

# Gospels for the Early Church: Means, Motive and Opportunity

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Abstract: This paper considers the means, motive, and opportunity for the production of written Gospels by the apostles during the earliest years following the death and resurrection of Jesus, in support of an expanding church. Based on a review of contemporary Greek and Latin literature it will be shown that the publication of the Gospels was only a relatively modest accomplishment. Further, distribution of the earliest Gospel(s), once published, was supported by a Roman trade network which provided ample means for the circulation of these documents. Therefore, Gospel development theories should consider the possibility of early Gospel production and should be biased towards the assumption that each Gospel was produced with full awareness of prior publications. In addition, the scattering of early Jewish and Gentile believers who were accustomed to the use of written materials in support of oral presentations would have provided a sufficient motivation for the publication of Gospels. A collaborative development effort, especially while the apostles were yet in Jerusalem, offered an ideal opportunity where the effort would have been supported by local resources and a literate priesthood. Given these observations, modern synoptic development theories should be re-evaluated to ensure that they adequately consider the literary situation within the Roman empire, the potential demand of early believers for written materials, and the advantageous circumstances supporting publication of Gospels within the earliest years of the church.

Our primary source for the details of the life, ministry, teachings, death and resurrection of Jesus of Nazareth is the collection of Gospels found in the New Testament. The details were eventually written down, collected, edited and then

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distributed for the benefit of the Christian church. The authors leveraged the physical materials and publishing resources which were available during the first century in order to help communicate the “gospel of Jesus Christ” (Mark 1:1 ESV) and to reveal Jesus as “the Christ, the son of the living God” (Matthew 16:16).

According to the book of Acts, the church grew quickly due to the thousands of Jews and proselytes “from every nation under heaven” who believed at Pentecost (Acts 2:5-11). The church also spread due to those who were scattered following the persecution which began with the death of Stephen (Acts 8:1; 9:2; 11:19-20). This rapid geographic expansion separated recent converts from those who were eyewitnesses to the life and teachings of Jesus. The subsequent conversion of Roman soldiers and civil servants in Caesarea Maritima (Acts 10), the provincial capital, also resulted in the export of Christianity into additional regions, as these believers returned to their native homes or transitioned on to their next assignments.

This paper considers the means, motive, and opportunity for the distribution of written Gospels by the apostles during the earliest years following the death and resurrection of Jesus, in support of an expanding church. As appropriate, recognition of these conditions should inform theories of synoptic Gospel development, particularly with respect to considerations of interdependence and Gospel dating. Further research is required in order to assess these implications, relative to the writings of the church fathers and modern synoptic theories.

## APOSTOLIC MEANS FOR PUBLISHING EARLY GOSPELS

The New Testament attests to the use of written materials during the apostolic age.<sup>2</sup> Indeed, while the general Graeco-Roman population possessed at most only limited or functional literacy,<sup>3</sup> higher levels of literacy among the upper and bureaucratic classes is also well attested, supported by professional educators and scribes who

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<sup>2</sup> The New Testament reflects the use of written Hebrew scriptures within the synagogues (Luke 4:16-21) and quotes extensively from the law, prophets, and writings. Acts also records the sending of letters by Jewish leaders (Acts 9:2), the Jerusalem church (15:23), and by military officers (23:25).

<sup>3</sup> Rex Winsbury, *The Roman Book* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing Plc, 2011), 115. Eric Eve, *Behind the Gospels: Understanding the Oral Tradition* (Fortress Press, 2014), 10, 11.

attended to the production of letters, reproduction of literary documents, etc.<sup>4</sup> Papyrus was readily available to those who could afford it, and especially to “the upper classes and the imperial civil service of Rome”.<sup>5</sup> This situation supported the publishing of both letters and literature, which were often penned by a scribe, then replicated before release,<sup>6</sup> and then potentially copied by both the recipient(s) and by third-party copyists.<sup>7</sup> This process is somewhat understood by students of the New Testament.<sup>8</sup>

Perhaps less familiar is the magnitude of contemporary literature which was produced during the first century within the Graeco-Roman world and the capacity of the Roman trade network to facilitate the movement of people and materials throughout the empire. It is not unusual for modern commentators to characterize early Christian publications (e.g., Paul’s letters) as major endeavors, almost beyond the ability of early Christians to undertake. Certainly, Paul’s letters were larger than the average letter.<sup>9</sup> However, in comparison to publications by authors of other types of literature, Paul’s letters were modest in size, as were the Gospels.

During and around the first century, there were many authors who wrote substantive works in Greek and Latin. These include authors such as Josephus, Philo, Plutarch, Dio Chrysostom, and Strabo. Many of these works in Greek are available within the Logos software application. Therefore, in order to characterize the volume of Greek literature produced during this period, the available works of ten authors were reviewed (appendix A, table 1) and were found to account for over 2.5 million words of Greek text. In addition, there were many notable authors who produced works in Latin, such as Livy, Ovid, and Quintilian. Based on the texts available in Logos, these account for the equivalent to another 1.5 million words of Greek text. In comparison, the Gospels of Matthew and Mark are less than 20,000 words each (appendix A, table 2).

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<sup>4</sup> Raffaella Cribiori, *Gymnastics of the Mind: Greek Education in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001), 6, 163, 247.

<sup>5</sup> Winsbury, 19-20, 25.

<sup>6</sup> E. Randolph Richards, *Paul and First Century Letter Writing* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press USA, 2004), 89-90, 156.

<sup>7</sup> Winsbury, 129.

<sup>8</sup> For example, D.A. Carson and Douglas J. Moo, *An Introduction to the New Testament*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2005), 334-335.

<sup>9</sup> Richards, 163-170.

During this period, with the population of Rome approaching a million people, a constant flow of goods moved towards the city. Thousands of ships made the 1-2 month journey from Alexandria to the Italian coast and Palestine contributed its own exports. In addition, trade carts brought in more goods, travelling at a nominal two miles an hour,<sup>10</sup> while individuals travelling by foot could cover 15-20 miles per day.<sup>11</sup> This infrastructure provided sufficient opportunity for the distribution of NT writings throughout the empire, arriving within just a few months of when they were produced, weather permitting.

Thus, not only was it feasible for the earliest Christians to produce the modestly sized literary works which were incorporated into the New Testament, but it was also reasonable for the authors to expect for these works to be broadly available to believers and other New Testament authors within a relatively short period.

#### APOSTOLIC MOTIVE FOR PUBLISHING EARLY GOSPELS

Many of those who heard the gospel at Pentecost eventually returned home to Rome, Libya, Egypt, the Persian Gulf (Elam), northern Asia Minor (Pontus), etc. Thus, it is plausible that there was an immediate demand by remote Jewish believers for an account of the life and teachings of Jesus Christ, from the earliest days of the church.<sup>12</sup> Evans' survey of near first century C.E. Jewish texts, such as those which are identified as Old Testament Pseudepigrapha or which are part of the Dead Sea Scrolls, plus those identified as first century B.C.E Targumim writings,<sup>13</sup> convincingly demonstrate a Jewish interest in written materials during this period.

James' epistle to the dispersed Jewish church, presumably sent prior to the conversion and inclusion of the Gentiles, also suggests an early need for a copy of Jesus' teachings, as the letter assumed that the recipients were as familiar with Jesus'

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<sup>10</sup> G.E. Rickman, "The Grain Trade under the Roman Empire", *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 36, *The Seaborne Commerce of Ancient Rome: Studies in Archaeology and History* (1980): 263-270, accessed December 31, 2018, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/4238709>.

<sup>11</sup> Richards, 190-191, 199. Richards notes travel limitations due to weather, Sabbath restrictions, etc.

<sup>12</sup> Wenham affirms that "it would be felt necessary to secure accuracy in the substance of what was being taught in the scattered Christian communities". J.W. Wenham, *Redating Matthew, Mark and Luke* (Sevenoaks, Kent: Hodder and Stoughton, 1991), 200.

<sup>13</sup> Craig A. Evans, 26-154.

teachings from the Sermon on the Mount as they were with Solomon's Proverbs.<sup>14</sup> While the Jewish synagogues provided access to Solomon's teachings in written form, it is asserted by some scholars that James' readers would only have had access to memorized oral versions of Jesus' teachings.<sup>15</sup> Yet, they offer no convincing basis for this dichotomy,<sup>16</sup> especially since Matthew's version of the Sermon on the Mount is only slightly larger than the size of James' letter (table 2), making it no more difficult to put at least portions of Jesus' teaching into written form than James' letter itself. More broadly, Kruger has persuasively argued against those scholars who categorically assert that early Christians were dispositioned against written documents.<sup>17</sup>

Even more pressing would be the need of early Gentile converts for a written copy of Jesus' teachings,<sup>18</sup> along with the interpretive framework provided by the Gospels, as Gentile believers lacked ready access to the synagogues. Further, since the Roman oratory practice involved the use of a written "text as a mnemonic aid"<sup>19</sup> for oral performances, whether of poetry, histories, or whatever, the believers would surely have appealed for written materials to support their gatherings. Hence, the apostles had motive to produce written Gospel materials for both Jewish and Gentile believers.

## APOSTOLIC OPPORTUNITY FOR PUBLISHING EARLY GOSPELS

The book of Acts reports that the apostles remained in Jerusalem, even during the period of persecution following Stephen's death (Acts 8:1). Then later, after Saul's conversion, the church "throughout all Judea and Galilee and Samaria had peace and

<sup>14</sup> Donald W. Burdick, "James" in *The Expositor's Bible Commentary*, vol. 12, ed. Frank E. Gaebelein (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1981), 164.

<sup>15</sup> Peter H. Davids, "James", *New Bible Commentary*, eds. G.J. Wenham, J.A. Motyer, D.A. Carson, R.T. France. (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, USA, 1994): 1354. Also, D.A. Carson and Douglas J. Moo, *Introduction*, 630.

<sup>16</sup> Other biblical scholars note the close affinity between James and Matthew and therefore postulate a late 1<sup>st</sup> century or early 2<sup>nd</sup> century publication for James' letter, given a late 1<sup>st</sup> century date for Matthew's gospel. This, of course, runs counter to James' introductory address to the exclusively Jewish church. Massey H. Shepherd, Jr., "The Epistle of James and the Gospel of Matthew", *Journal of Biblical Literature* 75, no. 1 (March 1956): 47-49, accessed January 5, 2019, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3261520>.

<sup>17</sup> Michael J. Kruger, *The Question of Canon: Challenging the Status Quo in the New Testament Debate* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2013), 79-118.

<sup>18</sup> Birks, T.R., *The Internal Evidence of the Gospel History* (London: Seeleys, 1852), 231-232.

<sup>19</sup> Rexbury, 105, 122.

was being built up” (9:31). These years in Jerusalem would have provided an excellent opportunity for the apostles to collaborate on collecting and editing the Jesus narrative. During this period, they enjoyed the resource benefits of being in a major city and they had “favor with all the people” (Acts 2:47), which surely included some wealthy and influential benefactors. Zacchaeus of Jericho is described as “a chief tax collector and wealthy” (Luke 19:2), Matthew himself was wealthy enough to entertain a large company in his home (Matt. 5:29), and John Mark’s home was large enough to host “many”, even having a servant girl and a secluded outer gate (Acts 12:12-13).

While in Jerusalem, the disciples also had access to the services of a great number of priests who had “become obedient to the faith” (Acts 6:7). These priests would have included those with scribal skills (Matt. 23:34). Plus, bureaucrats such as Matthew, Zacchaeus and Cornelius would have had some level of literacy and access to scribal resources.<sup>20</sup> Hence, the apostle’s period of residency in Jerusalem would have been an ideal time for the development and publication of Gospels for both Jewish and Gentile Christian constituencies.<sup>21</sup>

## THE POTENTIAL FOR EARLY GOSPEL PUBLICATION

Modern biblical scholarship confidently asserts that the initial written Gospels were the product of decades of oral transmission, leading up to the gradual authoring of proto-Gospels, Q, Mark, and the other Gospels, or some variation of such.<sup>22</sup> However, these theories typically do not adequately consider the volume of literature production and trade which occurred during the first century, the demand which existed within the distributed Christian communities for written materials to support oral recitation of the

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<sup>20</sup> William Hendriksen, *New Testament Commentary, Exposition of the Gospel According to Matthew* (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1973), 95, 96. *Holman Apologetics Commentary on the Bible: The Gospels and Acts*, ed. Jeremy Royal Howard (USA: B & H Publishing Group, 2013), 14. Rex Winsbury, *The Roman Book* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing Plc, 2011), 162.

<sup>21</sup> With Matthew being targeted at the Jewish constituency and Mark at the Gentile (Roman) constituency.

<sup>22</sup> R.T. France, “Reading the Gospels”, *New Bible Commentary*, eds. G.J. Wenham, J.A. Motyer, D.A. Carson, R.T. France (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, USA, 1994), 897-898, 900. David A. deSilva, *An Introduction to the New Testament: Contexts, Methods and Ministry Formation* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2004), 149-150, 154.

gospel accounts,<sup>23</sup> or the capability of the apostolic church to produce gospel materials. This has led some<sup>24</sup> to too easily accept synoptic theories which assert that Gospels were composed without full access to prior publications, supposing that the authors of Mark and Luke published without being aware of Matthean content (or vice versa).

In contrast, what this paper suggests is that gospel materials were potentially in circulation early in the life of the church, in response to the demands of the distributed Jewish and Gentile constituencies, and that it is reasonable to assume that these materials were available to be referenced as each subsequent Gospel was composed.

The virtue of this proposition must now be evaluated based on its effectiveness in bringing interpretive coherence to the broader New Testament. This will be pursued more comprehensively in future research, but the proposition does provide a simple explanation for Paul's failure to supply any substantive details about the life, miracles, and verbatim teachings of Jesus.<sup>25</sup> It also resolves the difficulties in interpreting the apostle's teachings which refer to "scripture", where convoluted or unconvincing arguments are employed to find meaning solely in Old Testament contexts (e.g., 1 Cor. 15:4;<sup>26</sup> 1 Tim. 4:13;<sup>27</sup> 2 Tim. 3:16-17<sup>28</sup>).

## CONCLUSION

This paper has argued that there was means, motive, and opportunity for the early publication of Gospels for the benefit of the apostolic church, within the earliest years after the resurrection of Christ. It has been shown that there was a substantive

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<sup>23</sup> Larry W. Hurtado, *Destroyer of the Gods: Early Christian Distinctiveness in the Roman World* (Waco, Texas: Baylor University Press, 2016), 108-111, 117.

<sup>24</sup> Such as Bock. Darrell Bock, "Questions About Q" in *Rethinking the Synoptic Problem*, eds. David Alan Black and David R. Beck (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2001), 47-48.

<sup>25</sup> In this I concur with Bird, "The death of Jesus made no sense apart from his life, his teaching, and his deliberate effort to follow a prophetic script for his work." Michael F. Bird, *The Gospel of the Lord: How the Early Church Wrote the Story of Jesus* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2014), 24.

<sup>26</sup> Gordon D Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, The New International Commentary on the New Testament, ed. F. F. Bruce (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1987), 725-727.

<sup>27</sup> Donald Guthrie, *Pastoral Epistles: An Introduction and Commentary*, vol. 14, Tyndale New Testament Commentaries, ed. Leon Morris (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1990), 111.

<sup>28</sup> Philip H. Towner, *The Letters to Timothy and Titus*, The New International Commentary on the New Testament, ed. Gordon D. Fee (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2006), 585-588.

amount of literature being published during this era, such that the Gospels were only modest accomplishments, and that the Roman trade network provided ample opportunity for the circulation of these documents. Further, the scattering of the Jewish and Gentile church would have provided a sufficient motivation for the effort. A collaborative effort, especially while the apostles were yet in Jerusalem, would have been supported by local resources and a literate priesthood.

Given this proposition, modern synoptic development theories should be re-evaluated to ensure that they adequately consider these conditions. Further, it would be valuable to assess whether our understanding of the New Testament would be enhanced, if read from the perspective described above. The findings of future research into these issues would then be used to either discount or more strongly support the argument for early and interdependent gospel publications.

## APPENDIX A

Table 1 identifies a selection of texts written around the 1<sup>st</sup> century A.D.,<sup>29</sup> originally in Greek, Latin, or Aramaic/Hebrew. Where a Greek text was available for review in the Logos software application, the number of Greek words was counted. Otherwise, the number of words from the English translation were counted, and an equivalent number of Greek words was estimated, using a 60% conversion rate based on Plutarch's works, where both Greek and English versions were counted and compared. All word counts were performed in Logos, except for Neilus' letter to his father (P.Oxy. 2190), which was counted manually using the referenced journal article. Per the assessed works, the 10 Greek authors listed wrote over 2.5 million words and the 6 Latin authors wrote over 1.5 million equivalent Greek words, for a total of over 4 million words written around the 1<sup>st</sup> century A.D. Of course, these works represent merely a sampling of the documents produced during this era, but they are sufficient to demonstrate the volume of literature being produced, in comparison to the limited size of the Gospels.

Table 2 lists the word count for several New Testament writings, including the Gospels of Mark and Matthew, in comparison with several Old Testament (Septuagint/LXX) books and a few Jewish 1<sup>st</sup> century works (4 Ezra, 4 Maccabees).<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> In this appendix, the B.C. / A.D. convention is used, since this aligns to how most of the referenced publications identify the pertinent dates.

<sup>30</sup> Craig A. Evans, *Ancient Texts for New Testament Studies: A Guide to the Background Literature* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, Inc., 2005), 11, 55.

Table 1. Size of Select Non-Biblical Literary Works Written Around the 1<sup>st</sup> Century A.D.

Author	Literary Work	Date (source)	Greek Words (counted or estimated)	English words counted	Text Source Used for Count
Appian of Alexandria	Civil Wars	I-II A.D. (BDAG)	116,927		Appian. <i>The Civil Wars</i> .
Appian of Alexandria	Foreign Wars	I-II A.D. (BDAG)	105,615		Appian. <i>The Foreign Wars</i> .
Arrianas, Flavius of Nicomedia	Tactica	I-II A.D. (BDAG)	8,994		Arrian. <i>Arriani Nicomediensis</i> .
Arrianas, Flavius	Cynegeticus	I-II A.D. (BDAG)	5,979		Arrian. <i>Arriani Nicomediensis</i> .
Arrianas, Flavius	Indica	I-II A.D. (BDAG)	13,758		Arrian. <i>Arriani Nicomediensis</i> .
Arrianas, Flavius	Anabasis	I-II A.D. (BDAG)	78,510		Arrian. <i>Flavii Arriani Anabasis Alexandri</i> .
Arrianas, Flavius	Acies Contra Alanos	I-II A.D. (BDAG)	1,266		Arrian. <i>Arriani Nicomediensis</i> .
Arrianas, Flavius	Periplus Ponti Euxini	I-II A.D. (BDAG)	4,345		Arrian. <i>Arriani Nicomediensis</i> .
Dio Chrysostom	Vol. 1	I-II A.D. (BDAG)	94,006		Dio Chrysostom. <i>Dionis Prusaensis</i> , Vol I.
Dio Chrysostom	Vol. 2	I-II A.D. (BDAG)	84,237		Dio Chrysostom. <i>Dionis Prusaensis</i> , Vol 2.
Epictetus	Enchiridion, Discourses, Fragements	I-II A.D. (BDAG)	87,413		Epictetus. <i>Epicteti Dissertationes Ab Arriano Digestae</i> .
Heron Alexandrinus	Inventions	? B.C. - I A.D (BDAG)	3,251		Alexandrinus, Heron. <i>Mechanica</i> .
Josephus	Antiquities	I A.D. (BDAG)	291,041	485,069	Whiston. <i>The Complete Works of Josephus</i> .
Josephus	Wars of the Jews	I A.D. (BDAG)	133,210	222,016	Whiston. <i>The Complete Works of Josephus</i> .
Josephus	Against Apion	I A.D. (BDAG)	22,423	37,372	Whiston. <i>The Complete Works of Josephus</i> .
Livy	History of Rome and the Roman People, etc. (Books 1-10)	59 B.C. - A.D. 17 (CDWLB)	169,705	282,842	Livy. <i>History of Rome</i> . (Latin)
Livy	History of Rome and the Roman People, etc. (Books 21-45)	59 B.C. - A.D. 17 (CDWLB)	354,472	590,787	Livy. <i>History of Rome</i> . (Latin)
Neilus	Student letter to father	I A.D. (Rea)	490		Rea. "A Student's Letter."
Ovid	Epistles	43 B.C.-A.D. 17 (CDWLB)	26,690	44,483	Naso, P. Ovidius. <i>The Epistles of Ovid</i> . (Latin)

Ovid	Metamorphoses	43 B.C.-A.D. 17 (CDWLB)	101,415	169,025	Naso, P. Ovidius. <i>Metamorphoses</i> . (Latin)
Philo	Histories, Apologies, Philosophy	I B.C.– I A.D. (BDAG)	423,984	831,670	Philo. "Philo: Greek Text." Philo. <i>Philo</i> . *(Greek & English counts - English count conflated by commentary)
Pliny the Elder	Naturalis Historia	I A.D. (BDAG)	520,444	867,407	Pliny the Elder. <i>The Natural History</i> . (Latin)
Plutarch	Moralia	I–II A.D. (BDAG)	524,263	829,577	Plutarch. <i>Moralia</i> . *(Greek & English counts)
Plutarch	Parallel Lives	I–II A.D. (BDAG)	496,104	790,877	Plutarch. <i>Plutarch's Lives</i> . *(Greek & English counts)
Quintilianus, Marcus Fabius	Institutio Oratoria, Books 1-3	34 A.D. - pre-100 A.D. (Butler)	48,226	80,376	<i>Quintilian</i> . (Latin)
Quintilianus, Marcus Fabius	Institutio Oratoria, Books 4-6	34 A.D. - pre-100 A.D. (Butler)	45,700	76,167	<i>Quintilian</i> . (Latin)
Quintilianus, Marcus Fabius	Institutio Oratoria, Books 7-9	34 A.D. - pre-100 A.D. (Butler)	51,048	85,080	<i>Quintilian</i> . (Latin)
Quintilianus, Marcus Fabius	Institutio Oratoria, Books 10-12	34 A.D. - pre-100 A.D. (Butler)	46,470	77,450	<i>Quintilian</i> . (Latin)
Seneca the Younger	Apocolocyntosis	1 B.C. - A.D. 65 (CDWLB)	3,050	5084	Seneca. <i>Apocolocyntosis</i> . (Latin)
Strabo	Geographica	I B.C. – I A.D. (BDAG)	285,692		<i>Strabo</i> .
Tacitus, Cornelius	Dialogue on Oratory Agricola, Germania	A.D. 84-98 ( <i>Tacitus</i> )	33,891	56485	Tacitus. <i>Tacitus: Dialogue, Agricola, Germania</i> . (Latin) (English count conflated by commentary)
	Contemporary Secular Total		4,182,620		

Table 2: Comparison of New Testament Literary Works to Other Literary Works

Literary Work	Greek Words (counted or estimated)	Text Source Used for Count
Mark	11,286	Holmes. <i>GNT: SBL</i> .
Matthew	18,329	Holmes. <i>GNT: SBL</i> .
Matt 5-7	1,985	Holmes. <i>GNT: SBL</i> .
Romans	7,055	Holmes. <i>GNT: SBL</i> .
Galatians	2,226	Holmes. <i>GNT: SBL</i> .
Philemon	334	Holmes. <i>GNT: SBL</i> .
James	1,739	Holmes. <i>GNT: SBL</i> .
New Testament	137,741	Holmes. <i>GNT: SBL</i> .
Genesis (LXX)	32,670	Swete. <i>OT in Greek</i> .
Joshua (LXX)	14,814	Swete. <i>OT in Greek</i> .
Psalms (LXX)	34,613	Swete. <i>OT in Greek</i> .
Isaiah (LXX)	26,952	Swete. <i>OT in Greek</i> .
Jeremiah (LXX)	28,772	Swete. <i>OT in Greek</i> .
Malachi (LXX)	1,408	Swete. <i>OT in Greek</i> .
4 Ezra (2 Esdras ch. 3-14)	6,466	Swete. <i>OT in Greek</i> .
4 Maccabees	7,898	Swete. <i>OT in Greek</i> .
Contemporary Secular Total	4,182,620	Ref. Table 1

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