# *The Eusebian Form of the Text of Matthew 28:19*

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## The Eusebian form of the Text Matth. 28, 19.

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Tischendorf in his eighth edition of the Greek N. T. prints Mt 28, 19. 20 thus:

(19) πορευθέντες μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, βαπτίζοντες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, (20) διδάσκοντες αὐτοὺς τηρεῖν πάντα ὅσα ἐνετειλάμην ὑμῖν. καὶ ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ μεθ' ὑμῶν εἰμι πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας ἕως τῆς συντελείας τοῦ αἰῶνος.

His *apparatus criticus* suggests that verse 19 stands in all patristic quotations in the form given above. In all MSS and versions the passage is so read, though it may be remarked that in the oldest Syriac MS the folio which contained the end of Matthew has disappeared. Others beside Tischendorf have assumed that the patristic citations of Mt 28, 19 endorse, with no exception, the received text. Thus Dr. A. Plummer in Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible (Art. on Baptism, p. 252) writes: "The baptismal formula in Mat. 28, 19 is in all autho- "rities without exception". And Renan in his work Les Evangiles ch. X writes of this text as follows: "La formule du baptême s'est élargie et "comprend sous une forme assez syncrétique les trois mots sacramentels "de la théologie du temps, le Père, le Fils, le Saint-Esprit. Le germe "du dogme de la Trinité est ainsi déposé dans un coin de la page "sacrée, et deviendra fécond".

The following *testimonia* from works of Eusebius imply another form of text:

1. Comment. in Psal. Ed. Migne Vol. 23, col. 569: πλὴν ἀλλὰ πρώτους τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ καλεῖ . . . . . λέγων· Οὐκ ἦλθον εἰ μὴ εἰς τὰ πρόβατα τὰ ἀπολωλότα οἴκου Ἰσραήλ (Mt 15, 24)· καὶ τοῖς ἀποστόλοις δὲ αὐτοῦ πρώτοις αὐτοῖς κηρύσσειν τὸ εὐαγγέλιον παρήνει φάσκων· Εἰς ὁδὸν ἐθνῶν μὴ ἀπέλθητε, καὶ εἰς πόλιν Σαμαρειτῶν μὴ εἰσέλθητε· πορεύεσθε δὲ μᾶλλον πρὸς τὰ πρόβατα τὰ ἀπολωλότα οἴκου Ἰσραήλ (Mt 10, 5. 6).

Εἶτα με. ἐκείνους προσέταττε τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ μαθηταῖς εὐαγγελίζεσθαι πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ.

2. Ibid. col. 416: οὗτοι (sc. ἀπόστολοι) προσταχθέντες ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ σωτῆρος μαθητεῦσαι πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, ὑπὸ τῆς αὐτοῦ δυνάμεως ἐμπνευσθέντες, τὴν εἰς πάντα τὰ ἔθνη πορείαν στειλάμενοι, διῆλθον καὶ τὰ βάρβαρα φῦλα καὶ τὴν οἰκουμένην διέδραμον σύμπασαν.

3. In Ps 65, 6, col. 653: σφόδρα δὲ ἀκολούθως εἰπών· Ἐκεῖ εὐφρανθησόμεθα ἐν αὐτῷ," ἐπιφέρει· "τῷ δεσπόζοντι ἐν τῇ δυναστείᾳ αὐτοῦ τοῦ αἰῶνος." νοήσεις δὲ καὶ τοῦτο αὐτοῦ λέγοντος ἀκούων τοῦ σωτῆρος· "Ἐδόθη μοι πᾶσα ἐξουσία ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς· πορεύοντες[1] μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί μου". Διὸ κατὰ μὲν τὸν Ἀκύλαν εἴρηται "τῷ ἐξουσιάζοντι ἐν τῇ δυναστείᾳ αὐτοῦ δι' αἰῶνος".

4. In Ps 67, 31—36, col. 720: ψιλῇ γὰρ φωνῇ τοῖς αὐτοῦ μαθηταῖς εἰπών· "Δεῦτε ἀκολουθεῖτέ μοι καὶ ποιήσω ὑμᾶς ἁλιεῖς ἀνθρώπων," δυνάμει τὸ ἔργον ἐποίει· καὶ πάλιν ἐντειλάμενος αὐτοῖς καὶ εἰπὼν πορευθέντες μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί μου". Ἔργῳ τὴν δύναμιν ἐδείκνυ· καὶ αὖθις εἰπών· "Δεῖ κηρυχθῆναι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς βασιλείας".

5. Ibid. Ps 76, 20, col. 900: ὅπως δὲ ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ ἡ ὁδὸς αὐτοῦ γέγονε καὶ αἱ τρίβοι αὐτοῦ ἐν ὕδασι πολλοῖς καὶ ὡς τὰ ἴχνη αὐτοῦ οὐ γιγνώσκεται, εἶτα ἐπιστῆσας τῇ πρὸς τοὺς μαθητὰς ἐπαγγελίᾳ αὐτοῦ φησάσῃ "πορευθέντες μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί μου" καὶ "ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ μεθ' ὑμῶν πᾶσας τὰς ἡμέρας ἕως τῆς συντελείας τοῦ κόσμου",

6. In Ps 94, 3, col. 1222: "πορευθέντες μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη". Βούλεται γὰρ κ. τ. λ.

7. Comment. in Isaiam, 18; P. G. tom. 24, col. 213: "πορευθέντες μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί μου". Πορευόμενοι δέ φησι κοῦφοι γίνεσθε κ. τ. λ.

8. Demonstr. Evang. I, 3, p. 5: εἰκότως ὁ σωτὴρ καὶ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ μετὰ τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν τοῖς αὐτοῦ μαθηταῖς εἰπὼν "Πορευθέντες μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη" ἐπιλέγει "διδάσκοντες αὐτοὺς τηρεῖν πάντα ὅσα ἐνετειλάμην ὑμῖν". Οὐ γὰρ τὰ Μωυσέως νόμιμα διδάσκειν πάντα τὰ ἔθνη παρεκελεύσατο, ἀλλ' ὅσα αὐτὸς ἐνετείλατο. Ταῦτα δ'ἦν τὰ ἐν τοῖς εὐαγγελίοις αὐτοῦ φερόμενα.

9. Demonstr. Evang. I, 4, p. 8: Τίς δ'ἂν εἴη ὁ ἐκ Σιὼν προελη-

[1] Read περιόντες and see below p. 283f.



θὼς νόμος (Is 2, 3. 4) ἀλλ' ἢ ὁ εὐαγγελικὸς λόγος ὁ διὰ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῆς Σιὼν προεληλυθὼς καὶ διελθὼν πάντα τὰ ἔθνη; πρόδηλον γὰρ ὡς ἀπὸ τῆς Ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ τοῦ ταύτῃ προσπαρακειμένου Σιὼν ὄρους . . . ὁ τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης αὐτοῦ ἀρξάμενος νόμος, κἀκεῖθεν προελθών, εἰς πάντας ἐξέλαμψεν ἀνθρώπους ἀκολούθως ταῖς αὐτοῦ φωναῖς, ἃς πρὸς τοὺς αὐτοῦ μαθητὰς πεποίητο, φήσας· "Πορευθέντες μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, διδάσκοντες αὐτοὺς τηρεῖν πάντα ὅσα ἐνετειλάμην ὑμῖν". Τίνα δὲ ταῦτα ἦν, ἀλλ' ἢ τὰ τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης μαθήματα τε καὶ παιδεύματα.

10. Ibidem III, 6, col. 233, p. 131 D: Ὁ δὲ σωτὴρ καὶ κύριος ἡμῶν οὐκ ἐνενόησε μέν, οὐ τετόλμηκε δέ· ἑνὶ δὲ ῥήματι καὶ μιᾷ φωνῇ φήσας πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ μαθητὰς "Πορευθέντες μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί μου, διδάσκοντες αὐτοὺς τηρεῖν πάντα ὅσα ἐνετειλάμην ὑμῖν," ἔργον ἐπῆγε τῷ λόγῳ.

The above recurs in the Syriac Theophany, see Nr. 14.

11. Ibidem col. 240, p. 136: ὁ δὲ μηδὲν θνητὸν καὶ ἀνθρώπινον διανοηθεὶς ὅρα εἰ μὴ ὡς ἀληθῶς θεοῦ πάλιν προήκατο φωνὴν αὐτολεξεὶ φήσας τοῖς εὐτελεστάτοις ἐκείνοις αὐτοῦ μαθηταῖς Πορευθέντες ματητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη. καὶ πῶς εἶπον ἂν οἱ μαθηταὶ τῷ διδασκάλῳ πάντως που ἀποκρινάμενοι, τοῦθ' ἡμῖν ἔσται δυνατόν; . . . . Ταῦτα ἢ φησάντων ἂν κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς ἢ διανοηθέντων τῶν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ μαθητῶν, μιᾶς προσθήκῃ λέξεως αὐτοῖς ὁ διδάσκαλος λύσιν τῶν ἀπορηθέντων ὑπέθετο, φήσας κατ' ὄρθωσιν "ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί μου". Οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἁπλῶς καὶ ἀδιορίστως μαθητεῦσαι πάντα τὰ ἔθνη προσέταττε, μετὰ προσθήκης δὲ ἀναγκαίας τῆς "ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ". Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἡ δύναμις τῆς αὐτοῦ προσηγορίας τοσαύτη τις ἦν, ὥς φάναι τὸν ἀπόστολον ὅτι δὴ Ἐχαρίσατο αὐτῷ ὁ θεὸς τὸ ὄνομα τὸ ὑπὲρ πᾶν ὄνομα, ἵνα ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ πᾶν γόνυ κάμψῃ ἐπουρανίων καὶ ἐπιγείων καὶ καταχθονίων. Εἰκότως, τῆς τοὺς πολλοὺς λανθανούσης ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ δυνάμεως τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐμφαίνων, τοῖς αὐτοῦ μαθηταῖς ἔφησε Πορευθέντες μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι μου.

12. Ibidem col. 244, p. 138 (After dwelling on the ecumenical spread of Christianity Eusebius desires us): συνομολογεῖν μὴ ἄλλως αὐτοὺς κεκρατηκέναι τοῦ τολμήματος ἢ θειοτέρᾳ καὶ ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπον δυνάμει καὶ συνεργίᾳ τοῦ φήσαντος αὐτοῖς· "Μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί μου". Τοῦτο οὖν εἰπὼν ἐπισύνηψεν ἐπαγγελίαν, δι' ἧς ἔμελλον ἐπιθαρρεῖν καὶ προθύμως ἐπιδιδόναι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς τοῖς παρηγγελμένοις. Φησὶ γοῦν αὐτοῖς, Καὶ ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ μεθ' ὑμῶν εἰμὶ πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας ἕως τῆς συντελείας τοῦ αἰῶνος.

The above occurs in the Syriac Theophania v, 49, without any difference.

13. Dem. Ev. IX, col. 693, p. 445: Καὶ τοῖς γε αὐτοῦ μαθηταῖς μετὰ τὴν ἐκείνων (sc. Iudaeorum) παραίτησιν προστάττει· "Πορευθέντες μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί μου". Οὕτω δῆτα ἡμεῖς μὲν τὰ ἔθνη τὸν προαναφωνηθέντα καὶ πρὸς τοῦ πατρὸς ἀπεσταλμένον προφήτην . . . ἔγνωμεν καὶ κατεδεξάμεθα.

14 (= 10). Mt 28, 19. 20 is cited three times in the fifth book of the Theophania of Eusebius, published and translated by Dr. Samuel Lee in 1842 and 1843. Lee took his text from the Nitrian Codex of the British museum written A. D. 411. The first citation is made in V, 17, as follows (cp. Lee Theoph. in English p. 298): "He (the Sa-"viour) in one single word and in one single oracle, said to his dis-"ciples, *Go ye and make disciples of all the peoples in my name, and* "*teach ye them every thing which I have commanded you.* And the deed "he made to follow the word. And forthwith (*lit.* ad instar eius) were "made disciples in a brief time all the races of the Greeks together and "of the barbarians. But the law was not in a book of the Saviour, but "unwritten was by his command sown among all peoples".

15 (= 11). Theophania V, 46: "But he who used nothing "human or mortal, see how in truth he again conceded the oracle of "God, in the word which he spake to his disciples, the weak ones, say-"ing, *Go ye and make disciples of all the peoples* . . . . . These things "then (*scil.* How can we do this? How preach to the Romans etc.) "his disciples of our saviour would either have said or thought, so by "a single addition of a word, he resolved the sum of those things of "which they doubted, the sum of them he committed to them in that he "said, ye conquer *in my name*[1]. For it was not that he ordered them "simply and without discriminating, *to go and make disciples of all* "*peoples*, but with this important addition, that he said, *In my name*[1]. "For because of the power of his name did all this come about, even "as the Apostle said, God has given him a name more excellent than "all names, that at the name of Jesus every knee should how, which is "in heaven and in earth and under the earth. Accordingly therefore "he displayed the excellency of the hidden power which he hid from "the many, In his name, and he added the oracle, *In my name*[1].

16 (= 12). Theophania V, 49, p. 336: "I am again compelled

[1] lit. in nomine meo proprio.



"to recur to the question of cause, and to confess that they (the "Disciples) could not otherwise have undertaken this enterprise than by "a divine power which exceeds that of man, and by the assistance of "Him who said to them: "*Go and make disciples of all nations in my* "*name.*" And when he had said this to them, He attached to it the "promise, by which they should be so encouraged as readily to give "themselves up to *the things commanded.* For he said to them *Behold* "*I am with you always, even to the end of the world.*"

We now give those passages of the earlier books of the Theophania in which Mat 28, 19—20 is cited. The first of these is in III, 4, in Lee's version p. 159:

17. "Who, of those that ever existed, is the mortal man, . . . who "bore all this preeminence . . . and could effect so much, that he should "be preached throughout the whole earth? and, that *his name* should "fill the hearing and tongues of *every people* upon the face of the whole "earth? But this no man has done excepting our Saviour alone, who "said to his disciples by word and fulfilled it by deed: "Go[1] and teach "all peoples". — and after a little (Lee p. 160): —

"And, Who is that other (person) who, since the life of man was "set up, ever sought to constitute a *people after his name* — a thing "never yet heard of — and this not in a corner or obscurely in some "part of the earth, but *in the whole earth* under the sun?"

18. The next passage is in IV, 8, Lee p. 223: "That at the "outset he said that he would make them fishers of men, and in "the end openly after his example they should make disciples of all "peoples, together with his peculiar aid (*or* power). From the Gospel "of Matthew: —

"After his resurrection from the dead, all of them together, *as was* "*commanded them, went to Galilee,* as he told them. *But when they* "*saw him some of them worshipt him, but others doubted. But he drew* "*near, gazed on them and said, All power in heaven and on earth is* "*given to me of my father. Go ye and make disciples of all peoples,* "*and baptise them in the name of Father and Son and Holy Ghost.* "*And teach them to observe all that I have commanded you. And, be-*"*hold, I am with you always even to the end of the world.*"

[1] The Greek is given below Nr. 20. It adds ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί μου which must here have stood in the original. Here then we catch the Syriac translator in the act of garbling his text.

And after a little p. 225 he continues thus: —

"And on this account, he commanded his disciples, not from the "first, but now, *that they should go around and make disciples of all "nations.* But of necessity be added the mystery of cleansing. For it "was right, that those who should be converted from among the heathen, "should he cleansed by his power from all pollution and uncleanness; "because they had been defiled by the error of demons, and had been "holden by the worship of idols, and by uncleanness of all sorts but "had now first been changed from that life of abomination and lawless "practices. These very persons then, did he admonish to teach, — after "this cleansing which is by the mystery of his doctrine, — not, that "they should observe the precepts of the Jews, nor yet the law of Moses, "but all those things which he commanded them to observe. . . . . He "necessarily therefore stirred them up, and made them readily to con-"fide, — to undertake *the circuit of all peoples and to make disciples of "all races* of men, through the promise by which he counselled them, "saying: Behold I myself am with you.

19. Historia Ecclesiastica III, 5, 2: ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ τοῦ κηρύγματος διδασκαλίᾳ τὴν εἰς σύμπαντα τὰ ἔθνη στειλαμένων πορείαν σὺν δυνάμει τοῦ Χριστοῦ φήσαντος αὐτοῖς Πορευθέντες μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί μου.

20 (= 17). Oratio de Laudibus Constantini 16, 8 (p. 294 sq H): Τίς πώποτε .... τοσοῦτον ἀρετῆς ἀπηνέγκατο ... ὡς πάντων τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς ἀνθρώπων ἀκοὴν καὶ γλώτταν ἐμπλῆσαι τῆς αὐτοῦ προσηγορίας; ἀλλὰ τοῦτό γε οὐδεὶς ἢ μόνος εἷς ὁ ἡμέτερος σωτὴρ μετὰ τὴν κατὰ τοῦ θανάτου νίκην διεπράξατο· τοῖς αὐτοῦ γνωρίμοις λόγον εἰπὼν καὶ ἔργῳ τελέσας· πορευθέντες γοῦν μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί μου, φήσας αὐτοῖς, προειπών τε καὶ ἀποφηνάμενος, ὡς ἄρα δεῖ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον αὐτοῦ κηρυχθῆναι ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ οἰκουμένῃ εἰς μαρτυρίαν πᾶσι τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, ἅμα λόγῳ τοὔργον ἐπήγαγεν.

21. 22. In the Greek controversial works of Eusebius Mat 28, 19 is cited fully twice, viz. in the *Contra Marcellum Ancyranum*, p. 3, C; and *De Ecclesiastica Theologia* 5, p. 174, a. In both passages we have the *textus receptus*, and the context also implies it.

23. In a third passage, *De Eccles. Theol.* 3, p. 159 d, it is cited, but only as far as the word ἔθνη. The author of these treatises which were written sometime after 336, and before 340, had the textus receptus before him, at least in the two passages.

24. The only evidence which remains is that of the letter, addressed





by Eusebius after the council of Nicea, to his church of Caesarea. In this at the end of his baptismal creed, after the words πιστεύομεν καὶ εἰς ἓν πνεῦμα ἅγιον, is introduced a citation of Mt 28, 19 in its usual form. This letter has only come down to us through the medium of Socrates the historian (I, 8, 38 p. 23), who perhaps took it from the work of Sabinus. There is hardly reason to suspect an interpolation.

23. The evidence of these later writings of Eusebius emphasises by contrast the form of text preserved in the rest of his works. He seems to have found in the codices of Caesarea the following form of text:

> πορευθέντες μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί μου, διδάσκοντες αὐτοὺς τηρεῖν πάντα ὅσα ἐνετειλάμην ὑμῖν.

In passages 8 and 9, ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί μου has perhaps been removed after ἔθνη by a scribe who resented so unusual a reading[1]. Both passages occur at the very beginning of the treatise, and so caught the eye of the casual reader. Few can ever have methodically perused so long and learned a work, and therefore the work of correction went no further. It is worthy of notice that in the Greek fragment of the Theophany given in Migne P. G. vol. 24, col. 629 the context involves that verse 19 as well as 18 should have been cited. Verse 18 however stands alone. Verse 19 must therefore have been left out by a copyist.

The passages from the Theophania take rank as independent evidence of the text used by Eusebius, although they repeat passages of his Demonstratio Evangelica and De Laudibus; for where a writer deliberately incorporates entire sections of an earlier work in a later, he must be held to endorse the character of the scripture citations which the earlier contains.

24. Nr. 18 of the above testimonies breaks the harmony of the other citations. The Syriac translator, obliged to render so long a consecutive passage of the Gospels, has merely availed himself of his Syriac vulgate; and copied out from it the entire five verses. Those

[1] "Plerumque in codicibus Graecis, ubi Origenes Eusebius Apollinarius in medium afferuntur ad marginem scriptum observes, ψεύδη, *mentiris.* Incidi ego in centonem Colbertinae bibliothecae manuscriptum, qui ad singula Origenis, Eusebii, Apollinarii, etc., loca, singularem hanc cautionem, minio exaratam, in margine affert, ἀνάθεμά σοι, *anathema tibi.* Quamobrem miror hunc Eusebii commentarium ad nos usque devenisse." Bernard de Montfaucon, Preliminaria in Eusebii commentaria in Psalmos.

familiar with Armenian or Syriac versions know how common was this device of saving labour. At first sight the comment upon this citation when it speaks of the "mystery of cleansing", seems to involve the presence of βαπτίζοντες in the original Greek; but the definition which immediately follows of this cleansing, as being "by the mystery of his doctrine", precludes the idea that the writer had in view the cleansing by the water of baptism, and rather suggests the exorcism at use of the name which preceded baptism, and were specially a "cleansing by his power" from the pollution of demons.

25. Thus we have some 17 attestations of the reading ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί μου, to the exclusion of the words βαπτίζοντες and τοῦ πατρός καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος. We have also two passages viz. 8 and 9, favorable to it. One, viz. 18, that is doubtful. Two at least that are neutral. As a matter of fact there are other neutral passages, where the citation only extends as far as the words τὰ ἔθνη, but they were not worth while collecting.

Against this body of testimony we have three passages in the works of Eusebius, in which the *textus receptus* of Mt 28, 19 is cited; and these all belong to the last period of his literary activity which fell after the council of Nice.

26. Two writers earlier than Eusebius, shew a knowledge of this shorter form of text; and neither of them formally cite the passage, but rather echo it. The first is Justinus Martyr in the Dialogue with Tryphon 39, p. 258: Ὃν οὖν τρόπον διὰ τοὺς ἑπτακισχιλίους ἐκείνους τὴν ὀργὴν οὐκ ἐπέφερε τότε ὁ θεός, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ νῦν οὐδέπω τὴν κρίσιν ἐπήνεγκεν ἢ ἐπάγει, γινώσκει ἔτι καθ' ἡμέραν τινὰς μαθητευμένους εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀπολείποντας τὴν ὁδὸν τῆς πλάνης, οἳ καὶ λαμβάνουσι δόματα ἕκαστος ὡς ἄξιοί εἰσι, φωτιζόμενοι διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ τούτου.

In another passage of his dialogue, c. 53, p. 272 D, Justin glances at Mt 28, 19: Καὶ τὸ Δεσμεύων . . . (Gen 49, 11) . . καὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν ὁμοίως, τῶν μελλόντων πιστεύειν αὐτῷ, προδήλωσις ἦν. Οὗτοι γὰρ ὡς πῶλος ἀσαγὴς καὶ ζυγὸν ἐπὶ αὐχένα μὴ ἔχων τὸν ἑαυτοῦ, μέχρις ὁ Χριστὸς οὗτος ἐλθὼν διὰ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ πέμψας ἐμαθήτευσεν αὐτούς.

Here there is no confirmation or rejection of the words ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι; nevertheless the very occurrence of the passage strengthens the surmise that Justin was acquainted with Mt 28, 19, and really glanced at it in p. 258. In this latter place the words "and abandoning



the path of error" indicates that it was the Gentiles and not the Jews that were daily being made disciples into the name.

The first of the above passages has been recognised by Resch in his *Aussercanonische Parallelstellen* as a citation of Mt 28, 19; but he sets it down, along with three of the passages above adduced from Eusebius, under the head of *Abbreviaturen*, or abridgements of the ordinary text. From such an error a wider reading of Eusebius would have saved him.

27. The second passage is in the Pastor Hermae and is a less certain reference, Simil. IX, 17, 4: πάντα τὰ ἔθνη τὰ ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸν κατοικοῦντα, ἀκούσαντα καὶ πιστεύσαντα ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι ἐκλήθησαν [τοῦ υἱοῦ] τοῦ θεοῦ. λαβόντες οὖν τὴν σφραγῖδα μίαν φρόνησιν ἔσχον καὶ ἕνα νοῦν.

The above might almost as well be taken to echo Lc 24, 47, although Harnack commenting on the words: πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, remarks: "Haec vox omnes expellit dubitationes; cf. Mt 28, 19." It is to be remarked that Lc 24, 47 with its keynote: ἀρξάμενοι ἀπὸ Ἱερουσαλήμ, is seldom absent from Eusebius' mind when he quotes Mt 28, 19; and the Lucan passage itself has the air of being a *remaniement* of the Eusebian text of Mt 28, 19. For Luke has merely added the words μετάνοιαν εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν, and substituted κηρυχθῆναι . . . εἰς for μαθητεύσατε.

28. The earliest writer who cites Mt 28, 19 in a form approximatting to the text established in the manuscripts of the Gospels, is the Gnostic Theodotus, whose literary activity cannot be precisely dated, but must have been as early as 160. It has been conjectured that he used the Gospel according to the Egyptians. An excerpt (§ 76) from his writings appended to the eighth book of the Stromateis contains the following (Sylb. p. 987):

Καὶ τοῖς ἀποστόλοις ἐντέλλεται· περιόντες κηρύσσετε καὶ τοὺς πιστεύοντας βαπτίζετε εἰς ὄνομα πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος. Dr. P. M. Barnard who has collected the N. T. citations of Clement in a volume of the Cambridge Texts and Studies suggests, perhaps without good reason, that the words εἰς ὄνομα κ. τ. λ. in the above were added by Clement to the text of Theodotus. The use of the word περιόντες suggests that in the third of our excerpts from Eusebius on the psalms col. 653 the impossible reading πορεύοντες is a corruption of περιόντες. And this conjecture is confirmed by a neighboring passage in ps. col. 409: τοῦ γὰρ εὐαγγελικοῦ λόγου νεωστὶ περιόντος εἰς τὸν βίον, ξενιζό-

μενα τὰ ἔθνη, καὶ τὴν προτέραν αὐτῶν δεισιδαιμονίαν διεκδικοῦντα συνεκινήθη.

In Rufinus' version also of Origen *in Numeros* Hom. XII, 2, we have the following given as comment on 1 Pet 2, 6: Apostoli . . . secundum praeceptum domini *circumeuntes* orbem terrae et implentes, quod mandatum est, ut *doceant omnes gentes, baptizantes in nomine patris et filii et Spiritus sancti* etc. Here *circumeuntes* reflects περιόντες in the original text. It may well be that this word which well fits in with the early belief in the περίοδοι of the Apostles was, if not original, at the least an early variant for πορευθέντες in Mt 28, 19.

The same reading περιόντες is implied in the citation Nr. 18 of Eusebius by the Commentary which accompanies it: "he commanded his disciples *that they should go around and make disciples of all nations*", and below: "He stirred them up . . . to undertake *the circuit* of all peoples *and to make disciples of all races* of men". That, in the long extract which the Syriac translator makes from his vulgate, no equivalent to this phrase is to be found is additional proof that that extract is not to be relied upon as a faithful rendering of what stood in the text of Eusebius.

29. The textus receptus of Mt 28, 19 is found in the Latin version of Irenaeus III, 17, 1: in Tertullian de Baptismo, c. 13 and De Praescriptione c. 8 and 20: in the Διδαχὴ 7, 1, where however it is suspect because of the occurrence in 9, 4 of the same document of the phrase οἱ βαπτισθέντες εἰς ὄνομα κυρίου: in the Clementine Homilies XI, 26, and oftener in the Recognitiones as translated by Rufinus: in Hippolytus C. Noetum: in the Acta Thomae, there balanced however by a rival gnostic formula.

30. Clement of Alexandria never cites Mt 28, 19 in his works as preserved to us. In the works of Origen preserved in Greek, Griesbach in his *Symbolae criticae* notes three cases of explicit citation of Mt 28, 19; but in each case the citation stops short at τὰ ἔθνη, leaving us in doubt how his texts continued, whether in agreement with those of Eusebius or with the received text. An indirect reference to the text in the contra Celsum II, 42, (I, 165 K.) points, though not conclusively, to the former alternative. The passage is this: καὶ ἀεὶ ὁρῶντες πληρούμενα τὰ εἰρημένα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, πρὶν γένηται, τὸ κηρυχθῆναι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ, καὶ πορευθέντας αὐτοῦ τοὺς μαθητὰς εἰς πάντα τὰ ἔθνη τὸν λόγον αὐτοῦ κατηγγελκέναι. Here the last four words answer to these: 'Teaching them all things whatsoever I have commanded you'. And it is significant that Origen gives no hint of the important precept to baptise in the triune name which in our texts intervenes.



31. If we could trust Rufinus' versions of Origen's homilies, we would have to admit that he used the textus receptus at Mt 28, 19 and even set store by it. But we cannot trust them. At the conclusion of his version of the commentary on Romans Rufinus boasts that he had taken much "trouble to fill in what was lacking in Origen", laborem adimplendi quae deerant for this reason: ne pulsatae quaestiones et relictae, quod in homiletico dicendi genere ab illo fieri solet, latino lectori fastidium generarent. The learned Benedictine editor deplores in the following words the zeal shewn by Rufinus for rewriting the author he professed to translate: Sed utinam hoc labore adimplendi quae deerant supersedisset! Ex ejus enim licentia factum est, ut qui legit has homilias, incertus sit utrum legat Origenem, an Rufinum.

The text Mt 28, 19 comes thrice in Rufinus' version of the Commentar in Romanos, in V, 2 and 8; an VIII, 4. The last two passages smack of Rufinus rather than of Origen. No sane critic would undertake to say where Origen ends and Rufinus begins. "Vix certo distingui potest, ubi solus Origenes loquatur, aut ubi suas merces obtrudat Rufinus", says De la Rue (monitum in Exodum). In Hom. viii, § 4 in Exodum, as rendered by Rufinus comes the fourth reference to Mt 28, 19:

Cum ergo uenimus ad gratiam baptismi, uniuersis aliis diis et dominis renuntiantes, Solum confitemur Deum Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum. Sed hoc confitentes, nisi toto corde diligamus Dominum Deum nostrum . . . non sumus effecti pars Domini . . . et Dominum, ad quem confugimus, propitium non efficimus, quem non ex toto et integro corde diligimus. Why is *Dominum* alone mentioned, if just before the trine formula had stood in the original Greek? The commentary awakes this suspicion in us.

Thus it is only in Rufinus' work that the text Mt 28, 19 occurs; in three cases embedded in comment which smacks of him rather than of Origen, while in the other two the trine formula is in no way necessitated by the context.

32. It is true that Origen attests the use of the trinitarian formula in baptism, in his Greek commentary on John tom. VI, § 17 in these words used of the person baptised: τῷ ἐμπαρέχοντι ἑαυτὸν τῇ θειότητι τῆς δυνάμεως τῶν τῆς προσκυνητῆς τριάδος ἐπικλήσεων. But because the

trine epiclesis was used in his ἀκολουθία of Baptism, it does not follow that the text Mt 28, 19 was in his copies of the N. T. anymore than in those of Eusebius; and the same caution must be used in regard to the references made by Irenaeus and Justin to the use of a trine formula in Baptism.

33. Cyprian of Carthage used the text: "Baptising them in the name of Father, Son and Holy Spirit", as a battlecry in his strife with Pope Stephen: Quomodo ergo quidam dicunt, foris extra ecclesiam, immo et contra ecclesiam, *modo in nomine Christi,* ubicunque et quomodocunque gentilem baptizatum remissionem peccatorum consequi posse, quando ipse Christus gentes baptizari iubeat in plena et adunata trinitate? (Epist. 73 ad Iubaianum). And just before in the same letter: Insinuat trinitatem, cuius sacramento gentes baptizarentur. The official church of Rome however ignored his arguments, and adopted the position that baptism in the name of Christ alone was quite valid. As the canon of the Synod of Nemours (1284) expressed it: Dicimus, infantem baptizatum esse, si baptizans dicit: Baptizo te in nomine Christi.

It in some measure explains this decision of the Popes that the text of Mt 28, 19 was not yet authoritatively fixed by the church. That the Pneumatomachi of the fourth century retained the Eusebian reading can be inferred from the arguments used by and against them.

34. In his discourse: de communione sub utraque specie addressed A. D. 1433 to the Council of Bâle (Mansi concilia XXXIX; col. 858), John of Ragusa used these words: Dominus noster Jesus Christus ascendens in coelum praecepit apostolis dicens, Ite docete—Spiritus Sancti, in quibus verbis dedit eis et limitavit formam baptismi et in persona eorum toti ecclesiae. Et tamen non post longum tempus ipsi apostoli et ecclesia dimittendo dictam formam, *in nomine Patris* etc., traditam per Dominum baptizabant tantum in nomine Christi dicentes: Te baptizo in nomine Domini Jesu Christi.[1] He proceeded to infer that, as the Apostles deviated from their master's precepts in regard to baptism, so the church had a right to set them aside as regards the Eucharist, by withholding the cup from the laity. I do not know if any will pursue his hypothesis a little further and argue that the apostles, when

[1] Thomas Aquinas propounds the same argument III, 9. 66, a. b, ad. 1. John writes (l. c. col. 863): Si enim immutaverunt Apostoli formam baptismi, quae dat essentiam sacramento, taliter ut si quis nunc in illa forma, qua ipsi apostoli, baptizaret, non esset baptismus, quanti magis potest ecclesia mutare vel tollere unam speciem etc.



they "set aside the formam traditam per Dominum", also introduced the Eusebian form of text at Mt 28, 19.

35. A different explanation of the dissonance between Mt 28, 19 and other baptismal formulas found in the New Testament has been broached by certain scholars, whose conclusions, lest I should appear to ignore previous workers in this field, I venture in conclusion to refer to, although, being based on no textual research, they hung entirely in the air and were merely happy guesses.

Canon Armitage Robinson inclines to the view (Art. Baptism in Encyclopaedia Biblica) that Matthew "does not here report the *ipsissima verba* of Jesus, but transfers to him the familiar language of the "church of the Evangelist's own time and locality".

The German scholar Teller in Exc. 2 of his edition of Burnet: De Fide et officiis christianorum, Halae, 1786, p. 262, disputed the genuineness of the text. So did Evanson, vicar of Tewkesbury in his letter to Hurd Bp of Worcester, 2nd Ed. London 1792. Harnack remarks (Dogmengeschichte I, 68): Dass Jesus die Taufe eingesetzt habe, lässt sich nicht direct erweisen; denn Mt 28, 19 ist kein Herrnwort.

Martineau in his "Seat of Authority" Bk. IV, ch. IV, p. 515 writes thus: "The very account which tells us that at last, after his resurrec-"tion, he commissioned his apostles to go and baptize among all nations, "betrayed itself by speaking in the Trinitarian language of the next "century, and compels us to see in it the ecclesiastical editor, and not "the evangelist, much less the founder himself."

Socinus (opera Irenopoli 1656 vol. I, 712 and II, 438) accepted the usual text as genuine, but sought to explain away its obvious meaning by means of tortuous and special pleading.

J. H. Scholten in his work: Die Taufformel (übersetzt von Max Gubalke, Gotha, 1885) wrote: Die gegenseitige Vergleichung der Texte unserer drei ersten Evangelien und die kritische Untersuchung über ihr Alter führen somit zu dem Schlusse, dass dem Bericht über die Einsetzung der Taufe durch Jesus in dem nach Matthäus benannten kanonischen Evangelium ein relativ spätes Datum zuerkannt werden muss.

H. Holtzmann in an article on Baptism in the N. T. in the Zeitschrift f. wissenschaftliche Theol. 1879, p. 401, arrives at a similar conclusion.

36. The following questions therefore need to be discussed.

1. Is the Eusebian and Justin's reading of Mt 28, 19 original?

2. If so, was not the textus receptus created about 130—140?
3. Was it not due to a reaction on the text of Matthew of liturgical, and, specially, of baptismal usage?
4. Did it not arise, like the text of the three witnesses, in the African old Latin texts first of all, thence creep in to the Greek texts at Rome, and finally establish itself in the East during the Nicene epoch, in time to figure in all surviving Greek codices?

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