is greater) and that at the same time he speaks of the nations as * 'hearing from your mouth the Oracles (τὰ Λόγια) of God,' which name 'the Oracles' (τὰ Λόγια) is that given by Papias to the Aramaic Gospel of Matthew, and that he gives an evangelic quotation as a sample of them. I do not press this, but think it worth mentioning.

I must remind the reader that the author of the Epistle quotes words answering to part of Fr. 16 in a form nearer to them than is presented by any other authority.

I have read some part of Mr. Cotterill's *Peregrinus Proteus*, in which he tries to show that a considerable number of Greek writings, secular and sacred, the latter including the two Epistles bearing the name of Clement, were the work of a mediæval forger, or two or more forgers in concert, who went on the plan of using words and phrases picked out of genuine writings but using them in quite different surroundings—a plan which, because Henri Estienne professedly engaged in it as an amusement, is supposed to have been employed (probably by him) to forge the writings in question 'simply for his own amusement, and for the sake of feeling his own literary power, and from his love of that kind of often innocent deceit which &c. &c.' That a man should not only forge (from whatever object), but, for the sake of indulging a whim which he might as easily indulge without forging, should wilfully give on every page and in almost every paragraph clues which would lead to his own exposure and to his everlasting infamy, is hard to believe. That, having forged three MSS. of a lost writer

* Τὰ ἔθνη γάρ, ἀκούοντα ἐκ τοῦ στόματος ἡμῶν τὰ Λόγια τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὡς καλὰ καὶ μεγάλα θαυμάζει· ἔπειτα, καταμαθόντα τὰ ἔργα ἡμῶν ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἄξια τῶν ρημάτων ὧν λέγομεν, ἐνθεν εἰς βλασφημίαν τρέπονται, λέγοντες εἶναι μῦθόν τινα καὶ πλάνην. "Ὅταν γὰρ ἀκούσωσιν παρ' ἡμῶν ὅτι λέγει ὁ Θεὸς 'Οὐ χάρις ὑμῖν εἰ ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας ὑμᾶς, ἀλλὰ χάρις ὑμῖν εἰ ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς καὶ τοὺς μισοῦντας ὑμᾶς—ταῦτα ὅταν ἀκούσωσιν, θαυμάζουσιν τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς ἀγαθότητος· ὅταν δὲ ἴδωσιν ὅτι οὐ μόνον τοὺς μισοῦντας οὐκ ἀγαπῶμεν ἀλλ' ὅτι οὐδὲ τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας, καταγελῶσιν ἡμῶν καὶ βλασφημεῖται τὸ ὄνομα—'For the nations, hearing from our mouth the Oracles of God, wonder at them for their beauty and grandeur; then, having learnt our works, that they are not worthy of the words which we say, they turn themselves from this to reviling, saying that it is some myth and will of the wisp. For when they hear from us that God saith "It is no thank to you if ye love them that love you, but it is thank to you if ye love enemies and them that hate you"—when they hear these things they wonder at the overabounding goodness: but when they see that not only do we not love them that hate us, but not even them that love us, they laugh us down and the Name is reviled.'—xiii.

of the highest interest to all the Christian world (as in the case of the two Clementine Epistles), and having the means of giving immediate publicity to them (as Estienne had) he should yet dispose of them so that he would never enjoy the fruits, mental or pecuniary, of his toilsome deceit—so that indeed not one of these MSS. was printed till centuries after his death—is also hard to believe. That some of the supposed ‘parodies’ are so babyish that one wonders how any man with a man’s brain would find pleasure in making them Mr. Cotterill himself will hardly deny; nor does it seem, as far as I have read, that he has tested the amount of undesigned coincidences of expression in a number of provably *genuine* writings. To qualify myself to speak decidedly on Mr. Cotterill’s most laborious and ingenious book would claim an amount of time which I cannot spare; but I wish to show that I have not ignored it, and that I have *prima facie* reasons for holding the received belief till those who shall gain the qualification to judge give their judgement to Mr. Cotterill.

As to the passages taken from the *Clementine Homilies*—an Ebionite work of the 2nd or early 3rd cent. quite unconnected with the Clementine Epistles—I have inserted them on the ground that, if they are not mere oral traditions, the Gospel according to the Hebrews was the likeliest non-canonical source for the Ebionite author of the Homilies to borrow from. The common theory that he habitually used a form of the Ebionite Gospel has to face the fact that wherever we can compare his quotations with the Gospel according to the Hebrews, as in the case of Fr. 20 and Fr. 24, he offers no approximation to it but follows the canonical narrative, which in these instances happens to be widely different.

†34. ?

The son and the daughter shall inherit alike.

† Hilgenfeld inserts these quotations in his edition, and seems to have no doubt whatever that they belong to the Gospel according to the Hebrews. As he gives no reason beyond saying that the latter of the two is too unlike the Greek Matthew to have been translated from it, I did not, in face of my own objections, intend to take any notice of them. But, since the Rev. W. H. Lowe in his *Fragment of Talmud Babli P'sachim* and Prof. Rawson Lumby in the *Expositor* for April maintain that they are taken from an Aramaic Gospel, I have reconsidered the question, and feel that they should at least be included among the *possible* Fragments.

The following translation of a story in the Babylonian Talmud (*Shabbath*) I take from Mr. Lowe (p. 68):—Imma Shalom (= *Salome*) was the wife of Rabbi Eliezer [ben Hyrcanus], and the sister of Rabban Gamli'el [the younger]. There was in his neighbourhood a certain *Pilos'fu*, who had the name that he would not take a bribe. They wished to have a laugh at him. So she brought him a golden lamp [as a present], they went before him, and she said to him: ‘I wish

35. Matt. v. 17. I am not come to take away from the law of Moses, nor to add to the law of Moses am I come.

that they should apportion unto me of the property of our family.' He [the *Pilosfa*] said to them: 'Apportion it (to her).' He [Rabban Gamli'el, her brother] said to him: 'We have it written (*var. lect.* in the Law), *Where there is a son a daughter does not inherit.*' He answered him: 'From the day that ye were removed from your land the Law of Moses was taken away and another Law given, and in it it is written, *The son and the daughter shall inherit alike.*' Next day he [Rabban Gamli'el], in his turn, brought him a Lybian ass. He [the *Pilosfa*] said to them: 'I have looked further on in the book and it is written in it, *I am not come to take away from the Law of Moses, nor to add to the Law of Moses am I come*; and in it [the Law of Moses] it is written, *where there is a son, a daughter shall not inherit.*' She [Imma Shalom] said to him [pointedly]: 'Let thy light shine like the lamp!' Rabban Gamli'el said to her: 'The ass has come and trodden out the lamp!' [i.e. the second bribe counteracted the effect of the first].

For *Pilosfa* 'philosopher' Mr. Lowe would however read a form of 'episcopos,' 'bishop,' which the reading of the Munich MS. suggests to him, and for 'another Law' he reads, with the Oxford MS. 'the law of the Evangelium.'

The Rabban Gamli'el of the above story was the grandson of the Gamli'el at whose feet Paul sat, and became President of the Sanhedrin. His sister's husband Rabbi Eliezer was one of the most famous Rabbis of the day, but in the Talmud he is said to have been charged before the Roman governor with Christian leanings, and is also said to have quoted with approval a Christian interpretation of Deut. xxiii. 18. And so Mr. Lowe plausibly suggests that his wife's object in bribing the Christian of the story was to counteract her husband's friendliness to Christians. He also points out that Paul, in 1 Cor. vi., directs Corinthian Christians to settle legal disputes before judges chosen from their own body. Internal evidence, therefore, is in favour of the truth of the story. And 'it is impossible,' says Mr. Lowe, 'that the whole should be pure invention—and the citations given from such an imperfect knowledge of the Gospels and Epistles, as may be supposed to have been possessed by the compilers of the Talmud Babli in the ivth and vth centuries—for Rab, who (as we hope to prove on some other occasion) was the vehicle of such traditions, must have brought the story back with him from Palestine to Babylonia. And there it must have been embodied in the Babli (*à propos* of the use of the word *ספר*, and the treatment of books which in the estimation of some Jews were semi-sacred) with the same good faith with which hundreds of other stories, brought by him, were inserted. Thus it is but reasonable to consider this as a tradition concerning Rabban Gamli'el, partially corrupted perhaps through process of transmission, but still authentic in its main points.'

It seems to me quite possible that the first of the two quotations may be only a distorted application of Gal. iii. 28, 'There is not male or female: for all ye are one [man] in Christ Jesus.' For Gamli'el's own quotation from the Old Testament is no true quotation, but only an inference from Num. xxvii. 8, 'If a man die, and have no son, then shall ye pass over his inheritance to his daughter.' Or we may call to mind that passage in the Second Clementine Epistle (xii. 2) 'For the Lord himself, having been asked by some one when his kingdom should come, said "When the two shall be one, and the outside as the inside, and the male with the female neither male nor female"'—a passage which Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* iii. 9, 93) asserts to have been in *the Gospel according to the Egyptians*. But the reference to Galatians is more natural, and we have no

evidence of the existence of the Gospel according to the Egyptians before the time when the Second Clementine Epistle was written—perhaps 60, perhaps 90 years later than what we shall presently see is the likeliest date for this incident.

If, however, we might take as literally true the statement that our first quotation was found in 'the law of the Evangelium' or even 'another law' it would be impossible to look for its source in Gal. iii. 28. No Christian, assuredly no Jewish Christian, would be likely to speak of an epistle of Paul as superseding the law of Moses. And the statement that the second quotation was 'further on in the book' is also against the correspondence of the former with Gal. iii. 28.

As to the second quotation, it is quite close enough to Matt. v. 17, 'Think not that I am come to destroy the law or the prophets: I am not come to destroy but to fulfil.' We know how variously the Gospels report sayings of Jesus: why should we think that the oral tradition of non-Christian Jews would preserve a Christian saying more exactly than the oral tradition of Christian Jews preserved the sayings of Jesus?—more especially when in the former case the interval before commission to writing was, as far as we know, much longer.

Let us now consider the time and place to which the incident should be referred. It must have happened after the destruction of Jerusalem in A.D. 70, or at least after Vespasian's edict of A.D. 72, whereby all the lands of the Jews were put up for sale. And it must have happened before A.D. 123, when Rabban Gamli'el died. But from A.D. 82 to his death Gamli'el was President of the Sanhedrin, and it seems very unlikely that he would compromise the dignity of that post by acting as the story represents. We must therefore look for a date between A.D. 70 and 82. Now the father of Imma and Gamli'el died in A.D. 70, and it is reasonable to suppose that the particular pretext with which they went to the Christian was suggested by their father's death. So that we can hardly be wrong in dating the incident about A.D. 71-3. The scene was almost undoubtedly Jamnia, whither the Sanhedrin had gone before the siege of Jerusalem, and whither Gamli'el also is known to have gone just after his father's death.

And now let us consider whether the Christian is likely to have been a Jew or a Gentile. There was indeed a Gentile settlement at Jamnia, but Imma and Gamli'el are far more likely to have chosen a Jewish than a Gentile Christian for an experiment of this kind. And it is to be noted that the Christian seems to have held that the Jews were bound by their law so long as it was physically possible for them to carry out its precepts in full—which was exactly the Judæo-Christian attitude. Lastly, if he was indeed a 'bishop,' it is far more likely that a Jew would be chosen as bishop among a population which was after all mainly Jewish.

If so, Gamli'el would naturally quote to him the Rabbinical inference from Num. xxvii. 8, in Aramaic, and he would as naturally quote in answer an Aramaic Gospel *if there was one to his purpose*. Of course we do not know that the Gospel according to the Hebrews was then written, but *if in the main the work of an Apostle* it probably was; and, if Luke, albeit writing perhaps as many as ten years later, knew 'many' Gospels, there is no reason why some of those Gospels and among them the Gospel according to the Hebrews should not have been in circulation at Jamnia before A.D. 70.

If a place in the Matthæan text before Matt. v. 17 *had* to be found for the first quotation, we might connect it with Matt. v. 3 or 10, 'theirs is the kingdom of the heavens' or better with Matt. v. 5, 'they shall inherit the earth.'

The originals of the two quotations are ביה ברא וברת' כתר ארתון ולא לאוספי על אורייתא רמשה אחית' and לא למיפתת בן אורייתא רמשה אחית' ולא לאוספי על אורייתא רמשה אחית'

* 36. ? Matt. v. near the end. It is blessed rather to give than to receive.

† 37. Matt. v. 46. [There is] not thank to you if ye love them
Luke v. 32, 35. that love you; but [there is] thank to you if ye love enemies and them that hate you.

† 38. Matt. vi. 24. No servant can serve two masters . . . serve
Luke xvi. 13. both God and mammon.

§ 39. Matt. vi. 33. Ask great things and little things shall be added to you, and ask heavenly things and earthly things shall be added to you.

* Acts, xx. 35—*μνημονεύειν τε τῶν λόγων τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ, ὅτι αὐτὸς εἶπεν* 'Μακάριόν ἐστιν μᾶλλον διδόναι ἢ λαμβάνειν,' 'and to remember the words of the Lord Jesus, that he said "It is blessed rather to give than to receive."' The grounds for thinking that this may well have been found in our Gospel are (1) that it occurs in a work written by Luke (2) that Paul was almost certainly familiar with a tradition (see Fr. 29) found in this Gospel.

Compare also Clement of Rome, ii. 1, 'more gladly giving than receiving' (*ἡδίων διδόντες ἢ λαμβάνοντες*). The date of Clement's epistle is probably 93–7 A.D.

† 'Second Epistle of Clement,' xiii. 4—*Λέγει δὲ Θεὸς* 'Ὁὐ χάρις ὑμῖν εἰ ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας ὑμᾶς· ἀλλὰ χάρις ὑμῖν εἰ ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς καὶ τοὺς μισοῦντας ὑμᾶς,' 'God saith &c.'

Bishop Lightfoot takes the first part as a loose quotation from Luke vi. 32, 'If ye love them that love you, what manner of thank is there to you?' (*Εἰ ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας ὑμᾶς, ποία ὑμῖν χάρις ἐστίν;*) and the latter part as a loose quotation from Luke vi. 35, 'But love your enemies . . . and your reward shall be much' (*Πλὴν ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμῶν . . . καὶ ἔσται ὁ μισθὸς ὑμῶν πολὺς*). He might also have suggested a reminiscence of Luke vi. 28, 'Love your enemies, do good to them that hate you' (*τοῖς μισοῦσιν ὑμᾶς*).

But compare also Matt. v. 46, 'For, if ye should love them that love you, what reward have ye' (*Εὰν γὰρ ἀγαπήσητε τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας ὑμᾶς, τίνα μισθὸν ἔχετε;*) and 44 . . . 'love your enemies' (*ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμῶν*), to which some 2nd cent. authorities, though doubtless from Luke, add 'do good to them that hate you' (*τοῖς μισοῦσιν ὑμᾶς*).

‡ 'Second Epistle of Clement,' vi. 1—*Λέγει δὲ ὁ Κύριος* 'Ὁὐδεὶς οἰκέτης δύναται δυσὶ κυρίοις δουλεῖν.' 'Εὰν ἡμεῖς θέλωμεν καὶ Θεῷ δουλεῖν καὶ μαμωνᾷ, ἀσύμφορον ἡμῖν ἐστίν,' 'And the Lord saith "No servant can serve two masters." If we wish to serve both God and mammon, it is unprofitable to us.'

Except for the word 'both' the quotations agree verbatim with Luke xvi. 13. In Matt. vi. 24 'No man' is undoubtedly the right reading.

§ Origen, *De Orat.*, § 2—*Εἶπε γὰρ ὁ Ἰησοῦς τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ* 'Αἰτεῖτε τὰ μεγάλα καὶ τὰ μικρὰ ὑμῖν προστεθήσεται, καὶ αἰτεῖτε τὰ ἐπουράνια καὶ τὰ ἐπίγεια προστεθήσεται ὑμῖν,' 'For Jesus said to his disciples &c.'

Elsewhere (*Against Celsus*, vii.) he thus alludes to the former part of the saying:—'He [i.e. the Christian] sends up his prayer to God not about common things; for he has learnt from Jesus to seek for nothing little (that is, sensuous), but only great things and truly divine' (*Ἀναπέμπει οὐ περὶ τῶν τυχόντων τὴν*

|| 40. Matt. vii. 21. Not every one that saith unto me 'Lord, lord' shall be saved, but he that ¶ doeth righteousness.

** 41. Matt. vii. 23. If ye have been gathered with me in my ††¹ Luke xiii. 26-7. bosom and do not my commandments, I will cast you away and will say unto you 'Depart from me; I know you not whence ye are, workers of iniquity.'

εὐχὴν τῷ Θεῷ· ἔμαθε γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ μηδὲν μικρὸν, τουτέστιν αἰσθητόν, ζητεῖν, ἀλλὰ μόνα τὰ μεγάλα καὶ ἀληθῶς θεῖα).

This part was quoted before Origen by Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* i. 24, 158—'For he [i.e. Jesus] saith "Ask great things and little things shall be added to you."'

He also alludes to it elsewhere (*Strom.* iv. 6, 34). After quoting the latter half of Matt. vi. 32 and the former half of Matt. vi. 33 he says 'for these things are great; but the little things, and appertaining to sustenance, these things shall be added to you' (ταῦτα γὰρ μεγάλα· τὰ δὲ μικρὰ, καὶ περὶ τὸν βίον, ταῦτα προστεθήσεται ὑμῖν).

Compare Matt. vi. 33, 'But seek first the kingdom [of God?] and his righteousness, and all these things shall be added to you' (προστεθήσεται ὑμῖν).

The fact of this traditional saying being found in Origen (who used the Gospel according to the Hebrews often) and Clement (who quoted it as Scripture), coupled with the fact of our having a close parallel to the saying in Matthew, give it the highest claim to be considered a fragment of our lost Gospel.

|| 'Second Epistle of Clement,' iv. 2—Λέγει γὰρ 'Οὐ πᾶς ὁ λέγων μοι Κύριε, κύριε' σωθήσεται, ἀλλὰ ὁ ποιῶν τὴν δικαιοσύνην, 'For he saith &c.'

¶ 'Righteousness' is found 7 times in Matthew, never in Mark, twice in John, once in Luke, 4 times in Acts. 'To do righteousness' is found in Matt. vi. 1 according to the true and now accepted reading, 'to work righteousness' is also found in Luke x. 35.

** 'Second Epistle of Clement,' iv. 5—Εἶπεν δὲ Κύριος 'Ἐὰν ᾗτε μετ' ἐμοῦ συνηγμένοι ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ μου καὶ μὴ ποιῇτε τὰς ἐντολάς μου, ἀποβαλῶ ὑμᾶς καὶ ἐρῶ "Ἐπάγετε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ· οὐκ οἶδα ὑμᾶς πόθεν ἐστέ, ἐργάζεται ἀνομίας,"' 'The Lord said &c.'

Matt. vii. 23 has 'And then will I avow to them that "I never knew you: go away from me, ye that work iniquity"' (Καὶ τότε ὁμολογήσω αὐτοῖς ὅτι 'Οὐδέποτε ἔγνων ὑμᾶς· ἀποχωρεῖτε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ, οἱ ἐργαζόμενοι τὴν ἀνομίαν').

Luke xiii. 26-7 has 'Then shall ye begin to say "We have eaten in front of thee and drunk, and thou hast taught in our streets." And he shall say "I say to you, I know you not whence ye are; stand away from me all that work iniquity" (Τότε ἄρξεσθε λέγειν 'Ἐφάγομεν ἐνώπιόν σου καὶ ἐπίομεν, καὶ ἐν ταῖς πλατείαις ἡμῶν ἐδίδαξας.' Καὶ ἐρεῖ 'Λέγω ὑμῖν, οὐκ οἶδα ὑμᾶς πόθεν ἐστέ· ἀπύστητε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ πάντες ἐργαζόμενοι ἀνομίαν').

Now the words 'If ye have been gathered with me in my bosom' seem to me to be conceivably derived from a source akin to that of Luke's words 'we have eaten in front of thee and drunk.' At an Oriental meal the company lay on couches, several on a couch, the head of one in front of the breast of another,

¹ For note see next page.

*42. Matt. ix. 13. I came not [or, am not come] to call just but
Mark. ii. 17. sinners.
Luke v. 32.

†43. Matt. x. 16, 28. (1) ‡ 'Ye shall be as § lambkins in midst of
Luke x. 3, xii. 4. wolves.'

(2) And Peter answered him and saith 'If
then the wolves rend the lambkins asunder?'

(3) Jesus said to Peter 'Let not the lambkins
after they are dead fear the wolves.' || And do ye

and this is what is meant by John xiii. 23, the proper rendering of which is 'There was lying in the bosom of Jesus one of his disciples, whom Jesus loved.' Viewed in the light of Luke's version one would conjecture that the words 'If ye have been gathered with me in my bosom' *may* mean 'If ye have eaten and drunk in front of me.' It is just worth remarking that the word which I have rendered 'gathered' is one also applied to drawing close at a dinner-table, for an instance of which the reader may turn to *Fr.* 52.

†† Found 3 times in Luke, twice in John, never in Mark or Matthew. See particularly Luke xvi. 22-3, where Lazarus is in Abraham's bosom.

* 'Second Epistle of Clement,' ii. 4—*Καὶ ἑτέρα δὲ γραφή λέγει ὅτι 'Οὐκ ἦλθον καλέσαι δικαίους, ἀλλὰ ἁμαρτωλούς.'* 'And another Scripture also saith that &c.' The agreement is verbatim with Mark, but in Matthew 'For' is added, and Luke (who presents not *ἦλθον* but *ἐλήλυθα*) adds 'to repentance.'

† 'Second Epistle of Clement,' v. 2—*Λέγει γὰρ ὁ Κύριος (1) "Ἔσεσθε ὡς ἀρνία ἐν μέσῳ λύκων." (2) Ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ ὁ Πέτρος αὐτῷ λέγει 'Ἐὰν οὖν διασπαράξωσιν οἱ λύκοι τὰ ἀρνία,' (3) Εἶπεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς τῷ Πέτρῳ 'Μὴ φοβείσθωσαν τὰ ἀρνία τοὺς λύκους μετὰ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν αὐτά. Καὶ ὑμεῖς μὴ φοβεῖσθε τοὺς ἀποκτεννόντας ὑμᾶς καὶ μὴδὲν ὑμῖν δυναμένους ποιεῖν. (4) Ἀλλὰ φοβεῖσθε τὸν μετὰ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν ὑμᾶς ἔχοντα ἐξουσίαν ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος τοῦ βαλεῖν εἰς Γέενναν πυρός,' 'For the Lord saith &c.'*

† Found in John xxi. 15 and 29 times in the Apocalypse (always rendered 'lamb'), but nowhere else in the N.T.

§ Matt. x. 16, 'Behold I send you forth as sheep in midst of wolves' (*Ἰδοὺ ἀποστέλλω ὑμᾶς ὡς πρόβατα ἐν μέσῳ λύκων*). Luke x. 3 the same except that for 'sheep' we have 'lambs' (*ἄρνας*).

|| Matt. x. 28, (3) 'And fear not at them that kill the body but cannot kill the soul. (4) But fear rather him who can destroy both soul and body in Gehenna' (*(3) Καὶ μὴ φοβεῖσθε ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποκτεννόντων τὸ σῶμα, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν μὴ δυναμένους ἀποκτεῖναι. (4) Φοβεῖσθε δὲ μᾶλλον τὸν δυνάμενον καὶ ψυχὴν καὶ σῶμα ἀπολέσαι ἐν Γέεννῃ*).

Luke xii. 4, (3) 'And I say to you my friends, fear not at them that kill the body and after that have not anything left to do. (4) But I will show you whom ye may fear—fear him who after having killed hath authority to cast in into the Gehenna' (*(3) Ἀέγω δὲ ὑμῖν τοῖς φίλοις μου, μὴ φοβηθῆτε ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποκτεννόντων τὸ σῶμα καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα μὴ ἐχόντων περισσώτερόν τι ποιῆσαι. (4) Ὑποδείξω δὲ ὑμῖν τίνα φοβηθῆτε—φοβήθητε τὸν μετὰ τὸ ἀποκτεῖναι ἔχοντα ἐξουσίαν ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν Γέενναν*).

'And can do nought unto you,' 'after ye are dead,' 'hath authority,' and

not fear them that kill you and can do nought unto you.

(4) But fear him who after ye are dead hath authority over soul and body to cast into ¶ Gehenna of fire.

**44. Matt. x. 32. Him that confesseth me in face of men, I will confess him in face of my Father.

††45. Matt. xi. 29. Ye shall find rest.

§§46. Matt. xii. The same day having beholden a man working on the Sabbath he said to him '¶¶ Man, if thou knowest what thou dost, blessed art thou: but, if thou knowest not, thou art ¶¶ accursed and *** a transgressor of the law.'

†††47. ? Matt. xiii. 11. Keep the mysteries for me and for the sons of my house.

'cast into' are nearer to Luke: 'But fear him who,' 'over soul and body,' to Matthew.

¶ Matthew uses 'the Gehenna of the fire' twice, and Mark once. He uses 'the Gehenna' once, Mark twice, Luke once. He also uses 'Gehenna' without the article 3 times—the others not at all.

** 'Second Epistle of Clement,' iii. 2—λέγει δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς 'Τὸν ὁμολογήσαντά με ἐνώπιον τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὁμολογήσω αὐτὸν ἐνώπιον τοῦ Πατρὸς μου,' 'And Himself too saith &c.' Matthew has 'Every one therefor who shall confess in me before men, I also will confess him before my Father which is in [the] heavens' (Πᾶς οὖν ὅστις ὁμολογήσει ἐν ἐμοὶ ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὁμολογήσω καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸν ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ Πατρὸς μου τοῦ ἐν οὐρανοῖς).

†† 'Second Epistle of Clement,' vi. 7—'For doing the will of Christ we shall find rest' (Ποιοῦντες γὰρ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ Χριστοῦ εὐρήσομεν ἀνάπαυσιν).

§§ D has this after Luke vi. 4. The Greek is Τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ θεασάμενός τινα ἐργαζόμενον τῷ σαββάτῳ εἶπεν αὐτῷ 'Ἀνθρώπε, εἰ μὲν οἶδας τί ποτεῖς, μακάριος εἶ· εἰ δὲ μὴ οἶδας, ἐπικατάρατος καὶ παραβάτης τοῦ νόμου.' It may easily be, or may correspond with, a fragment of the Gospel according to the Hebrews. Its source, the Codex Bezae, and its occurrence in a text of Luke favour the supposition, and we know from Fr. 15 that our Gospel did actually contain a narrative answering to (and in some respects fuller than) Matt. xii. 10-13, the parallel passage to Luke vi. 6-10.

¶¶ This form of address is found in Fr. 20 and thrice in Luke.

¶¶ The particular Greek word is found only twice in the N. T.—in two quotations by Paul, in one of which it is borrowed from the Septuagint; but the very similar ἐπάρατος is found once in John.

*** 'A transgressor of law' is found in Rom. ii. 25, 27 and James ii. 11.

††† Clementine Homilies, xix. 20, Μεμνήμεθα τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν καὶ διδασκάλου ὡς ἐντελλόμενος εἶπεν ἡμῖν 'Τὰ μυστήρια ἐμοὶ καὶ τοῖς υἱοῖς τοῦ οἴκου μου φυλάξατε,' 'We remember our Lord and teacher that he said to us as a command "Keep &c."'

- * 48. Matt. xv. 8. This people honoureth me with the lips, but
 Mark vii. 6. its heart is far off from me.
- † 49. Matt. xvi. 26. For what [is] the profit if one gain the entire
 Mark viii. 36. world and lose his soul?
 Luke ix. 26.
- † 50. Matt. xviii. 7. The good must come, but blessed [is] he
 Luke xvii. 1. through whom it cometh: in like wise need [is]
 that the evil come, but woe [to him] through
 whom it cometh.

So also Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.*, v. 10, 'He [*i.e.* the author of *the Epistle of Barnabas*] means "For it was not from grudgingness that the Lord commanded in some [*or, a certain*] Gospel *My mystery [is] for me and for the sons of my house*"' (Ὁὐ γὰρ φθονῶν, φησί, παρήγγειλεν ὁ Κύριος ἐν τινι Εὐαγγελίῳ 'Μυστήριον ἐμὸν ἐμοὶ καὶ τοῖς υἱοῖς τοῦ οἴκου μου').

The Ebionite Theodotion rendered in Is. xxiv. 16 'My mystery [is] for me, my mystery [is] for me and mine' (Τὸ μυστήριόν μου ἐμοὶ καὶ τοῖς ἐμοῖς). His version was made in the 2nd cent. and it is of course possible that the interpretation may have been much older.

I have compared this fragment with the verse in Matthew which says 'Because it is given unto you to know the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven, but to them it is not given.'

* 'Second Epistle of Clement,' iii. 4.—'Εν τίνι δὲ αὐτὸν ὁμολογοῦμεν; 'Εν τῇ ποιῇν ἢ λέγει καὶ μὴ παρακούειν αὐτοῦ τῶν ἐντολῶν καὶ μὴ μόνον χεῖλεσιν αὐτὸν τιμᾶν, ἀλλ' ἐξ ὅλης καρδίας καὶ ἐξ ὅλης διανοίας. Λέγει δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ Ἡσαΐᾳ 'Ὁ λαὸς οὗτος τοῖς χεῖλεσιν με τιμᾷ, ἡ δὲ καρδιά αὐτοῦ πόρρω ἄπ' ἐμοῦ,' 'And wherein do we confess him? In doing what he saith and not turning our ears from his commandments, and in honouring him not with our lips only but out of entire heart and out of entire mind. And he saith also in Isaiah "This people honoureth me with the lips, but its heart is far off from me."' The word 'also' seems to show that our author found an injunction against mere lip-honour somewhere else, and I can only assume that he alluded to the use by Jesus (Matt. xv. 8, Mark vii. 6) of the prophecy in Isaiah.

It is moreover quite certain that he quoted that prophecy from a Gospel-version and not from the Septuagint. From the latter it differs widely, but from Matt. xv. 8 only in αὐτοῦ for αὐτῶν and ἄπ' ἐμοῦ for ἀπέχει, the literal rendering of that verse being 'This people honoureth me with the lips, but their heart is far off from me.' Mark vii. 6 agrees with Matthew except that it has οὗτος ὁ λαὸς for the more unusual ὁ λαὸς οὗτος.

† 'Second Epistle of Clement,' vi. 2.—Τί γὰρ τὸ ὄφελος εἰάν τις τὸν ὅλον κόσμον κερδήσῃ, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν ζημιωθῇ; Matthew has 'For what shall a man be profited if he gain the world entire and lose his own soul' (Τί γὰρ ὠφεληθήσεται ἄνθρωπος εἰάν τὸν κόσμον ὅλον κερδήσῃ, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν ζημιωθῇ). Mark is not quite so like, and Luke much less so. I must not for a moment be understood as suggesting that such slight variations indicate another source than our canonical Matthew.

‡ Clementine Homilies, xii. 29.—'Ὁ τῆς ἀληθείας προφήτης ἔφη 'Τὰ ἀγαθὰ ἐλθεῖν δεῖ· μακάριος δὲ, φησὶν, δι' οὗ ἔρχεται· ὁμοίως καὶ τὰ κακὰ ἀνάγκη ἐλθεῖν, οὐαὶ δὲ δι' οὗ ἔρχεται.' The prophet of truth said &c.'

Matthew has 'For need is that the stumbling-blocks come, only woe to the man

§ 51. Matt. xviii. 11. To save that which was perishing.
Luke xix. 10.

|| 52. Matt. xx. after (1) But do ye seek from little to wax great,
v. 28.
Luke xiv. 8-11.

through whom the stumbling-block cometh' (*Ἀναγκὴ γάρ ἐστὶν ἐλθεῖν τὰ σκάνδαλα, πλὴν οὐαὶ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ δι' οὗ τὸ σκάνδαλον ἔρχεται*). Luke has 'For it is impossible that the stumbling-blocks should not come, but woe [to him] through whom they come' (*Ἀνένδεκτόν ἐστιν τοῦ τὰ σκάνδαλα μὴ ἐλθεῖν, οὐαὶ δὲ δι' οὗ ἔρχεται*).

§ 'Second Epistle of Clement,' ii. 7, after the quotation given above as *Fr.* 42—*Τοῦτο λέγει ὅτι δεῖ τοὺς ἀπολλυμένους σῶζειν. Ἐκεῖνο γάρ ἐστι μέγα καὶ θαυμαστόν—οὐ τὰ ἐστῶτα στηρίζειν, ἀλλὰ τὰ πίπτοντα· οὕτω καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς ἠθέλησε σῶσαι τὰ ἀπολλύμενα*, 'He means this, that he ought to save those who are being lost. For it is that which is great and wonderful—not to establish that which stands but that which is falling: so also Christ willed to save that which was perishing.' I do not regard this as a necessary allusion to the words of Jesus in Matt. xviii. 11 and Luke xix. 10, but it *may* be derived from them.

Luke xix. 10 has 'For the son of man came to seek and save that which was perished' (*σῶσαι τὸ ἀπολωλός*). Matt. xviii. 11 has 'For the son of man came to save that which was perished' (*σῶσαι τὸ ἀπολωλός*).

Tischendorf, Tregelles, and Westcott-and-Hort omit Matt. xviii. 11 as an interpolation from Luke. It is omitted by *SB*, the Sahidic and Coptic versions, Origen (seemingly), Eusebius, Juvenius, Hilary, and Jerome. It is found in *D* and all MSS. (seemingly) but six, the Old Latin, Italic Recension, Vulgate, Curetonian and Peshitā Syriac, and Chrysostom. Alford retains it in brackets.

If it were genuine I do not see how its disappearance is to be accounted for (certainly not by '*homoioteleuton*'), and am inclined to set it down as an early marginal note from Luke, or possibly even from the Gospel according to the Hebrews since *D*, the Old Latin, and the Curetonian support it. It certainly goes with the parable of the lost sheep better to my mind than with the story of Zacchaeus.

|| This passage is added after Matt. xx. 28 by the Curetonian Syriac, *D*, and the Old Latin. The Curetonian Syriac as rendered by Cureton is as follows:—(1) But ye, seek ye that from little things ye may become great, and not from great things may become little. (2) Whenever ye are invited to the house of a supper, be not sitting down in the honoured place, lest should come he that is more honoured than thou, and to thee the Lord of the supper should say, Come near below, and thou be ashamed in the eyes of the guests. (3) But if thou sit down in the little place, and he that is less than thou should come, and to thee the Lord of the supper shall say, Come near, and come up and sit down, thou also shalt have more glory in the eyes of the guests.

D has (1) 'Υμεῖς δὲ ζητεῖτε ἐκ μικροῦ αὐξῆσαι καὶ ἐκ μείζονος ἑλαττον εἶναι. (2) Εἰσερχόμενοι δὲ καὶ παρακληθέντες δειπνήσαι μὴ ἀνακλείνεσθαι εἰς τοὺς ἐξέχοντας τόπους, μήποτε ἐνδοξότερός σου ἐπελθῇ καὶ προσελθὼν ὁ δειπνοκλήτωρ εἰπῇ σοι, "Ἐτι κάτω χάρι," καὶ καταισχυρῇσιν. (3) Ἐὰν δὲ ἀναπεσῇς εἰς τὸν ἥττονα τόπον, καὶ ἐπελθῇ σου ἥττων, ἐρεῖ σοι ὁ δειπνοκλήτωρ, "Ἕναγε ἔτι ἄνω," καὶ ἔσται σοι τοῦτο χρήσιμον. The English of which is:—(1) But do ye seek } from little to wax
But ye seek }

great and (*sic*) from greater to be a less. (2) And entering in and having been bidden to sup, [seek] not to lie upon the chief places, lest ever a more honourable than thou come afterward and having come up the supperbidder say to thee 'Make

and * not from greater to become less.

(2) And, when ye are bidden to the house of a supper,† not to lie upon the chief places, lest there come afterward a more honourable than thou and the lord of the supper having come up say to thee

room still below,' and thou be ashamed. (3) But, if thou lie upon the lesser place and there come afterwards a lesser than thou, the supperbidder will say to thee 'Draw in higher,' and this shall be of service to thee.

The Old Latin MSS. give substantially the same version as D, with a host of minor variations of Latinity among themselves which seem to show that the passage was in many cases translated independently by the copyists and was not found in the Latin MSS. before them. But there is no known MS. of the true Old Latin (as distinguished from the Italian recension) which does not contain the passage. There is only one variation of the slightest importance: the Codex Palatinus (c. 5th cent.) ends almost exactly as the Curetonian Syriac, 'and then shall there be to thee glory before the guests'—*et tunc erit tibi gloriam coram discumbentibus* (seemingly altered from a former *et tunc habebis*—'and then shalt thou have'—etc.). All the MSS. render *ζητεῖτε* by *quaeritis* 'ye seek' not *quaerite* 'seek ye.'

The passage is paraphrased by Juvenius (4th cent.) in his metrical version of the Gospels, he also rendering 'ye seek.' And from marginal notes in MSS. it seems to have been known to Hilary in the same century.

The margin of two Syriac MSS., one of the Peshittā version and one of the Philoxenian, contains the passage in Syriac answering as closely as may be to the text of D, with the note that 'it is found in Greek MSS. in this place, and has therefor been added by us here also.'

The passage is very like Luke xiv. 8-11: but the difference between (1) and Luke xiv. 11 is far too great to admit of our supposing that the one is a corrupt memorial version of the other. The grounds for supposing that it may be a fragment, or may answer to a fragment, of the Gospel according to the Hebrews are (1) that it is found in some texts of Matthew (2) that it is found in the precise group of texts—the Curetonian Syriac, D, and the Old Latin—which elsewhere show an affinity with the Gospel according to the Hebrews (3) that it has a Lucan counterpart.

The text from which I translate is a mixed one of my own compilation. It does not pretend to anything like certainty; indeed, unless I were a Syriac scholar and well acquainted with the peculiarities of the Curetonian, it would be impossible for me to give an authoritative opinion as to the comparative merit of some of its readings and those of D.

* All authorities except the Curetonian omit 'not.' The Greek *ζητεῖτε* will then mean either 'do ye seek' or 'ye seek,' and all the Latin translators take it in the latter sense. But I cannot doubt that the Curetonian is right, the sense being incomparably better.

† The Greek words here and in (3) are those which are paraphrased into 'sit down' by the translators of the Authorized Version wherever they occur. The company lay on long couches, and the paraphrase 'sit down,' besides obliterating from the New Testament the trace of a Jewish custom and substituting an English one in its place, entirely conceals the meaning of John xiii. 23 and introduces a physical impossibility into Luke vii. 38.

‘Make room lower’ and thou be ashamed in the eyes of the guests.

(3) But, if thou lie upon the lesser place and there come afterward a lesser than thou, the lord of the supper will say to thee ‘Draw in higher’ and thou shalt have more glory in the eyes of the guests.

† 53. Matt. xxii. 37. Out of entire heart and out of entire mind.
Mark xii. 30.
Luke x. 27.

§ 54. Matt. xxiv. 5, 11. False Christs, false prophets, false apostles, [schisms?], heresies, lovings of rule.

† ‘Second Epistle of Clement,’ iii. 4, quoted under Fr. 48. These words must not be taken as a direct allusion to the Septuagint of Deut. vi. 5, which has not the words ‘out of entire heart,’ but as a reference to the quotation of that verse as recorded in Matt. xxii. 37, Mark xii. 30, Luke x. 27, in connexion with which, it may be added, the word ‘commandment’ used by our author is also found.

Matthew has ‘in thy entire heart and in thy entire soul and in thy entire mind’ (ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ καρδίᾳ σου καὶ ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ ψυχῇ σου καὶ ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ διανοίᾳ σου). Mark has ‘out of thy entire heart and out of thy entire soul and out of thy entire mind and out of thy entire strength’ (ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας σου καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ψυχῆς σου καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς διανοίας σου καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ἰσχύος σου). Luke has ‘out of thy entire heart and in thy entire soul and in thy entire strength and in thy entire understanding’ (ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας σου καὶ ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ ψυχῇ σου καὶ ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ ἰσχύι σου καὶ ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ διανοίᾳ σου).

The preposition ‘out of’ would seem to point to Mark or Luke rather than Matthew; but ‘out of the heart’ is a favourite expression with our author, and the short form of his reference is nearest to Matthew.

§ Clementine Homilies, xvi. 21, “Ἔσονται γὰρ, ὡς ὁ Κύριος εἶπεν, ψευδαπόστολοι, ψευδεῖς προφῆται, αἵρέσεις, φιλαρχίαι, ‘For there shall be, as the Lord said, false apostles, false prophets, heresies, lovings of rule.’

Cf. Justin, *Dial.*, 35, εἶπε γὰρ . . . “Ἔσονται σχίσματα καὶ αἵρέσεις.” ‘For he said “There shall be schisms and heresies.”’ Cf. *Dial.*, 51, ‘And in the between time of his coming, as I said before, he declared beforehand that there should be heresies and false prophets in his name’ (Καὶ ἐν τῷ μεταξύ τῆς παρουσίας αὐτοῦ χρόνῳ, ὡς πρόεφην, γενήσεσθαι αἵρέσεις καὶ ψευδοπροφήτας ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ προεμήνυσεν).

The writer of *Supernatural Religion*, after Credner (seemingly), suggests that this prophecy is referred to by Paul in 1 Cor. xi. 18-19, ‘I hear that schisms (σχίσματα) exist among you, and in some part I believe it—for there must be heresies also (καὶ αἵρέσεις) among you, that the proved ones may become manifest among you.’ This is ingenious.

Hegesippus, whom we know to have used the Gospel according to the Hebrews, speaks of ‘false Christs, false prophets, false apostles’ (ψευδόχρισται, ψευδοπροφῆται, ψευδαπόστολοι) but not in such a way as to imply that he was quoting.

The Apostolic Constitutions, vi. 13, say ‘For these are false Christs and false

*55. Matt. xxiv. near For in such as I find you in such will I also
the end. judge you.

prophets and false apostles, deceivers and corrupters' (Οἱ τοὶ γὰρ εἰσι ψευδόχριστοι καὶ ψευδοπροφήται καὶ ψευδαπόστολοι, πλάνοι καὶ φθορεῖς).

For the 'lovings of rule' cf. Clement of Rome, xliv. 1, 'And our Apostles knew through our Lord Jesus Christ that there would be strife over the name of the bishopric' (Καὶ οἱ Ἀπόστολοι ἡμῶν ἔγνωσαν διὰ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ὅτι ἔρις ἔσται ἐπὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς).

I am not in the least satisfied that any such *single* passage as the above occurred in any evangelic writing: the phraseology of the Clementine Homilies is quite consistent with the theory that only the *sense* of various prophecies of Jesus is being given, but that the word 'heresies' was in some Gospel or other put into the mouth of Jesus is probable from the double coincidence of Justin.

* Justin, *Dial.*, 47—'Ο ἡμέτερος Κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς εἶπεν 'Εν οἷς ἂν ὑμᾶς καταλάβω, ἐν τούτοις καὶ κρινῶ,' 'Our Lord Jesus Christ said &c.'

Clement of Alexandria (*Quis dives* § 40) has slightly different Greek words—'Εφ' οἷς γὰρ ἂν εὕρω ὑμᾶς, φησὶν, ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ κρινῶ, 'For in such as I find you, he saith, in such will I also judge you.' But he attributes them to God the Father.

In the earlier half of the 5th cent. Nilus writes "For such as I find thee such will I judge thee" saith the Lord' ('Οὓν γὰρ εὕρω σε, τοιοῦτόν σε κρινῶ' φησὶν ὁ Κύριος)—Anastasius, *Quaest.* 3, p. 34.

Johannes Climakos, in the latter half of the 6th cent., attributes to Ezekiel the words "In what I find thee, in it will I also judge thee" said God' ('Εν ᾧ εὕρω σε, ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ κρινῶ σε' εἶπεν ὁ Θεός)—*Scula Paradisi, Grad.* vii. p. 159.

At the end of the 5th cent. Elias, metropolitan of Crete, writes 'For it hath been said by God through some one of the prophets "In what I find thee, in such soothly will I also judge thee"' (Εἰρηται γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ διὰ τινος τῶν προφητῶν 'Εν ᾧ εὕρω σε, ἐν τούτῳ δὴ καὶ κρινῶ σε')—Leunclavius, *Jus Græco-Romanum*, 337.

Mr. Dodd refers to the fragment on Hades once falsely attributed to Josephus and translated by Whiston among Josephus's works. Whiston also published in 1737 a little treatise on the fragment, and from this treatise I find that the text he translated is taken from p. 306 of David Humphreys's translation of Athenagoras, 1714; and that Humphreys says his text is copied from a MS. left by Grabe. I mention these things because I lost hours in trying to find the Greek—which is 'Εφ' οἷς ἂν εὕρω ὑμᾶς ἐπὶ τούτοις κρινῶ παρ' ἑκάστα' βοᾷ τὸ Τέλος πάντων ("In such as I find you, in such will I judge you in everything" saith the End of all)—for I found no modern editions containing the tract on Hades at all, and no old ones which did not stop short of the section containing this quotation.

Grabe speaks of 'others' as quoting these words without naming their source—of whom he mentions only Auctor Testamenti XL Martyrum Sebastianorum in Lambecius's *Comment. de Bibl. Vindob.* lib. iv. p. 99, who says 'Εν ᾧ γὰρ εὕρω σε, φησὶν, ἐν τούτῳ καὶ κρινῶ (Lambecius κρινῶ) σε,' 'For in what I find thee,' he saith, 'in such will I [Lambecius 'do I'] also judge thee.'

Johannes Climakos evidently looked on these words as a quotation from Ezek. xxiv. 14 (Septuagint version), "According to thy ways and according to thy thoughts will I judge thee" saith the Lord.'

† 56. Matt. xxv. ? Do ye become proved ‡¹ bankers.
before v. 14 or
after v. 30.

As given by Justin they might be rendered 'For among such as I find you, among such will I also judge you' i.e. ye shall be judged by your companions.

The grounds for conjecturally assigning them to our lost Gospel are that they are found in one Father who has certain affinities with it and in another who quotes it as Scripture. I annex it to the parable of the servant who 'shall begin to smite his fellowservants and to eat and drink with the drunken,' and whose lord shall come unexpectedly and punish him.

† *Γίνεσθε δόκιμοι τραπεζίται*. In 1 Thess. v. 21 we have 'And prove (*δοκιμά-ζετε*) all things, hold fast the good,' and Cyril of Alexandria (who died 444 A.D.) prefixes these words to that text, ascribing them to Paul (*ὁ μακάριος Παῦλος φησι*, the blessed Paul saith—*Comm.* on Is. iii. 3). Pamphilus (who died in 309), Basil (who died in 380), and Cyril of Jerusalem (who died in 388) similarly prefix them to it, though without any ascription of authorship: see Pamphilus, pref. to *Apology for Origen* (extant in a Latin translation only); Basil on Is. i. 22, iii. 2, v. 20; and Cyril, *Catech.* vi. 36. Dionysius of Alexandria (writing about 256) calls them an utterance of an 'Apostolic voice' (*Ἀποστολικῇ φωνῇ*): see Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* vii. 7, § 3. Clement of Alexandria, who refers to them four times (*Strom.* i. 28, ii. 4, vi. 10, vii. 15), says once 'the Scripture . . . counseleth (*ἡ γραφή . . . παραινεί*) "but become proved bankers, proving out some things, but holding fast the good"' (i. 28), and elsewhere (vii. 15) he alludes to them immediately after a reference to Paul, and follows the allusion by words which appear to be a free paraphrase of the passage in Thessalonians—'discerning the genuine coin of the Lord from the forgery.'

The work known as *Πίστις Σοφία* (middle of 3rd cent.?) represents Jesus as saying 'I have said to you of old "Be ye as wise bankers," that is take the good, cast out the evil.' This work is in Coptic: the original will be found on p. 220 of Schwartz and Petermann's edition, Berlin, 1851 (I see the word *ΤΡΑΠΕΖΕΙΤΗΣ*), and their Latin translation (p. 353) is 'Respondens σωτηρ dixit Mariae: dixi vobis olim: Estote sicut sapientes *τραπεζίται*, scilicet bonum suscipite, malum eicite.'

Chrysostom (who died in 407) also quotes the words in connexion with the passage in Thessalonians, in his sermon *On Reading Acts in Pentecost* § 2: but I think the reader will agree that he implies that they were separate texts by different writers—he says 'For on this also He } saith "Do ye become proved
it }

bankers," not that ye may stand on the marketplaces and count silver coins, but that ye may try words with all exactness. For this cause the Apostle Paul also saith "Prove all things, but hold fast the good only." It is a little doubtful whether or not 'God' (*ὁ Θεός*), the last person named, is the subject to the first 'saith,' or whether as in another place in the same sermon 'Scripture' is meant: but that does not affect the apparent separation of authorship.

No MS. or version of Thessalonians has the slightest trace of our fragment. And it is easy to see how the connexion arose: the word *δόκιμοι*, 'proved,' called to mind the verb *δοκιμάζειν*, 'to prove,' the technical term for testing the purity of metals, used in the verse of Thessalonians.

The first writers to quote our fragment are the Ebionite author of the Clementine Homilies somewhere about the middle of the 2nd cent., who quotes it three

¹ For note see p. 159.

times (ii. 51, iii. 50, xviii. 20), each time attributing it to Jesus (e.g. 'our teacher said'—ὁ διδάσκαλος ἡμῶν ἔλεγεν, ii. 51); and the Gnostic Apelles (3rd quarter of 2nd cent.?), who, according to Epiphanius (*Hæc.* xlv. 2), attributed it to Jesus and 'the Gospel'—'he said in the Gospel' (ἔφη ἐν τῷ Εὐαγγελίῳ).

Origen refers to our fragment no fewer than 11 times (*Hom. iii in Lev.*, xii (soon after middle) and xix (near end) *in Jer.*, ii *in Ezech.*, *Comm. in Matt.* xvi. 1, xvii. 31, xxiii. 37, xxiv. 5 (the last two extant in a Latin translation only), *Hom. i in Luc.*, *Hom. xx in Iohann.* (viii. 46) and xxvii (xiii. 20)). In the last but one he calls it 'the command of Jesus' (τὴν ἐντολὴν Ἰησοῦ).

Jerome (*Ad Mincervium et Alexandrum*, Martianay's edition iv. 220) calls these words 'the words of the Saviour' (Salvatoris verba); he quotes 1 Thess. v. 21 immediately before as 'that saying of the Apostle' (illud Apostoli). He also refers to them twice in his *Comm. in Ephes.* iii. (on Eph. iv. end, and v. 10), once in his *Comm. in Philemon.*, 5, and once in his *Apologia adv. Rufinum*, i. 4.

Johannes Cassianus (writing about 420 A.D.) calls them once 'the precept of the Lord' (præceptum Domini, *Collat.* i. 20) and once 'that comparison [or, parable] in the Gospel' (illam evangelicam parabolam, *Collat.* ii. 9).

Soerates (1st half of 5th cent.) writes 'both Christ and his Apostle give us word to become proved bankers, so as to prove all things, holding fast the good' (παρεγγυῶσιν ἡμῖν ὁ τε Χριστὸς καὶ ὁ τοῦτου Ἀπόστολος γίνεσθαι τραπεζίται[s?]) δοκιμοί[s?]) ὥστε τὰ πάντα δοκιμάζειν, τὰ καλὰ κατέχοντας, *Hist. Eccl.* iii. 16).

The Caesarius of unknown date (but almost certainly not Caesarius of Nazianzus) who wrote the *Quæstiones* quotes the saying as 'in Gospels' (ἐν Εὐαγγελίοις—sic): see *Resp. ad Quæst.* 140.

The Apostolic Constitutions (3rd cent.), Athanasius (writing about 358), Gregory of Nazianzus (who died about 390), Ambrose (who died in 397), Palladius (who died before 431?), Paulinus of Nola (who died in 431), Procopius of Gaza (who flourished about 520), Gregory the Great (writing 584-7), Johannes Damascenus (who died after 755), Epiphanius Diaconus (writing in 787), Nikephorus (who died in 828), and Petrus Siculus (whoever he may be) refer to the saying without implying anything with regard to its source—except that Palladius calls it 'Scripture'—φησὶν ἡ γραφή, 'the Scripture saith'; Procopius (the words are extant in a Latin translation only), after quoting as Paul's 1 Thess. v. 21, adds 'For the saints are proved bankers,' and Nikephorus (whose words are also extant only in a Latin translation) speaks of it as a 'divine oracle' (divinum oraculum). See Apost. Const. ii. 36; Athanasius, *Ep. ad Solitarios*; Nazianzenus, 'Carminibus Iambicis' 18, p. 218' (Cotélicr's reference, which I have not yet succeeded in tracing); Ambrose, *Explan. in Luc.*, præf.; Palladius, *De Vita Chrysostomi*, 4; Paulinus, *Epist.* 4; Procopius, *in Lev.* p. 331; Gregory, *Moralia*, xxxiii. 35 (Migne); Damascenus, *Expos. Fid. Orthod.* iv. 18; Epiphanius Diaconus, *Panegy. ad Synod.*; Nikephorus, *Hist.* x. 36; Petrus Siculus, *Hist.* at beginning.

That licentious translator Rufinus in his version of Eusebius coolly substituted for these words 1 Thess. v. 21 in the quotation from Dionysius Alexandrinus. Did he think them a mere faulty reminiscence of Paul's words? but so devoted a student of Origen, and one for so many years the friend and neighbour of Jerome, must surely have come across them more than once before. And if so he must have made the substitution not because he knew no such words, but because he knew they were not an 'Apostolic utterance.'

That the lost work in which they occurred was the Gospel according to the Hebrews is probable (1) from our first meeting with them in an Ebionite writing, and (2) from their quotation by Origen. I do not adduce Jerome, because he may

*57. ?? Matt. xxv.
between vv. 30
and 31.

If ye have not † kept the little, who shall give
you the great? For I say unto you that he who
is faithful in least is faithful also in much.

§ 58. Matt. xxvii.
39-43.

Mark xv. 29-32.
Luke xxiii. 35.

wagging their heads and saying }
... wagged their heads and said }

Let him that raised up dead men deliver himself

have taken them from Origen, whom he had studied so much. Clement of Alexandria, who quotes the Gospel according to the Hebrews as Scripture, yet joins our fragment to the verse in Thessalonians, may be thought to afford a presumption that it was not in the Gospel according to the Hebrews: but the untrustworthiness of his memory is evidenced by the very fact of his attributing it to Paul, and, this granted, we might even consider that his knowledge of the saying strengthens the probability of its having been contained in our lost Gospel.

† Rendered wrongly 'exchangers,' as if *καλλύβισται*, by Prof. Westcott and 'money-changers' by Mr. Dodd: 'exchaugers' is also the rendering of our version in Matt. xxv. 27, where the Greek word is the same.

* 'Second Epistle of Clement,' viii. 5—*Ἀέγει γὰρ ὁ Κύριος ἐν τῷ Εὐαγγελίῳ* 'Εἰ τὸ μικρὸν οὐκ ἐτηρήσατε, τὸ μέγα τίς ὑμῖν δώσει; λέγω γὰρ ὑμῖν ὅτι ὁ πιστὸς ἐν ἐλαχίστῳ καὶ ἐν πολλῷ πιστός ἐστιν, 'For the Lord saith in the Gospel &c.'

So Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* ii. 43 § 3 (the 2nd century Latin translation, the Greek being lost), 'And therefor did the Lord say to those that were unthankful toward him "If ye have not been faithful in a [or, the] little, who will give you the great?"' (et ideo Dominus dicebat ingratis in eum existentibus 'Si in modico fideles non fuistis, quod magnum est quis dabit vobis?').

Cf. Luke xvi. 10-12, 'He who is faithful in least is faithful in much, and he who is unjust in least is unjust also in much. If therefor ye have not been faithful in the unjust riches, who shall entrust to you the true? And if ye have not been faithful in another man's, who shall give you your own?' ('Ο πιστὸς ἐν ἐλαχίστῳ καὶ ἐν πολλῷ πιστός ἐστιν . . . Εἰ οὖν ἐν τῷ ἀδίκῳ μαμωνᾷ πιστοὶ οὐκ ἐγένεσθε, τὸ ἀληθινὸν τίς ὑμῖν πιστεύσει; Καὶ, εἰ ἐν τῷ ἄλλοτρίῳ πιστοὶ οὐκ ἐγένεσθε, τὸ ὑμέτερον τίς δώσει ὑμῖν;)

The passage in Luke is the application of the parable of the Unjust Steward. It is the opinion of many New Testament critics that Luke wrote another copy of his work with occasional variations. It is possible that the author of the 'Second Epistle of Clement' took his quotation from a copy of Luke, and that Irenaeus either did the same or borrowed it from our author.

At the same time the quotation also reminds us a little of Matt. xxv. 21, 23, 'Thou wert faithful over few things, I will set thee over many' ('Ἐπὶ ὀλίγα ἦς πιστός, ἐπὶ πολλῶν σε καταστήσω). That passage is in the parable of the Talents, which we know was found in a variant form in the Gospel according to the Hebrews—see Fr. 24. The passage in the 'Second Epistle of Clement' would serve well enough as a moral from this other version of the parable.

† The Greek verb is found 17 times in John, 3 times (i.e. in this sense) in Matthew, once in Mark, never in Luke, but 10 times in Acts (7 times of keeping in prison).

§ The passage in Matthew (to whom this is nearer than to Mark or Luke) is as follows:—And they that passed by reviled him, wagging their heads and saying 'Thou that pullest down the Temple and in three days buildest it, save thyself, if

. . . . He called himself Son of God : let him come down and walk about, let God save him.'

*59. Matt. xxvii.
after v. 54.

Saying 'Woe unto us ! What hath been done

thou art Son of God, and come down from the cross.' In like wise also the chief priests mocking, with the scribes and elders, said 'Others he saved, himself he cannot save. He is [*so editors now read*] King of Israel ! Let him come down now from the cross, and we will believe on him. He hath trusted on God : let Him deliver him now if He desireth him—for he said that "I am Son of God."'

My supposed fragment is taken from two passages in which Justin refers to the fulfilment of Ps. xxii. 7, 8, in the events at the Crucifixion. The first passage is :—'And again when He saith "*They spake with lips, they wagged head, saying 'Let him deliver himself.'*" That all of which things were done by the Jews to Christ ye can learn. For when he had been crucified they turned out their lips and wagged their heads, saying "Let him that raised up dead men deliver himself" (*ἐξέστρεφον τὰ χεῖλη καὶ ἐκίνουν τὰς κεφαλὰς, λέγοντες "Ὁ νεκρὸς ἀνεγείρας ῥυσάτω ἑαυτὸν"*)'—*Apol.* i. 38. The second passage is :—'And as to what follows—*All they who beheld me they thrust out nostrils at me and spake with lips, they wagged head : "He hoped on the Lord : let Him deliver him, since He desireth him"*—he foretold the happening of the same things in like manner to him. For those who beheld him crucified both wagged heads each of them and turned apart their lips and with their nostrils sneering [*διερινούντες, sic : I would read διαρινούντες*] among themselves said in irony these things, which are also written in the memoirs of his Apostles, "He called himself Son of God : let him come down and walk about, let God save him" (*ἔλεγον εἰρωνευόμενοι ταῦτα ἃ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀπομνημονεύμασι τῶν Ἀποστόλων αὐτοῦ γέγραπται, "Τὸν Θεοῦ ἑαυτὸν ἔλεγε καταβὰς περιπατεῖτω, σωσάτω αὐτὸν ὁ Θεός"*)'—*Dial.* 101.

Justin's looseness of quotation from the Old Testament is very conspicuous, and here we have an example of it. The Septuagint version of the Psalms, which he was quoting, has *All they that beheld me put out nostril at me, spake with lips, wagged head : 'He hoped on the Lord, let Him deliver him, let Him save him, since He desireth him.'* In neither passage does Justin cite this correctly, in the former passage the misquotation is very bad indeed. And it is to my mind just as probable as not that the words which I have strung together as a 'fragment' are a like misquotation from the canonical Gospels.

Supposing them to be taken from some lost Gospel, I should not regard the additional words expressing the contemptuous facepulling of the bystanders as any part of the quotation. Justin has a way of supplementing the canonical narrative with details illustrating the fulfilment of prophecy. He never appeals to any authority for *these* details, and I look on them as only plausible guesses of his own, which it would not be difficult to parallel out of Renan or Farrar, and which he did not intend to palm off on the reader as statements of Scripture any more than they do.

* After a verse corresponding to Matt. xxvii. 54, Luke xxiii. 48 proceeds—'And all the people that came together to that sight, when they had beheld what had been done, smote their breasts and returned.'

The Curetonian Syriac reads 'were smiting upon their breast and saying "Woe unto us ! What is this ! Woe unto us from our sins !"

to-day ! Woe unto us for our sins, for the desolation of Jerusalem hath drawn nigh.'

† 60. Luke xxiv. 25. Wherefor do ye not perceive the reasonableness of the Scriptures ?

† 61. John v. 46. I am he concerning whom Moses prophesied, saying 'A prophet will the Lord our God raise unto you from your brethren, even as me : him hear ye in all things, and whosoever heareth not that prophet shall die.'

§ 62. He that is near me is near the fire, and he that is far from me is far from the kingdom.

The MS. *g*¹ of the Old Latin reads 'saying "Woe unto us! What hath been done to-day for our sins, for the desolation of Jerusalem hath drawn nigh."'

In the Syriac 'Doctrine of Addaeus the Apostle,' p. 10 of Wright's translation in the Ante-Nicene Library, we read 'For, behold, unless they who crucified him had known that he was the Son of God, they would not have proclaimed the desolation of their city, nor would they have divulged the affliction of their soul in crying, "Woe!"' This work can hardly be later than the 3rd cent.

It is clear that 'the Doctrine of Addaeus,' the MS. *g*¹, and the Curetonian Syriac are all indebted to some evangelic record not later than the 2nd cent. Seeing that the Curetonian and Old Latin have such affinities with our lost Gospel, and that the writer of 'the Doctrine of Addaeus' was far more likely to have drawn this tradition from native than from foreign sources, it is justifiable to guess that the passage formed part of the Gospel according to the Hebrews. Whether the Curetonian had any such addition in Matthew we cannot tell, as it is deficient after xxiii. 25.

† Clementine Homilies, iii. 50—Διὰ τί οὐ νοεῖτε τὸ εὐλογον τῶν γραφῶν ;

It would seem to fit in very well in Luke xxiv. between vv. 25 and 26 : 'O fools and slow of heart to believe all that the prophets have spoken, *Wherefor do ye not perceive the reasonableness of the Scriptures?* Ought not Christ to have suffered these things and to enter into his glory?'

The parallel cannot be with Mark xii. 24, for that had been quoted only a few lines before.

† Clementine Homilies, iii. 53—Ἐτι μὲν ἔλεγεν 'Εγὼ εἰμι περὶ οὗ Μωϋσῆς προεφῆτευσεν εἰπὼν "Προφῆτην ἐγερεῖ ὑμῖν Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ἐκ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ὑμῶν, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐμέ· αὐτοῦ ἀκούετε κατὰ πάντα, ὅς ἂν δὲ μὴ ἀκούσῃ τοῦ προφήτου ἐκείνου ἀποθανεῖται,"' 'Nay further he said &c.' The quotation is from Deut. xviii. 15 and 19. These verses are also quoted in Acts iii. 22-3, but, although in each Deut. xviii. 19 is quoted *freely*, the difference from Acts is very marked.

§ Origen, *Hom. in Jerem.* iii. p. 778 (Latin translation, the Greek being lost)—'I have read somewhere as if from the mouth of the Saviour—and I should like to know whether some one has represented the person [*or*, drawn a portrait] of the Saviour or whether he has brought to mind what is said and it be true—however the Saviour himself says "He that is near me is near the fire ; he that is far from me is far from the kingdom" (Legi alicubi quasi Salvatore

* 63. The evil one is the tempter.

† 64. Give not a pretext to the evil one.

dicento—et quaero sive quis personam figurarit Salvatoris, sive in memoriam adduxerit ac verum sit hoc quod dictum est—ait autem ipse Salvator “Qui iuxta me est iuxta ignem est; qui longe a me longe est a regno”).’

Didymus (died 396 A.D.) in *Ps.* 88, 8—‘Wherefor saith the Saviour “He that is near me is near the fire, and he that is far from me is far from the kingdom” (διὸ φησιν ὁ Σωτὴρ ‘Ὁ ἐγγύς μου ἐγγὺς τοῦ πυρός, ὁ δὲ μακρὰν ἀπ’ ἐμοῦ μακρὰν ἀπὸ τῆς βασιλείας’).’

The fact of this saying being found in Origen is in favour of its connexion with the Gospel according to the Hebrews, but the terms in which he refers to it are against this supposition unless he had forgotten where he read it. Didymus may have borrowed it from Origen.

* Clementine Homilies, iii. 55—Τοῖς δὲ οἰομένοις ὅτι ὁ Θεὸς πειράζει, ὡς αἱ γραφαὶ λέγουσιν ἔφη ‘Ὁ πονηρὸς ἐστὶν ὁ πειράζων’—ὁ καὶ αὐτὸν πειράσας, ‘And, to those who think that God tempts, as the Scriptures say he said “The evil one is the tempter”—who tempted even him.’

The author of *Supernatural Religion* renders from the same Greek ‘The evil one is the tempter, who also tempted himself’ as the saying of Jesus. This is one more instance of his notoriously bad scholarship: αὐτὸν not αὐτὸν would be required to make his rendering possible. As the Clementine Homilies were undoubtedly written without breathings, he is welcome to make the necessary change, but I doubt whether the devil can reasonably be said to have tempted himself: the phrase ‘to tempt oneself’ does not occur in the N.T.

† Clementine Homilies, xix. 2—ἔφη . . . ‘Μὴ δότε πρόφασιν τῷ πονηρῷ,’ ‘he said &c.’ Paul (Eph. iv. 27) has an exact parallel, ‘And do not give a ground to the devil.’ It is scarcely to be believed that the author of the Homilies, which are written against Paul, should have inadvertently quoted his words as those of Jesus.



We Are All Aboard the Pequod

http://www.truthdig.com/report/item/we_are_all_aborde_the_pequod_20130707/

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By Chris Hedges

The most prescient portrait of the American character and our ultimate fate as a species is found in Herman Melville's "Moby Dick." Melville makes our murderous obsessions, our hubris, violent impulses, moral weakness and inevitable self-destruction visible in his chronicle of a whaling voyage. He is our foremost oracle. He is to us what William Shakespeare was to Elizabethan England or Fyodor Dostoyevsky to czarist Russia.

Our country is given shape in the form of the ship, the Pequod, named after the Indian tribe exterminated (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pequot_people) in 1638 by the Puritans and their Native American allies. The ship's 30-man crew—there were 30 states in the Union when Melville wrote the novel—is a mixture of races and creeds. The object of the hunt is a massive white whale, Moby Dick, which, in a previous encounter, maimed the ship's captain, Ahab, by biting off one of his legs. The self-destructive fury of the quest, much like that of the one we are on, assures the Pequod's destruction. And those on the ship, on some level, know they are doomed—just as many of us know that a consumer culture based on corporate profit, limitless exploitation and the continued extraction of fossil fuels is doomed.

"If I had been downright honest with myself," Ishmael admits, "I would have seen very plainly in my heart that I did but half fancy being committed this way to so long a voyage, without once laying my eyes on the man who was to be the absolute dictator of it, so soon as the ship sailed out upon the open sea. But when a man suspects any wrong, it sometimes happens that if he be already involved in the matter, he insensibly strives to cover up his suspicions even from himself. And much this way it was with me. I said nothing, and tried to think nothing."

We, like Ahab and his crew, rationalize madness. All calls for prudence, for halting the march toward environmental catastrophe, for sane limits on carbon emissions, are ignored or ridiculed. Even with the flashing red lights before us, the increased droughts, rapid melting of glaciers and Arctic ice, monster tornadoes, vast hurricanes, crop failures, floods, raging wildfires and soaring temperatures, we bow slavishly

before hedonism and greed and the enticing illusion of limitless power, intelligence and prowess. We believe in the eternal wellspring of material progress. We are our own idols. Nothing will halt our voyage; it seems to us to have been decreed by natural law. "The path to my fixed purpose is laid with iron rails, whereon my soul is grooved to run," Ahab declares. We have surrendered our lives to corporate forces that ultimately serve systems of death. Microbes will inherit the earth.

In our decline, hatred becomes our primary lust, our highest form of patriotism and a form of eroticism. We are made supine by hatred and fear. We deploy vast resources to hunt down jihadists and terrorists, real and phantom. We destroy our civil society in the name of a war on terror. We persecute those, from Julian Assange to Bradley Manning to Edward Snowden, who expose the dark machinations of power. We believe, because we have externalized evil, that we can purify the earth. We are blind to the evil within us. Melville's description of Ahab is a description of the bankers, corporate boards, politicians, television personalities and generals who through the power of propaganda fill our heads with seductive images of glory and lust for wealth and power. We are consumed with self-induced obsessions that spur us toward self-annihilation.

After the attacks of 9/11, Edward Said

(<http://www.nytimes.com/2003/09/26/obituaries/26SAID.html>) saw the parallel with "Moby Dick" and wrote in the London newspaper The Observer:

Osama bin Laden's name and face have become so numbingly familiar to Americans as in effect to obliterate any history he and his shadowy followers might have had before they became stock symbols of everything loathsome and hateful to the collective imagination. Inevitably, then, collective passions are being funneled into a drive for war that uncannily resembles Captain Ahab in pursuit of Moby Dick, rather than what is going on, an imperial power injured for the first time, pursuing its interests systematically in what has become a suddenly reconfigured geography of conflict.

Ahab, as the historian Richard Slotkin points out in his book "Regeneration Through Violence," is "the true American hero, worthy to be captain of a ship whose 'wood could only be American.'" Melville offers us a vision, one that D.H. Lawrence later understood, of the inevitable fatality of white civilization brought about by our ceaseless lust for material progress, imperial expansion, white supremacy and exploitation of nature.

Melville, who had been a sailor on clipper ships and whalers, was keenly aware that the wealth of industrialized societies came from the exploited of the earth. "Yes; all these brave houses and flowery gardens came from the Atlantic, Pacific and Indian oceans," Ishmael says of New England's prosperity. "One and all, they were harpooned and dragged up hither from the bottom of the sea." All the authority figures on the ship are white men—Ahab, Starbuck, Flask and Stubb. The hard, dirty work, from harpooning to gutting the carcasses of the whales, is the task of the poor, mostly men of color.

Ahab, when he first appears on the quarterdeck after being in his cabin for the first few days of the voyage, holds up a doubloon, an extravagant gold coin, and promises it to the crew member who first spots the white whale. He knows that “the permanent constitutional condition of the manufactured man ... is sordidness.” And he plays to this sordidness. The whale becomes a commodity, a source of personal profit. A murderous greed, one that Starbuck denounces as “blasphemous,” grips the crew. Ahab’s obsession infects the ship.

“I see in him [Moby Dick] outrageous strength, with an inscrutable malice sinewing it,” Ahab tells Starbuck. “That inscrutable thing is chiefly what I hate; and be the white whale agent, or be the white whale principal, I will wreak that hate upon him. Talk not to me of blasphemy, man; I’d strike the sun if it insulted me.”

Ahab conducts a dark Mass, a Eucharist of violence and blood, on the deck with the crew. He orders the men to circle around him. He makes them drink from a flagon that is passed from man to man, filled with draughts “hot as Satan’s hoof.” Ahab tells the harpooners to cross their lances before him. The captain grasps the harpoons and anoints the ships’ harpooners—Queequeg, Tashtego and Daggoo—his “three pagan kinsmen.” He orders them to detach the iron sections of their harpoons and fills the sockets “with the fiery waters from the pewter.” “Drink, ye harpooneers! Drink and swear, ye men that man the deathful whaleboat’s bow—Death to Moby Dick! God hunt us all, if we do not hunt Moby Dick to his death!” And with the crew bonded to him in his infernal quest he knows that Starbuck is helpless “amid the general hurricane.” “Starbuck now is mine,” Ahab says, “cannot oppose me now, without rebellion.” “The honest eye of Starbuck,” Melville writes, “fell downright.”

The ship, described by Melville as a hearse, was painted black. It was adorned with gruesome trophies of the hunt, festooned with the huge teeth and bones of sperm whales. It was, Melville writes, a “cannibal of a craft, tricking herself forth in the chased bones of her enemies.” The fires used to melt the whale blubber at night turned the Pequod into a “red hell.” Our own raging fires, leaping up from our oil refineries and the explosions of our ordinance across the Middle East, bespeak our Stygian heart. And in our mad pursuit we ignore the suffering of others, just as Ahab does when he refuses to help the captain of a passing ship who is frantically searching for his son who has fallen overboard.

Ahab is described by Melville’s biographer Andrew Delbanco as “a suicidal charismatic who denounced as a blasphemer anyone who would deflect him from his purpose—an invention that shows no sign of becoming obsolete anytime soon.” Ahab has not only the heated rhetoric of persuasion; he is master of a terrifying internal security force on the ship, the five “dusky phantoms that seemed fresh formed out of air.” Ahab’s secret, private whale boat crew, which has a feral lust for blood, keeps the rest of the ship in abject submission. The art of propaganda and the use of brutal coercion, the mark of tyranny, define our lives just as they mark those on Melville’s ship. C.L.R. James (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/C._L._R._James), for this reason, describes “Moby Dick” as “the biography of the last days of Adolf Hitler.”

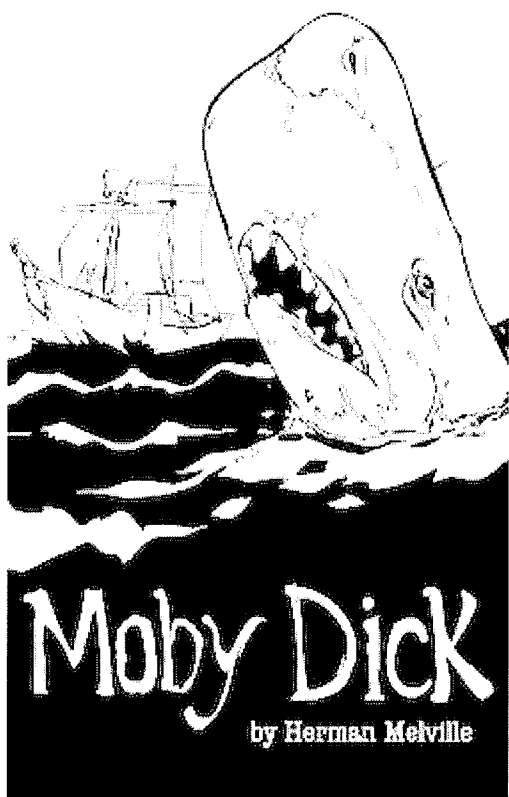
And yet Ahab is no simple tyrant. Melville toward the end of the novel gives us two glimpses into the internal battle between Ahab's maniacal hubris and his humanity. Ahab, too, has a yearning for love. He harbors regrets over his deformed life. The black cabin boy Pip is the only crew member who evokes any tenderness in the captain. Ahab is aware of this tenderness. He fears its power. Pip functions as the Fool did in Shakespeare's "King Lear." Ahab warns Pip of Ahab. "Lad, lad," says Ahab, "I tell thee thou must not follow Ahab now. The hour is coming when Ahab would not scare thee from him, yet would not have thee by him. There is that in thee, poor lad, which I feel too curing to my malady. Like cures like; and for this hunt, my malady becomes my most desired health. ... If thou speakest thus to me much more, Ahab's purpose keels up in him. I tell thee no; it cannot be." A few pages later, "untottering Ahab stood forth in the clearness of the morn; lifting his splintered helmet of a brow to the fair girl's forehead of heaven. ... From beneath his slouched hat Ahab dropped a tear into the sea; nor did all the Pacific contain such wealth as that one wee drop." Starbuck approaches him. Ahab, for the only time in the book, is vulnerable. He speaks to Starbuck of his "forty years on the pitiless sea! ... the desolation of solitude it has been. ... Why this strife of the chase? why weary, and palsy the arm at the oar, and the iron, and the lance? How the richer or better is Ahab now?" He thinks of his young wife—"I widowed that poor girl when I married her, Starbuck"—and of his little boy: "About this time—yes, it is his noon nap now—the boy vivaciously wakes; sits up in bed; and his mother tells him of me, of cannibal old me; how I am abroad upon the deep, but will yet come back to dance him again."

Ahab's thirst for dominance, vengeance and destruction, however, overpowers these faint regrets of lost love and thwarted compassion. Hatred wins. "What is it," Ahab finally asks, "what nameless, inscrutable, unearthly thing is it; what cozening, hidden lord and master, and cruel, remorseless emperor commands me; that against all natural lovings and longings, I so keep pushing, and crowding, and jamming myself on all the time. ..."

Melville knew that physical courage and moral courage are distinct. One can be brave on a whaling ship or a battlefield, yet a coward when called on to stand up to human evil. Starbuck elucidates this peculiar division. The first mate is tormented by his complicity in what he foresees as Ahab's "impious end." Starbuck, "while generally abiding firm in the conflict with seas, or winds, or whales, or any of the ordinary irrational horrors of the world, yet cannot withstand those more terrific, because spiritual terrors, which sometimes menace you from the concentrating brow of an enraged and mighty man."

And so we plunge forward in our doomed quest to master the forces that will finally smite us. Those who see where we are going lack the fortitude to rebel. Mutiny was the only salvation for the Pequod's crew. It is our only salvation. But moral cowardice turns us into hostages.

Moby Dick rams and sinks the Pequod. The waves swallow up Ahab and all who followed him, except one. A vortex formed by the ship's descent collapses, "and the great shroud of the sea rolled on as it rolled five thousand years ago."



Flickr/Pete Simon

“Moby Dick” book cover illustration.

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