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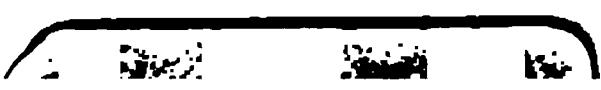
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**A GENERAL SURVEY**

**OF THE**

**HISTORY OF THE CANON.**



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*[The Author reserves the right of translation.]*

A GENERAL SURVEY  
OF THE HISTORY  
OF THE  
CANON OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

DURING  
*THE FIRST FOUR CENTURIES.*

BY  
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LATE FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.



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*101. a. 195.*

Εὐλόγως ὁ διδάσκαλος ἡμῶν ἔλεγεν·

**ΓΙΝΕΣΘΕ ΤΡΑΠΕΖΙΤΑΙ ΔΟΚΙΜΟΙ.**

TO THE RIGHT REVEREND  
JAMES PRINCE LEE, D. D.,  
LORD BISHOP OF MANCHESTER,

AND LATE  
HEAD MASTER OF KING EDWARD'S SCHOOL,  
BIRMINGHAM,

*This Essay is inscribed,*  
WITH SINCERE AFFECTION AND GRATITUDE,  
BY  
HIS FORMER PUPIL.



## P R E F A C E.

My object in the present Essay has been to deal with the New Testament as a whole, and that on purely historical grounds. The separate books of which it is composed are considered not individually, but as claiming to be parts of the Apostolic heritage of Christians. And thus reserving for another occasion the inquiry into their mutual relations and essential unity, I have endeavoured to connect the history of the New Testament Canon with the growth and consolidation of the Catholic Church, and to point out the relation existing between the amount of evidence for the authenticity of its component parts, and the whole mass of Christian literature. However imperfectly this design has been carried out, I cannot but hope that such a method of inquiry will convey both the truest notion of the connexion of the written Word with the living Body of Christ, and the surest conviction of its divine authority. Hitherto the co-existence of several types of apostolic doctrine in the first age and of various parties in Christendom for several generations afterwards, has been quoted to prove that our Bible as well as our Faith is a mere compromise. But while I acknowledge most willingly the great merit of the Tübingen School in

pointing out with marked distinctness the characteristics of the different books of the New Testament, and their connexion with special sides of Christian doctrine and with various eras in the Christian Church, it seems to me almost inexplicable that they should not have found in those writings the explanation instead of the result of those divisions which are traceable up to the Apostolic times.

To lay claim to candour is only to profess in other words that I have sought to fulfil the part of an historian and not of a controversialist. No one will be more grieved than myself if I have misrepresented or omitted any point of real importance; and those who know the extent and intricacy of the ground to be travelled over will readily pardon less serious errors. But candour will not, I trust, be mistaken for indifference; for I have no sympathy with those who are prepared to sacrifice with apparent satisfaction each debated position at the first assault. Truth is indeed dearer than early faith, but he can love truth little who knows no other love. If then I have ever spoken coldly of Holy Scripture, it is because I have wished to limit my present statements to the just consequences of the evidence brought forward. But history is not our only guide; for while internal criticism cannot usurp the place of history, it has its proper field; and as feeling cannot decide on facts, so neither can testimony convey that sense of the manifold wisdom of the Apostolic words which is, I

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believe, the sure blessing of those who seek rightly to penetrate into their meaning.

Whatever obligations I owe to previous writers are, I hope, in all cases duly acknowledged. That they are fewer than might have been expected, is a necessary result of the change which was required in the treatment of the subject, from the form of modern controversy; and the same change will free me from the necessity of discharging the unwelcome office of a critic. Yet it would be ungrateful not to bear witness to the accuracy and fulness of Lardner's 'Credibility;' for, however imperfect it may be in the view which it gives of the earliest period of Christian literature, it is, unless I am mistaken, more complete and trustworthy than any work which has been written since on the same subject.

There is, however, one great drawback to the study of Christian antiquity, so serious that I cannot but allude to it. The present state of the text, at least of the early Greek fathers, is altogether unworthy of an age which has done so much to restore to classic writers their ancient beauty; and yet even in intellect Origen has few rivals. But it is perhaps as unreasonable as it is easy to complain; and I have done nothing more than follow MS. authority as far as I could in giving the different catalogues of the New Testament. I can only regret that I have not done so throughout; for—to take one example—the text of the canons given in Labbé, as far as my experience



goes, is utterly untrustworthy, while the materials for determining a good one are abundant and easily accessible.

During the slow progress of the *Essay* through the press, several works have appeared of which I have been able to make little or no use. All that I wished to say on the Roman and African Churches was printed before I saw Milman's '*Latin Christianity*;' and of the second edition of Bunsen's '*Hippolytus and his Age*,' I have only been able to use partially the '*Analecta Ante-Nicæna*.' It is, however, a great satisfaction to me to find that Dr Milman maintains that the early Roman Church was essentially Greek; a view, which I believe to be as true as it is important, notwithstanding the remarks of his Dublin reviewer.

It only remains for me to acknowledge how much I owe to the kind help of friends in consulting books which were not within my reach. And I have further to offer my sincere thanks to the Rev. W. Cureton, Canon of Westminster, to the Rev. Dr Burgess of Blackburn, to Dr Tregelles of Plymouth, and to Mr T. Ellis of the British Museum, for valuable information relative to Syriac MSS.; and likewise to the Rev. H. O. Coxe of the Bodleian Library for consulting several Greek MSS. of the Canons contained in that collection.

HARROW,

*July, 1855.*

## CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS.

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p. 9, l. 3 from bottom, *for* (δ) *read* 3.

p. 84, l. 3        <sup>4</sup>        *for* 10 *read* 11.

p. 236, l. 3        ,,        *for* patre *read* fratre.

p. 238, l. 11     ,,        *for* vobis *read* nobis.

p. 243, n. The reference to Cassiodorus is, I fear, an error of memory; for except when he refers to Clement, I cannot now find that he speaks of only two epistles.

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p. 174. Cf. [Hipp.] adv. hæc. p. 111.

p. 179, n. On the *Lectiones Velesianæ* see Dr Tregelles' valuable account of *the Printed Text of the Greek Test.* pp. 38 f. The edition of Stephens, 1539-40, reads *nisi quis renatus fuerit*.

p. 191. Add Cyril, *Catech.* ii. 1.

p. 201. In one Fragment of Justin (xi. Ed. Otto), as it was published by Grabe, there is a remarkable coincidence of thought with i. John i. 5 f. Cf. Ebrard, *Krit. d. Ev. Gesch.* 890.

p. 235. Cf. App. C. for the collations of Wieseler and Bunsen.

p. 240, n. The word *principalis*, however, is used to translate ἡγεμονικὸς in Iren. iii. 11. 8.

p. 248. Since this was printed, an Apology attributed to Melito, which contains several allusions to the Epistles, but no quotations from them, has been published in the *Journal of Sacred Literature*, from a Syriac translation. In this respect it agrees very well with other apologetic writings; and on other grounds I see no reason to doubt its authenticity. The *Clavis*, which exists (in Latin) at Oxford, in a transcript from a Parisian MS., is of no authority. Cf. Routh, *Reliq.* i. 141 ff.

p. 266. The evidence of Ephrem Syrus is examined more at length, p. 514. His habitual use of the *seven* Catholic Epistles is confined to works in a Greek translation.

p. 285. Cf. p. 418, n. 1.

p. 307. Add Euseb. H. E. vii. 25.

p. 317. Eusebius, in noticing the different translators of Scripture, (H. E. vi. 16, 17) mentions that SYMMACHUS was an Ebionite. He then adds (c. 17): 'And moreover notes (ὑπομνήματα) of Symmachus are still extant (φέρεται), in which he appears (δοκεῖ) to support the heresy which I have mentioned, directing his efforts to the Gospel according to Matthew.' The last phrase is obscure (πρὸς τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον ἀποτεινόμενος); but if its meaning be that Symmachus

exerted himself to show the superior authority of the Ebionitic text of the Gospel [of St Matthew], it still offers a singular proof of the general reception of the Canonical Gospel of St Matthew, though Symmachus assailed it. But Rufinus, Jerome, and, at a much later time, Nicephorus, supposed that Symmachus wrote commentaries on St Matthew, and the Greek will bear this meaning. Hieron. de Virr. Ill. Liv. p. 894.

The quotations in the so-called *Second Epistle of Clement*, are on several accounts worthy of notice. One passage occurs (c. 2) prefaced with the words *ἑτέρα δὲ γραφή λέγει*, which coincides verbally with Matt. ix. 13, *οὐ γὰρ—ἀμαρτωλοῦς* (Cf. Just. Ap. i. 15: de resurr. 8). A second quotation is introduced with the phrase *λέγει ὁ Κύριος ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ* (c. 8), but this only agrees in sense with Luc. xvi. 10 (Matt. xxv. 21); though it is repeated by Irenæus (ii. 34, § 3). The other quotations are anonymous, marked only by *λέγει* or *φησί*, whether they agree with the Canonical Gospels (cc. 6, 9) or differ from them (cc. 3, 4, 5). In no case do they agree with the quotations in the Clementines or Justin when they differ from the Gospels; and on the contrary, they differ from the Clementines: c. 5. Cf. Matt. x. 28. Clem. Hom. xvii. 5. Just. Ap. i. 19: c. 6. Cf. Matt. vi. 24. Clem. Recogn. v. 9. Just. Ap. i. 15. The passages found in this fragment, which occur also in the *Gospel of the Egyptians* (Clem. Alex. Str. iii. 9, § 63), are quoted anonymously (c. 12). In one place (c. 9) there appears to be a reference to St John's Gospel (*σὰρξ ἐγένετο*, John i. 14); and in another remarkable quotation prefaced by *λέγει ὁ προφητικὸς λόγος* (c. 11), there is a striking coincidence with the Second Epistle of St Peter (iii. 4).

p. 400. There is, however, no variety of reading in the MSS. which I have consulted (Cf. p. 583, n.)

p. 412. Dionysius himself quoted the Apocalypse. Euseb. vii. 10.

p. 415. I have now found a clear allusion to the Epistle of St James, in a fragment of Dionysius. *Comm. in Luc.* xxii. (Gallandi, Bibl. Pp. xiv. App. p. 117. Cf. Proleg. V.) *ὁ γὰρ θεός, φησὶν, ἀπειραστός ἐστι κακῶν.* James i. 16.

p. 435, n. 2. Cf. p. 525, n. 2.

p. 501. To these MSS. may be added Cod. Arund. (Mus. Brit.) 533 (sæc. xiv), containing the commentaries of Balsamon, which gives the Catalogue as a new Canon, but all rubricated. Bandini (Bibl. Laur. i. pp. 72, 397, 477) notices several other MSS. which contain the Catalogue.

p. 528, l. 5. The text of Cassiodorus is given in Appendix D, on the authority of several MSS., which all include the Epistle to Ephesians, and omit that of *St Jude*, in both cases differing from the common text.

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The truth of our Religion, like the truth of common matters,  
is to be judged by all the evidence taken together.

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A GENERAL survey of the History of the Canon forms a necessary part of an Introduction to the writings of the New Testament. A full examination of the objections which have been raised against particular Books, a detailed account of the external evidence by which they are severally supported, an accurate estimate of the internal proofs of their authenticity, are, indeed, most needful; but, besides all this, it seems no less important to gain a wide and connected prospect of the history of the whole collection of the New Testament Scriptures, to trace the gradual recognition of a written rule as authoritative and divine, to watch the predominance of partial, though not exclusive, views in different Churches, till they were all harmonized in a universal Creed, and witnessed by a completed Canon<sup>1</sup>. For this purpose we must frequently assume results which we have obtained elsewhere; but what is lost in fulness will be gained

A general History of the Canon as distinct from a particular history of the Books

<sup>1</sup> By 'the Canon' I understand the collection of books which constitute the original written Rule of the Christian Faith. For the history of the word see Appendix A.



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in clearness. A continuous though rapid survey of the field on which we are engaged will bring out more prominently some of its great features, whose true effect is lost in the details of a minute investigation.

necessary  
on many  
grounds,

A mere series of quotations can convey only an inadequate notion of the real extent and importance of the early testimonies to the genuineness and authority of the New Testament. Something must be known of the nature and object of the first Christian literature—of the possible frequency of Scriptural references in such fragments of it as survive—of the circumstances and relations of the primitive Churches, before it is fair to assign any negative value to the silence or ignorance of individual witnesses, or to decide on the positive worth of the evidence which can be brought forward.

especially in  
relation to  
modern  
views.

The question of the Canon of Holy Scripture has assumed at the present day a new position in Theology. The Bible can be no longer regarded merely as a common storehouse of controversial weapons, or an acknowledged exception to the rules of literary criticism. Modern scholars, from various motives, have distinguished its constituent parts, and shewn in what way each was related to the peculiar circumstances of its origin. Christianity has gained by the issue; for it is an unspeakable advantage that

the Books of the New Testament are now felt to be organically united with the lives of the Apostles—that they are recognized as living monuments, reared in the midst of struggles within and without by men who had seen Christ, stamped with the character of their age, and inscribed with the dialect which they spoke. It cannot be too often repeated, that the history of the formation of the whole Canon involves little less than the history of the building of the Catholic Church.

The common difficulties which beset any inquiry into remote and intricate events are in this case unusually great, since they are strengthened by the most familiar influences of our daily life. It is always a hard matter to lay aside the habits of thought and observation which are suggested by present circumstances; and yet this is as essential to a just idea of any period as a full view of its external characteristics. It is not enough to have the facts before us without we regard them from the right point of sight; otherwise the prospect, however wide, must at least be confused. Our powers are, indeed, admirably suited to criticise whatever falls within their immediate range; but they will need a careful adjustment when they are directed to a more distant field. Moreover, remote objects are often surrounded by an atmosphere different

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It is hard to  
realize the  
conditions of  
the problem,

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from the pe-  
culiar cir-  
cumstances  
of ancient  
Christianity

from our own, and it is possible that they may be grouped together according to peculiar laws and subject to special influences. This is certainly true of the primitive Church; and the differences which separate modern Christendom from ancient Rome, morally and materially, are only the more important, because they are frequently concealed by the transference of old words to new ideas.

in relation  
both to the  
formation  
and to the  
proof of the  
Canon

A little reflection will shew how seriously these difficulties have influenced our notions of early Christendom; for the negative conclusions of some modern schools of criticism have found acceptance chiefly through a general forgetfulness of the conditions of its history. These must be determined by the characteristics of the age, which necessarily modify the form of our inquiry, and limit the extent of our resources. The results which are obtained from an examination of the records of the ante-Nicene Church, as long as they are compared with what might be expected at present, appear meagre and inadequate; but in relation to their proper sources they are singularly fertile. This will appear clearer by the examination of one or two particulars, which bear directly upon the *formation* and *proof* of the Canon.

1. The *For-  
mation* of the  
Canon was  
impeded by

I. It cannot be denied that the Canon was fixed gradually. The condition of society and the internal relations of the Church presented

obstacles to the immediate and absolute determination of the question which are disregarded now, only because they have ceased to exist. The tradition which represents St John as fixing the contents of the New Testament betrays the spirit of a later age.

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1. It is almost impossible for any one whose ideas of communication are suggested by the railway and the printing-press to understand how far mere material hinderances must have prevented a speedy and unanimous settlement of the Canon. The means of intercourse were slow and precarious. The multiplication of manuscripts was tedious and costly<sup>1</sup>. The common meeting-point of Christians was destroyed by the fall of Jerusalem, and from that time national Churches grew up around their separate centres, enjoying in a great measure the freedom of individual development, and exhibiting, often in exaggerated forms, peculiar tendencies of doctrine or ritual. As a natural consequence, the circulation of different parts of the New Testament for a while depended, more or less, on their sup-

(1) defective  
means of  
communica-  
tion

which tended  
to individua-  
lize churches,

<sup>1</sup> This fact, however, has been frequently exaggerated. The circulation of the New Testament Scriptures was probably far greater than is commonly supposed. Mr Norton has made some very interesting calculations, which seem to shew that as many as 60,000 copies of the Gospels were circulated among Christians at the end of the second century.—‘Genuineness of the Gospels,’ i. pp. 28—34. (Ed. 2. 1847.)

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posed connexion with specific forms of Christianity.

though not  
to disunite  
them;

This fact, which has been frequently neglected in Church histories, has given some colour to the pictures which have been drawn of the early divisions of Christians. Yet the separation was not the result of fundamental differences in doctrine, but rather of temporary influences. It was not widened by time, but gradually disappeared. It did not cut off mutual intercourse, but vanished as intercourse grew more easy and frequent. The common Creed is not a compromise of principles, but a combination of the essential types of Christian truth which were preserved in different Churches<sup>1</sup>. The New Testament is not an incongruous collection of writings of the Apostolic age, but the sum of the treasures of Apostolic teaching stored up in various places. The same circumstances at first retarded the formation, and then confirmed the claims of the Catholic Church and of the Canon of Scripture.

and also (2)  
by the exist-  
ence of a tra-  
ditional Rule  
of Doctrine,

2. The formal declaration of the Canon was not by any means an immediate and necessary consequence of its practical settlement. As long as the traditional Rule of Apostolic doctrine was

<sup>1</sup> A faint sense of this is shewn in the late tradition which assigned the different clauses in the Creed to separate Apostles.

generally held in the Church, there was no need to confirm it by the written Rule. The dogmatic and constant use of the New Testament was not made necessary by the terms of controversy or the wants of the congregation. Most of the first heretics impugned the authority of Apostles, and for them their writings had no weight. Most of the first Christians felt so practically the depth and fulness of the Old Testament Scriptures, that they continued to seek and find in them that comfort and instruction of which popular rules of interpretation have deprived us.

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But in the course of time a change came over the condition of the Church. As soon as the immediate disciples of the Apostles had passed away, it was felt that their traditional teaching had lost its direct authority. Heretics arose who claimed to be possessed of other traditional rules derived in succession from St Peter or St Paul<sup>1</sup>, and it was only possible to try their authenticity by documents beyond the reach of change or corruption. Dissensions arose within the Church itself, and the appeal to the written

which, how-  
ever, gave  
way to a  
written Rule,

<sup>1</sup> Clem. Alex. Str. vii. 17, § 108: *κάτω δὲ περὶ τοὺς Ἀδριανοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως χρόνους οἱ τὰς αἵρέσεις ἐπινοήσαντες γεγόνασι καὶ μέχρι γε τῆς Ἀντωνίνου τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου διέτειναν ἡλικίας καθάπερ ὁ Βασιλείδης, κἄν Γλαυκίαν ἐπιγράφηται διδάσκαλον, ὡς αὐχοῦσιν αὐτοὶ, τὸν Πέτρου ἐρμηνεῖα ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ Οὐαλεντίνον Θεοδάδι ἀκηκοῖναι φέρουσιν, γνώριμος δ' οὗτος γέγονει Παύλου.—Cf. [Hipp.] adv. Hæreses, vii. 20, where we must read Μαθθίου (Clem. Al. Str. vii. 17, § 108.)*

## INTRODUCTION.

word of the Apostles became natural and decisive. And thus the practical belief of the primitive age was first definitely expressed when the Church had gained a permanent position, and a fixed literature.

at least, towards the close of the Second Century.

From the close of the second century the history of the Canon is simple, and its proof clear. It is allowed even by those who have reduced the genuine Apostolic works to the narrowest limits, that from the time of Irenæus the New Testament was composed essentially of the same books as we receive at present, and that they were regarded with the same reverence as is now shewn to them<sup>1</sup>. Before that time there

<sup>1</sup> It will be well once for all to give a general view of the opinion of the most advanced critics of Tübingen on the canonical books of the New Testament, and their relation to early Christian literature. According to Schwegler they may be arranged as follows:

- i. Genuine and Apostolic.
  1. Ebionitic:
    - The APOCALYPSE.
  2. Pauline:
    - Epp. to the CORINTHIANS (i. ii.)
    - Ep. to ROMANS (capp. i.—xiv.)
    - Ep. to GALATIANS.
- ii. Original sources of the Gospels:
  1. Ebionitic. *The Gospel according to the Hebrews.*  
St MATTHEW, a revision of this (A. C. 130—134. Baur, *Kan. Evv.* s. 609, anm.)
  2. Pauline. *The Gospel adopted by Marcion.*  
(Probably: Schwegler, *Nachap. Zeit.* I. 284.)  
St LUKE.

is more or less difficulty in making out the details of the question, and the critic's chief endeavour must be to shew how much can be determined from the first, and how exactly that

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iii. Supposititious writings forged for party purposes.

1. Ebionitic :

(a) Conciliatory :

Ep. of St JAMES (c. 150 A. C. Schwegler, I. s. 443.)

*The Clementine Homilies.*

*The Apostolical Constitutions.*

*Clement. Ep. ii.*

(β) Neutral :

St MARK (late ; after St Matthew : Baur, 561.)

ii. Ep. St PETER (c. 200 A. C. Schwegler, I. 495.)

Ep. St JUDE (late, *id.* 521.)

*Clementine Recognitions.*

2. Pauline :

(a) Apologetic :

i. Ep. PETER (c. 115. Schwegler, II. 3.)

*Κήρυγμα Πέτρου.*

(β) Conciliatory :

St LUKE (c. 100 A. C. Schwegler, II. 72.)

The ACTS (same date, *id.* s. 115.)

Ep. to ROMANS, capp. xv., xvi. (same date, *id.* s. 123.)

Ep. to PHILIPPIANS (c. 130 ? *id.* s. 133.)

*Clement. Ep. i.*

(γ) Constructive (Katholisirend) :

The PASTORAL *Epistles* (130—150 A. C. Schwegler, II. 138.)

*Ep. of Polycarp.*

*Epp. of Ignatius.*

(δ) A peculiar Asiatic development :

Ep. to HEBREWS (c. 100 A. C. Schwegler, II. 309 )



INTRODUC- coincides with the clearer view which is after-  
TION. wards gained.

ii. The Proof  
of the Canon  
is rendered  
more difficult

II. Here however we are again beset with peculiar difficulties. The proof of the Canon is embarrassed both by the general characteristics of the age in which it was fixed, and by the particular form of the evidence on which it first depends.

(1) by the un-  
critical cha-  
racter of the  
first two cen-  
turies,

1. The spirit of the ancient world was essentially uncritical. It is unfair to speak as if Christian writers were in any way specially distinguished by a want of sagacity or research. The science of history is altogether of modern date; and the Fathers do not seem to have been more or less credulous or uninformed than their pagan contemporaries<sup>1</sup>. Their testimony must be tried according to the standard of their age. We must be content to ground our conclusions

Ep. to COLOSSIANS (a little later, *id.* s. 289.)

Ep. to EPHESIANS (a little later, *id.* s. 291.)

Gospel and Epistles (?) of St JOHN (c. 150.

Schwegler, *id.* s. 369; Baur, 350 ff.)

It will be at once evident how much critical sagacity lies at the base of this arrangement, apart from its historic impossibility.

The Epistles to the THESSALONIANS and to PHILEMON are rejected, but Schwegler does not give any explanation of their origin.

<sup>1</sup> *E. g.* Clement's name is invariably coupled with the legend of the Phoenix, (c. 25), but it does not appear that Tacitus' credit is weakened by the fact that he introduces the same story among the most tragic incidents (An. vi. 28.)

on such evidence as the case admits, and to interpret it according to its proper laws.

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One important example will illustrate our meaning. As soon as the Christian Church had gained a firm footing in the Roman Empire it required what might be called an educational literature; and an attempt was made at an early period to supply the want by books which received, in a certain degree, the sanction of the Church. When this sanction was once granted it became necessarily difficult to define its extent and duration. The ecclesiastical writings of the Old Testament furnished a precedent and an excuse for a similar appendix to the Christian Scriptures. Both classes seem to have been formed from the same motive: both found their readiest acceptance at Alexandria. 'Apocryphal' writings were added to manuscripts of the New Testament, and read in churches; and the practice thus begun continued for a long time. The Epistle of Barnabas was still read among the 'Apocryphal Scriptures' in the time of Jerome; and an important catalogue of the Apocrypha of the New Testament is added to the Canon of Scripture subjoined to the *Chronographia* of Nicephorus, published in the ninth century.

shewn in the  
use of Apo-  
cryphal  
books,

At first sight this mixture of different classes of books appears startling; but the Church of England follows the same principle with regard

with restric-  
tions by the  
Church, but

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to the Apocrypha of the Old Testament. They are allowed to have an ecclesiastical use, but not a canonical authority. They are profitable for instruction—for elementary teaching (*στοιχείωσις εισαγωγική*) as is said<sup>1</sup> of the Shepherd of Hermas—but not for the proof of doctrine. ‘They ought to be read, though they cannot be regarded as apostolic or prophetic<sup>2</sup>.’ And evidence is not wanting to shew that the ancient Church exercised a jealous watch lest they should usurp undue influence. The presbyter who sought to recommend the story of Thecla by the name of St Paul was degraded from his office<sup>3</sup>.

carelessly by  
individual  
writers, till

But the first Christian writers—and here again the parallel with our own divines still holds—did not always show individually the caution and judgment of the Church. They quote ecclesiastical books from time to time as if they were canonical: the analogy of the faith was to them a sufficient warrant for their immediate use.

the question  
assumed a  
practical im-  
portance:

As soon, however, as a practical interest attached to the question of the Canon their judgment was clear and unanimous. When it became necessary to determine what ‘superfluous’ books might be yielded to the Roman inquisitor<sup>4</sup> without the charge of apostasy, the Apocryphal writings sunk

<sup>1</sup> Euseb. H. E. III. 3, p. 90.

<sup>2</sup> Fragm. Inc. de Canone, s. f., speaking of Hermas.

<sup>3</sup> Tertull. de Bapt. c. 15.

<sup>4</sup> In the persecution of Diocletian. See below.

at once into their proper place. There was no change of opinion here; but that definite enunciation of it which was not called forth by any critical feeling within, was yielded at last to a necessity from without. The true meaning of the earliest witnesses is brought out by the later comment<sup>1</sup>.

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2. This fact suggests a second difficulty by which the subject is affected: the earliest testimonies to the Canon are simply incidental. Now even if the ante-Nicene Fathers had been gifted with an active spirit of criticism—if their works had been left to us entire—if the custom of formal reference had prevailed from the first—it would still be impossible to determine the contents of the New Testament absolutely on merely casual evidence. Antecedently there is no reason to suppose that we shall be able to obtain a perfect view of the judgment of the Church on the Canon from the scriptural references contained in the current theological literature of any particular period. The experience of our own day teaches us that books of Holy Scripture, if not whole classes of books, may be suffered to fall into disuse from having little connexion with the popular views of religion. As a general rule, quotations have a value positively,

(2) by the  
casual nature  
of our evi-  
dence,

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix B. 'On the use of Apocryphal writings in the early Church.'

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but not negatively: they may show that a writing was received as authoritative, but it cannot fairly be argued in the first instance that another which is not quoted was unknown or rejected as Apocryphal.

which must  
be combined  
with later  
catalogues:

Still, though the use of Scripture is, in a great degree, dependent on the character of the controversies of the day, the argument from quotations obtains a new weight in connexion with formal catalogues of the New Testament. It is impossible not to admit that a general coincidence of the range of patristic references with the limits elsewhere assigned to the Canon, confirms and settles them. And in this way the history of the Canon can be carried up to times when catalogues could not have been published, but existed only implicitly in the practice of the Churches.

and (3) by its  
fragmentary  
character.

3. The track, however, which we have to follow is often obscure and broken. The evidence of the earliest Christian writers is not only uncritical and casual, but it is also fragmentary. A few letters of consolation and warning, two or three Apologies addressed to Heathen, a controversy with a Jew, a Vision, and a scanty gleaning of fragments of lost works, comprise all Christian literature<sup>1</sup> to the middle of the second

<sup>1</sup> To these may perhaps be added the original elements of the Clementines and the Apostolical Canons and Constitutions.

century. And the Fathers of the next age were little fitted by their work to collect the records of their times. Christianity had not yet become a history, but was still a life. In such a case it is obviously unreasonable to expect that multiplicity of evidence and circumstantial detail which may be brought to bear upon questions of modern date. With our present resources there must be many unoccupied spots in the history of the Church, which give room for the erection of hypotheses, plausible though false. But this follows from the nature of the ground; and they are tenable only so long as they are viewed without relation to the great lines of our defence. The strength of negative criticism lies in ignoring the existence of a Christian society from the Apostolic age, strong in discipline, clear in faith, and jealous of innovation.

It is then to the Church, as 'a witness and keeper of holy writ,' that we must look both for the formation and the proof of the Canon. The written Rule of Christendom must rest finally on the general confession of the Church, and not on the independent opinions of its members. Private testimony in itself is only of secondary importance: its chief value lies in the fact that it is a natural expression of the current opinion of the time.

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But the formation and proof of the Canon must be referred to the judgment of the whole Christian body,

It is impossible to insist on this too often or

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shewn in the  
testimony of  
individuals,

and popular  
language  
and rites;

too earnestly. Isolated quotations may be in themselves unsatisfactory, but as embodying the tradition of the Church, generally known and acknowledged, they are of inestimable worth. To make use of a book as authoritative, to assume that it is Apostolic, to quote it as inspired, without preface or comment, is not to hazard a new or independent opinion, but to follow an unquestioned judgment. It is unreasonable to treat our authorities as mere pieces or weights, which may be skilfully manœuvred or combined, and to forget that they are Christian men speaking to fellow Christians, as members of one body, and believers in one Creed<sup>1</sup>. The extent of the Canon, like the order of the Sacraments, was settled by common usage, and thus the testimony of Christians becomes the testimony of the Church.

There is, however, still another way in which we may discern from the earliest time the general belief of Christians on the Canon. The practical convictions of great masses find their peculiar expression in popular language and customs. Words and rites thus possess a weight and authority quite distinct from the casual references or deliberate judgments of

<sup>1</sup> This is very well argued by Thiersch in his 'Versuch zur Herstellung des historischen Standpuncts für die Kritik der N. T. Schriften,' ss. 305, ff. ; and in his answer to Baur, 'Einige Worte über die Aechtheit der N. T. Schriften.' Erlangen, 1846.

individuals, so far as they convey the judgment of the many. If, then, it can be shewn that the earliest forms of Christian doctrine and phraseology exactly correspond with the different elements preserved in the Canonical Epistles, it will be reasonable to conclude that the coincidence implies a common source; and in proportion as the correspondences are more subtle and intricate, this proof of the authenticity of our books will be more convincing<sup>1</sup>.

INTRODUC-  
TION.

Such appear to be the characteristics and conditions of the evidence by which the Canon must be determined. When these are clearly seen and impartially taken into account, it will be possible, and then only possible, to arrive at a fair conclusion upon it. It is equally unreasonable to prejudge the question either way, for it ought to be submitted to a just and searching criticism. But if it can be shewn that the Epistles were first recognized exactly in those districts in which they would naturally be first known:—that from the earliest mention of them they are assumed to be received by churches,

Recapitula-  
tion.

<sup>1</sup> This will explain how much truth there is in the common statement that Doctrine was the test of Canonicity. It is equally as incorrect to say that the doctrine of the Church was originally drawn from Scripture, as that Scripture was limited by Apostolic tradition. The Canon of Scripture and the 'Canon of Truth' were alike independent, but necessarily coincided in their contents as long as they both retained their original purity.



INTRODUC-  
TION.

and not recommended only by private authority:—that the Canon as we receive it now was fixed in a period of strife and controversy:—that it was generally received on all sides:—that even those who separated from the Church, and cast aside the authority of the New Testament Scriptures, did not deny their authenticity: if it can be shewn that the first references are perfectly accordant with the express decision of a later period; and that there is no trace of the general reception of any other books: if it can be shewn that the earliest forms of Christian doctrine and phraseology exactly correspond with the different elements preserved in the Canonical Epistles; it will surely follow that a belief so widely spread throughout the Christian body, so deeply rooted in the inmost consciousness of the Christian Church, so perfectly accordant with all the facts which we do know, can only be explained by admitting that the books of the New Testament are genuine and Apostolic—a written Rule of Christian Faith and Life.

The whole history of the formation of the Canon of the New Testament may be divided into three periods. Of these the first will extend to the time of Hegesippus; the second, to the persecution of Diocletian; and the last, to the third Council of Carthage. Later speculations on

the question in part belong more properly to INTRODUC-  
TION. special introductions to the different books, and in part are merely the perpetuation of old doubts. But each of these periods marks some real step in the progress of the work. The first includes the era of the separate circulation and gradual collection of the Sacred Writings: the second completes the history of their separation from the mass of ecclesiastical literature: the third comprises the formal ratification of the current belief by the authority of councils.

Something has been already said of the various difficulties which beset the inquiry, especially during the first period. An examination of the testimony of Fathers, Heretics, and Biblical Versions, will next show how far it can be brought to a satisfactory issue.



**FIRST PERIOD.**

**HISTORY OF THE CANON TO THE TIME OF  
HEGESIPPUS.**

**A.D. 70--170.**

Φόβος νόμου ἄδεται καὶ προφητῶν χάρις γινώσκεται  
καὶ εὐαγγελίων πίστις ἱδρύται καὶ ἀποστόλων παράδοσις  
φυλάσσεται καὶ ἐκκλησίας χάρις σκιρτᾷ.

EP. AD DIOGNETUM.

## CHAPTER I.

### THE AGE OF THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS.

A.D. 70—120.

Heaven lies about us in our infancy.

CHAP. I.

WORDSWORTH.

THE condition of the Church immediately after the Apostolic age was not such as to create or require a literature of its own. Men were full of that anxious expectation which always betokens some critical change in the world; but the elements of the new life were not yet combined and brought into vigorous operation<sup>1</sup>. There was nothing either within or without to call into premature activity the powers and resources which were still latent in the depths of Christian truth. The authoritative teaching of Apostles was fresh in the memories of their hearers. That first era of controversy had not yet passed in which words are fitted to the ideas for which they are afterwards substituted. The struggle between Christianity and Paganism had not yet

The sub-apostolic age conservative,

<sup>1</sup> The well-known passages of Virgil (Ecl. iv.), Tacitus (Hist. v. 13), and Suetonius (Vesp. c. 4), express this feeling in memorable words. *Percrebuerat Orientis toto*, says the last writer, *vetus et constans opinio esse in fatis ut eo tempore Judææ profecti rerum potirentur*. The year of which he speaks is A.D. 67—the most probable date of the martyrdom of St Paul.

## 24 THE AGE OF THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS.

CHAP. I. assumed the form of an internecine war<sup>1</sup>. The times were conservative, and not creative.

and transi-  
tional.

But in virtue of this conservatism the sub-apostolic age, though distinguished, was not divided from that which preceded it. It was natural that a break should intervene between the inspired Scriptures and the spontaneous literature of Christianity—between the teaching of Apostles and of philosophers; but it was no less natural that the interval should not be one of total silence. Some echoes of the last age still lived: some voices of the next already found expression. In this way the writings of the Apostolic Fathers are at once a tradition and a prophecy. By tone and manner they are united to the Scriptures; for their authors seem to instruct, and not to argue; and, at the same time, they prepare us by frequent exaggerations for the one-sided systems of the following age.

Its literature  
all epistolary.

The form of the earliest Christian literature explains its origin and object. The writings of the first Fathers are not essays, or histories, or apologies, but letters<sup>2</sup>. They were not impelled to write by any literary motive, nor even by the pious desire of shielding their faith from the attacks of its enemies. An intense feeling of a

<sup>1</sup> Christianity as yet appeared to strangers only as a form of Judaism, even where St Paul preached, and consequently was a *religio licita*. Cf. Gieseler, *Kirchengeschichte*, i. 106, and his reff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Möhler, s. 50.

new fellowship in Christ overpowered all other claims. As members of a great household—as fathers or brethren—they spoke to one another words of counsel and warning, and so found a natural utterance for the faith, and hope, and love, which seemed to them the sum of Christian life. CHAP. I.

With regard to the History of the Canon the Apostolic Fathers occupy an important place—undesignedly, it may be, but not therefore the less surely. Their evidence, indeed, is stamped with the characteristics of their position, and implies more than it expresses; but even directly they say much; within the compass of a few brief letters they show that the writings of the Apostles were regarded at once as invested with singular authority—as the true expression, if not the first source, of Christian doctrine and Christian practice. And more than this: they prove that it is unnecessary to have recourse to later influences to explain the existence of peculiar forms of Christianity which were known from the first. In a word, they establish the permanence of the elements of the Catholic faith, and mark the beginnings of a written Canon.

The evidence of the Apostolic Fathers for the Canon,

direct and

indirect,

The first point must be examined with care; for it is very needful to notice the proofs of the continuity of the representative forms of Christian doctrine at a time when it has been sup-

by their preservation of the Apostolic types of doctrine,



## 26 THE AGE OF THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS.

### CHAP. I.

though often exaggerated.

posed to have undergone strange changes. Many have rightly perceived that the reception of the Canon implies the existence of one Catholic Church; and, conversely, if we can show that the distinct constituents of Catholicity were found in Christendom from the first age, we confirm the authenticity of those books which severally suggest and sanction them. It is true that these different types of teaching are arbitrarily expanded in the uncanonical writings, without any regard to their relative importance, but still they are essentially unchanged; and by the help of patristic deductions we may see in what way the natural tendencies which give rise to opposing heresies are always intrinsically recognized in the teaching of the universal Church. The elements of Holy Scripture are so tempered, that, though truly distinct, they combine harmoniously; elsewhere the same elements are disproportionately developed, and in the end mutually exclude each other<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> In studying the writings of the early Fathers much help may be gained from the following works (in addition to the Church histories), by which I have sought in every case to try and correct my own views:

MÖHLER (J. A.) *Patrologie*, Regensburg, 1840.

SCHLIEMANN (A.) *Die Clementinen*, Hamburg, 1844.

DORNER (J. A.) *Die Lehre von der Person Christi*, Stuttgart, 1845-53.

SCHWEGLER (A.) *Das nachapostolische Zeitalter*, Tübingen, 1846.

LECHLER (G. V.) *Das apostolische und nachapostolische Zeitalter*, Haarlem, 1851.

SECT. I.—THE RELATION OF THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS  
TO THE TEACHING OF THE APOSTLES.

§ 1. *Clement of Rome.*

THE history of Clement of Rome is invested with a mythic dignity, which is without example in the ante-Nicene Church<sup>1</sup>. The events of his life have been so strangely involved in consequence of the religious romances which bear his name, that they must remain in inextricable confusion; and even apart from this, there can be little doubt that traditions which belong to very different men were soon united to confirm the dignity of the successor of St Peter<sup>2</sup>. It is uncertain whether he was of Jewish or heathen descent<sup>3</sup>: he is called at one time the disciple of St Paul, and again of St Peter<sup>4</sup>: the order of his episcopate at Rome is disputed<sup>5</sup>; and yet, notwithstanding these ambiguities, it is

CHAP. I.

The legend-  
ary history of  
Clement.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Schliemann, 118 ff.

<sup>2</sup> For instance, he was identified with Flavius Clemens, a cousin of Domitian, who was martyred at Rome. Schliemann, 109.

<sup>3</sup> The former alternative seems to be supported by his Epistle in which he speaks of the Patriarchs as 'our Fathers' (cc. 4, 31, 55): the latter is adopted in the Clementines, and maintained by Hefele, *Patrr. App.* xix. ff.

<sup>4</sup> The former opinion is grounded on Phil. iv. 3 (cf. Jacobson, *ad Clem. vit.* not. b.); the latter is found in the Clementines, and, from them, in Origen, *Philoc.* c. 23, and later writers. Schliemann, 120.

<sup>5</sup> The chief authorities are quoted by Hefele, l. c.

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CHAP. I.

evident that he exercised a powerful and lasting influence. In fact, he lost his individuality through the general acknowledgment of his representative character in the history of the Church.

Writings assigned to him.

Writings which were assigned to the authorship of Clement gained a wide circulation in the East and West. Two Syriac Epistles were published under his name by Wetstein<sup>1</sup>. The Clementines, in spite of their tendency, remain entire to represent the unorthodox literature of the first ages<sup>2</sup>. The Canons and Constitutions which claim his authority became part of the law-book of Christians<sup>3</sup>. Two Greek epistles, assuming to be his, are appended to one of the earliest MSS. of the Bible in existence<sup>4</sup>.

His traditional office.

The historical position of Clement is illustrated by the early traditions which fixed upon him as the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews<sup>5</sup>, and of the Acts of the Apostles<sup>6</sup>. Subsequently

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Jacobson, *ad Clem. R. vit.* not. n. Möhler, ss. 67 sqq. who defends their authenticity, which Neander thinks possible (Ch. H. ii. 441.)

<sup>2</sup> Schliemann gives a very full account of them: 50 ff. (the *Homilies*); 265 ff. (the *Recognitions*).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Bunsen's *Hippolytus*, iii. 145 sqq. (the *Canons*); ii. 220 sqq.; and App. (the *Constitutions*).

<sup>4</sup> In addition to the letters of Clement, the *Cod. Alex.* contains also three beautiful Christian hymns. Cf. Bunsen, *Hippolytus*, iii. 133 sqq. Their existence in the MS. proves no more than their *ecclesiastical* use.

<sup>5</sup> On the authority of Origen ap. Euseb. H. E. vi. 25.

<sup>6</sup> Photius (quoted by Credner, *Einleit.* 271) mentions this tradition.

he is charged with a two-fold office: he appears as the mediator between the followers of St Paul and St Peter, and as the lawgiver of the Church. Thus his testimony becomes of singular value, as that of a man to whom the first Christian society assigned its organization and its catholicity. CHAP. I.

The relation of the first Greek Epistle, which alone can be confidently pronounced authentic<sup>1</sup>, to our Canonical Books is full of interest. In its style, in its doctrine, and in its theory of Church government, it confirms the authenticity of disputed books of the New Testament<sup>2</sup>. The relation of the first Epistle to the Canonical Books,

The language of the Epistle of St Peter has been supposed to be inconsistent with the distinctive characteristics of the Apostle. Now, according to the most probable accounts, Clement was a follower of St Peter; and the tone of his Epistle agrees with that of his master in exhibiting the influence of St Paul. This in- In style.

<sup>1</sup> Schwegeler—following some earlier writers—has called in question the genuineness of the letter without any good ground (*Nachap. Zeit.* ii. 125 sqq.). He has been answered by Bunsen, Ritschl, and others. Cf. Lechler, *Apost. Zeit.* 309 n.

Its integrity appears to be as unquestionable as its authenticity.

The second 'Epistle' is probably part of a homily, but this must be examined afterwards.

<sup>2</sup> The date of Clement's letter is disputed, for it depends on the order of his Episcopate. Hefele (p. xxxv.) places it at the close of the persecution of Nero (A.D. 68—70). The later date (circ. 95) seems more probable.

CHAP. I. fluence extends to peculiarities of language. Sometimes Clement uses words found only in St Peter's Epistles: more frequently those common to St Paul and St Peter; while his verbal coincidences with St Paul are both numerous and striking<sup>1</sup>.

In doctrine. Again, the Epistle of Clement takes up a catholic position in the statement of doctrine, which shows that the supplementary views contained in the New Testament had, in his time, been placed in contrast, and now required to be combined. The theory of justification is stated in its antithetical fulness. The same examples are used as in the Canonical Epistles, and the teaching of St Paul and St James is coincidentally

<sup>1</sup> The following examples, which are taken from many others that I have noticed, will illustrate the extent and character of this connexion:

(a) Coincidence with St Peter in words not elsewhere found in the Epp. or PP. App.:

*ἀγαθοποιία—ἀδελφότης—ποίμνιον.* (Perhaps no more.)

(β) With St Peter and St Paul:

*ἀγάθη συνείδησις—ἀγιασμός—εἰλικρινής—εὐσέβεια—εὐπρόσδεκτος—ταπεινοφροσύνη—ὑπακοή—ὑποφέρειν—φιλαδελφία—φιλοξενία, φιλόξενος.*

(γ) With St Paul:

*ἀμεταμέλητος—ἐγκρατεύεσθαι—λειτουργός, λειτουργία, λειτουργεῖν—μακαρισμός—οἰκτιρμοί—πολιτεία, πολιτεύειν (Polyc.)—σεμνός, σεμνότης—χρηστεύομαι.*

(δ) Peculiar to Clement:

*αἰκία—ἀλλοιοῦν—ἀπόνοια—βούλησις—ἰκετεύειν—καλλονή—μαρός—μυσαρός—παμμεγεθής—πανάγιος—πανάρετος.*

affirmed. 'Through faith and hospitality (διὰ CHAP. I.  
πίστιν καὶ φιλοξενίαν) a son was given to Abraham Influence of  
in old age, and by obedience (δι' ὑπακοῆς) he St PAUL,  
offered him a sacrifice to God.' 'Through faith  
and hospitality Rahab was saved (ἐνώθη<sup>1</sup>).' 'We  
are not justified by ourselves (δι' ἑαυτῶν).....nor  
by works which we have wrought in holiness of  
heart, but by our faith (διὰ τῆς πίστεως), by  
which Almighty God justified all from the be-  
ginning of the world<sup>2</sup>.' Shortly afterwards Cle-  
ment adds, in the spirit of St James, 'Let us St JAMES,  
then work from our whole heart the work of  
righteousness<sup>3</sup>.' And the same tenor of thought  
reappears in the continual reference to the fear  
of God as instrumental in the accomplishment  
of these good works<sup>4</sup>.

In other passages it is possible to trace the St JOHN,  
influence of St John. 'The blood of Christ hath  
gained for the whole world the offer of the grace  
of repentance<sup>5</sup>.' 'Through Him we look stead-  
fastly on the heights of heaven; through Him  
we view as in a glass (ἐνοπτρίζομεθα) His spot-  
less and most excellent visage; through Him the

<sup>1</sup> cc. x., xii.

<sup>2</sup> c. xxxii. The distinction suggested between the *final cause* and the *instrument* by the double use of διὰ is very interesting.

<sup>3</sup> c. xxxiii.

<sup>4</sup> cc. iii., xix., xxi., &c. Cf. Schliemann, s. 414. *Herm. Past. Mand. vii.* (p. 363.)

<sup>5</sup> c. vii. ἰπῆνεγκεν the use of the word is remarkable.

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CHAP. I.

Epistle to the Hebrews.—

eyes of our heart were opened ; through Him our dull and darkened understanding is quickened with new vigour on turning to His marvellous light<sup>1</sup>.’ The allusions to the Epistle to the Hebrews are so numerous that it is not too much to say that it was wholly transfused into Clement’s mind.

In discipline, in matters of

government, and

And yet more than this: the Epistle of Clement proves the existence of a definite constitution and a fixed service in the Church. And this will explain why he was selected as the representative of that principle of organization which seems to have been naturally developed in every Roman society. A systematic constitution, as well as a Catholic Creed, had a necessary connexion with that form of mind whose whole life was law. Thus Clement refers to ‘episcopal’ jurisdiction as an institution of the Apostles, who are said to have appointed those ‘who were the firstfruits of their labours in each state as officers (*ἐπισκόπους καὶ διακόνους*) for the ordering of the future Church<sup>2</sup>.’ At the same time earnest warnings are given against ‘division and parties<sup>3</sup>,’ which, as we see from the pastoral epistles, arose as soon as the rules of ecclesiastical discipline were

<sup>1</sup> c. xxxvi. Nothing but the original, perhaps, can convey the exquisite beauty of the last words: *ἡ ἀσύνετος καὶ ἐσκοτωμένη διάνοια ἡμῶν ἀναβάλλει εἰς τὸ θαύμαστον αὐτοῦ φῶς*. Our understanding is like a flower in a sunless cavern till the light of God falls on it.

<sup>2</sup> c. xlii.

<sup>3</sup> c. xlii.

drawn closer. But this is not all; for the times CHAP. I.  
of the 'offerings and services' of Christians are ritual.  
referred to the authority of the Lord Himself,  
who 'commanded that they should not be made  
at random, or in a disorderly manner, but at  
fixed seasons and hours<sup>1</sup>.' It is possible that  
this is only a transference of the laws of the  
Jewish synagogue, which were sanctioned by the  
observance of our Saviour, to the Christian  
Church; as is, indeed, made probable by the  
parallel which Clement institutes between the  
Levitical and Christian priesthood<sup>2</sup>; but all that  
needs to be particularly remarked is, that such  
phraseology is clearly of a date subsequent to  
the pastoral epistles. The polity recognized by  
St Paul had advanced to a further stage of de-  
velopment at the time when Clement wrote.

The kind of testimony to the New Testa-  
ment which is thus obtained, is beyond all sus-  
picion of design; and, admitting the authen-  
ticity of the record, above all contradiction. The  
Christian Church, as Clement describes it, ex-  
hibits a fusion of elements which must have  
existed separately at no distant period. Tra-  
dition ascribes to him expressly the task of defi-  
nitely combining what was left still disunited by  
the Apostles; and we find that the very ele-  
ments which he recognized are exactly those,

The peculiar  
value of this  
kind of testi-  
mony

<sup>1</sup> c. XL.

<sup>2</sup> Id.



## 34 THE AGE OF THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS.

CHAP. I. without any omission or increase, which are preserved to us in the New Testament as stamped by Apostolic authority<sup>1</sup>. The other Fathers of the first age, as will be seen, represent more or less clearly, perhaps, some special form of Christian teaching; but Clement places them all side by side. They witness to the independent weight of parts of the Canon, he ratifies generally the claims of the whole.

### § 2. *Ignatius.*

The peculiarities of the Ignatian letters

The letters which bear the name of Ignatius are distinguished among the writings of the Apostolic Fathers by a character of which no exact type can be found in the New Testament. They bear the stamp of a mind fully imbued with the doctrine of St Paul, but, at the same time, exhibit a spirit of order and organization foreign to the first stage of Christian society. In them 'the Catholic Church'<sup>2</sup> is recognized in

<sup>1</sup> The Apostles were charged with the enunciation of principles, and not with their combination. They had to do with essence, and not with form. But after the destruction of Jerusalem an outward framework was required for Christian truth; and the arrangement of this according to Apostolic rules was left to their successors.

<sup>2</sup> The term first occurs Ep. ad Smyr. viii.: ὅπου ἂν φανῆ ὁ ἐπίσκοπος, ἐκεῖ τὸ πλῆθος ἔστω ὡσπερ ὅπου ἂν ᾖ ἡ Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦς, ἐκεῖ ἡ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία. The comparison is between the *individual* church of which the Bishop is the centre, and the

its constituent members as an outward body of Christ. The image which St Paul had sketched is there realized and filled up with startling boldness. The Church polity of the Pastoral Epistles seems dim and uncertain when compared with the rigid definitions of these later writings. But in this lies their force as witnesses to our Canon. They presuppose those Epistles of St Paul which have seemed most liable to attack; and, on the other hand, they exhibit exactly that form of doctrine into which the principles of St Paul would naturally be reduced by a vigorous and logical teacher presiding over the central Church of Gentile Christendom, 'the anti-pole of Jerusalem,' and there brought into contact with the two rival parties within the Church, as well as with the different heresies which had been detected and condemned by St John<sup>1</sup>.

CHAP. I.

explicable by the image which St Paul applies to the church (Eph. vi.),

and suitable to the position of Ignatius.

It is unnecessary to enter here into the controversy which has been raised about the Ignatian Epistles<sup>2</sup>. If any part of them be accepted as

The same general character marks all the shorter Epistles,

universal church of which Christ is the head. Cf. Möhler, ss. 138 ff.

Cf. *Martyr. Polyc.* Inscr. cc. viii., xvi., xix., where the phrase occurs again, and, as it seems, certainly with marks of a later time. This, however, was a letter from *Smyrna*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Dorner, i. 144 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> Hefele gives a fair summary of the controversy. It is but right to confess that the more carefully I have studied

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### CHAP. I.

genuine, our argument holds good; for it is drawn from their general character. After they have been reduced within the narrowest limits which are justified by historical criticism, they still show a clear and vivid individuality, a portrait which, however different from the popular idea of a disciple of St John, appears to be not unsuited to the early Bishop of Antioch. Its very distinctness has suggested doubts of its authenticity; but even at the first view it seems to be one far more likely to have been imitated than invented. The exaggerations of the copy bring out more clearly the traits of the original. It would have been difficult, if not impossible, for a later writer to have imagined an Ignatius, as he appears in the letters, zealous against Docetic heresies, Jewish traditions, and individual schism—keenly alive to the very dangers, and those only, with which he must have contended at Antioch. But when the character was once portrayed it offered a tempting model for imitation. The style and opinions of Ignatius are clear and trenchant. He was at an early time looked upon the shorter recension the more firmly I am convinced that they proceed entirely from one mind and one pen. A careful and minute examination of the language would, I believe, bring the question of their unity, at least, to a satisfactory close. But this would carry us far beyond the limits of our Essay. In the following pages I shall refer to the seven Epistles, marking the passages found also in the Syriac Version.

and it could not easily have been invented in a later age,

however easily imitated.

as the representative of ecclesiastical order and doctrine in its technical details, differing in this from Clement, whose name, as we have seen, symbolized the union of the different elements in the Apostolic teaching. The one appears in tradition as systematizing the Catholic Church which the other had constructed<sup>1</sup>.

CHAP. I.

The traditional aspect of these two great teachers harmonizes with their real historical position. The letter of Clement falls within the Apostolic age; and Ignatius was martyred in the reign of Trajan<sup>2</sup>. So that his letters probably come next in date among the remains of the earliest Christian literature. A comparison of the writings themselves would lead to the same conclusion. The letters of Ignatius could not naturally have preceded that of Clement, while they follow it in a legitimate sequence, and form a new stage, so to speak, in the building of the Christian Church. This may be clearly seen in the different modes by which they enforce the necessity of an organized ministry. Clement

This character moreover suits the historical position of Ignatius; and

A.D. 107.

<sup>1</sup> Popular traditions frequently embody a character with singular beauty in some one trait. Thus Ignatius is said to have instituted the custom of singing hymns antiphonally 'from a vision of angels whom he saw thus singing to the Holy Trinity' (Socr. H. E. vi. 8). Cf. Bingham, *Orig. Eccles.* iv. 434.

<sup>2</sup> Pearson, followed by many later writers, fixed Ignatius' martyrdom in 116. Hefele and Möhler prefer the earlier date.

CHAP. I. appeals to the analogy of the Levitical priesthood; Ignatius insists on the idea of a Christian body.

his letters,  
though  
marked by  
temporal  
influences,

The circumstances under which Ignatius wrote necessarily impressed his letters with a peculiar character. It has been argued that they are unlike the last words of a Christian martyr: it should be said that they are unlike the words of any other martyr than Ignatius. They are, indeed, the parting charge of one who was conscious that he was called away at a crisis in the history of the Church. As long as an Apostle lived old things had not yet passed away; but on the death of St John it seemed that the 'last times'<sup>1</sup> were at hand, though, in one sense, according to His promise, Christ had then come, and a new age of the world had begun. The perils which beset this transition from Apostolic to Episcopal government, in the midst of heresies within and persecutions without, might well explain warmer language than that of Ignatius. He wrote with earnest vehemence because he believed that episcopacy was the bond of unity, and unity the safety of the Church<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Ad Eph.* xi.

<sup>2</sup> This feeling is expressed with touching simplicity in the Epistle to the Romans, which, as is well known, is most free from hierarchical views. *Μνημονεύετε ἐν τῇ προσευχῇ*

In this way the letters of Ignatius complete the history of one feature of Christianity. The Epistles of St Paul to the Ephesians, his pastoral epistles, and the Epistles of Clement and Ignatius, when taken together, mark a harmonious progression in the development of the idea of a Church. The first are creative, and the last constructive. In the Epistle to the Ephesians that great mystery is set forth which must form the basis of all reasoning on the 'Body of Christ.' In the Pastoral Epistles it is realized in the outlines of a visible society. In the later writings the great principles of Scripture are reduced to a system, and expanded with logical ingenuity. But when this connexion is traced by the help of a traditional commentary in writings fragmentary, occasional, and inartificial, it surely follows that a series of books so intimately united must indeed have been the original expressions of the successive forms of Christian thought which they exhibit.

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form a last step in the development of the doctrine of the Church.

Though the Ignatian letters witness to three chief types of Apostolic teaching, one stands forth in them with peculiar prominence. The image of St Paul is stamped alike upon their

The connexion of the Ignatian letters with the New Testament, and especially with

*ὕμῶν τῆς ἐν Συρίᾳ ἐκκλησίας, ἣτις ἀντὶ ἐμοῦ ποιμένι τῷ Θεῷ χρῆται. Μόνος αὐτὴν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ἐπισκοπήσει καὶ ἡ ὑμῶν ἀγάπη* (c. ix.). The passage is omitted in the Syriac Version.

CHAP. I language and their doctrine. The references to the New Testament are almost exclusively confined to his writings. Familiar words and phrases show that he was a model continually before the writer's eyes; and in one place this is expressly affirmed<sup>1</sup>.

St PAUL in  
reference to  
Judaism,

The controversy against Jewish practices is conducted as sternly as in the Epistle to the Galatians, though its form shows that it belongs to a later epoch. Christianity is distinguished by a new name (Χριστιανισμός<sup>2</sup>) as a system contrasted with Judaism. Judaism (Ἰουδαϊσμός) is 'an evil leaven that has grown old and sour<sup>3</sup>.' 'To use the name of Jesus Christ and observe Jewish customs is unnatural (ἄτοπον<sup>4</sup>).' 'To live according to Judaism, is to confess that we have

<sup>1</sup> The only coincidences which I have noticed between the language of St John and Ignatius, consist in the frequent use of ἀγάπη, ἀγαπᾶν, and ὁ οὐρανός, while St Paul and Clement generally use οἱ οὐρανοί.

The words common to St Paul and Ignatius only are very numerous, e. g. ἀδόκιμος—ἀναψύχειν—ἀπερίσπαστος—ἔκτρωμα—ἐνότης—θηριομαχεῖν—Ἰουδαϊσμός—ὀναίμην—οἰκονομία (met.)—φυσιοῦν.

Those peculiar to Ignatius are still more: e. g. ἀγιοφόρος—ἀμέριστος—ἀντίψυχον—compounds of ἄξιος, as ἀξιόθεος, ἀξιομακάριστος—ἀποδιυλίζεσθαι—δροσίζεσθαι—ἐνοῦν, ἔνωσις—compounds of θεός, as θεοδρόμος, θεοφόρος—κακοτεχνία—φάρμακον. (The references are made to the shorter Epistles without distinction).

<sup>2</sup> *Ad Rom.* c. iii. &c. This new name likewise comes from Antioch. Cf. Acts xi. 26.

<sup>3</sup> *Ad Magn.* x.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

not received grace<sup>1</sup>. At the same time, like CHAP. I.  
 St Paul, Ignatius regards Christianity as the the Old Testa-  
 completion, and not the negation, of the Old ment, and  
 Testament. The prophets 'lived according to  
 Jesus Christ, ..... being inspired by His grace,  
 to the end that those who disbelieve should be  
 convinced that it is one God who manifested  
 Himself [both in times past and now] through  
 Jesus Christ His Son, who is His Eternal (*αἰδῖος*)  
 Word, not having proceeded from Silence [from  
 which some have held that Thought and Word  
 were evolved as successive forms of the Divine  
 Being, and] who in all things well-pleased Him  
 that sent Him<sup>2</sup>.'

The Ignatian doctrine of the unity of the the Church.  
 Church, which in its construction exhibits a  
 Petrine type, is really based upon the cardinal  
 passage of St Paul<sup>3</sup>. Christians individually are  
 members of Christ, who is their great Spiritual

<sup>1</sup> *Ad Magn.* viii.

<sup>2</sup> *Ad Magn.* viii. The reference to Silence (*Σιγή*), which forms an important element in Valentinianism, was a serious objection to the authenticity of the Ignatian letters till the discovery of the 'Treatise against Heresies.' Now it appears that the same phraseology was used in the 'Great Announcement,' an authoritative exposition of the doctrines of the Simonians, and consequently it must have been current in Ignatius' time (*Hipp. adv. Hær.* vi. 18.) Cf. Bunsen, *Hippolytus*, i. 57 ff., whose opinion on the subject, however, seems improbable.

<sup>3</sup> *Eph.* v. 23-sqq.



## 42 THE AGE OF THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS.

### CHAP. I.

Head. And conversely, the Church universal, and each Church in particular, represents the body of Christ, and its history must so far set forth an image of the life of Christ in its spirit and its form. As a consequence of this view the Bishop in the earthly and typical Church is not only a representation of Christ, whom 'we must regard as Christ Himself<sup>1</sup>,' and 'a partaker of the judgment of Christ, even as Christ was of the judgment of the Father<sup>2</sup>,' while the Church is united to Christ as He is united to the Father<sup>3</sup>: but also—and in this lies the most remarkable peculiarity of his system—the relation of the Church as a living whole to its different officers corresponds in some sense to that of Christ Himself, of whom it is an image, to the Father on the one hand, and on the other to the Apostles. On earth the Bishop is the centre of unity in each society, as the Father is the 'Bishop of all<sup>4</sup>.' Believers are subject to the Bishop as to God's grace, and to the presbytery as to Christ's law<sup>5</sup>; since the Bishop, as he ventures to say in another place, 'presides as representative of God, and the presbyters as representatives of the Apostolic Council<sup>6</sup>.'

<sup>1</sup> *Ad Eph.* vi.

<sup>3</sup> *Ad Eph.* v.

<sup>5</sup> *Ad Magn.* ii.

<sup>2</sup> *Ad Eph.* iii.

<sup>4</sup> *Ad Magn.* iii.

<sup>6</sup> *Ad Magn.* vi.

The Ignatian writings, as might be expected, are not without traces of the influence of St John. The circumstances in which he was placed required a special enunciation of Pauline doctrine; but this is not so expressed as to exclude the parallel lines of Christian thought. Love is 'the stamp of the Christian<sup>1</sup>.' 'Faith is the beginning, and love the end of life<sup>2</sup>.' 'Faith is our guide upward (*ἀναγωγεύς*), but love is the road that leads to God<sup>3</sup>.' The Eternal (*αἰδῖος*) Word is the manifestation of God<sup>4</sup>, 'the door by which we come to the Father<sup>5</sup>,' 'and without Him we have not the principle of true life<sup>6</sup>.' The true meat of the Christian is the 'bread of God, the bread of heaven, the bread of life, which is the flesh of Jesus Christ,' and his drink is 'Christ's blood, which is love incorruptible<sup>7</sup>.' He has no love of this life; 'his love has been crucified, and there is in him no burning passion for the world, but living water, [as the spring of a new life,] speaking within him, and bidding him come to his Father<sup>8</sup>.' Meanwhile his enemy

CHAP. I.

Connexion  
with St  
JOHN.

<sup>1</sup> *Ad Magn.* v.

<sup>2</sup> *Ad Eph.* xiv.

<sup>3</sup> *Ad Eph.* ix. (Syr.)

<sup>4</sup> *Ad Magn.* c. viii. (quoted above.)

<sup>5</sup> *Ad Philad.* ix. Cf. John x. 7.

<sup>6</sup> *Ad Trall.* ix.: οὐ χωρὶς τὸ ἀληθινὸν ζῆν οὐκ ἔχομεν. Cf. *ad Eph.* iii.: 'I.X. τὸ ἀδιάκριτον ἡμῶν ζῆν...

<sup>7</sup> *Ad Rom.* vii. The Syriac text, which is shorter, gives the same sense. Cf. John vi. 32, 51, 53.

<sup>8</sup> *Ad Rom.* l. c. The last clause is wanting in the Syriac,

## 44 THE AGE OF THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS.

CHAP. I. is the enemy of his Master, even 'the ruler of this age<sup>1</sup>.'

### § 3. *Polycarp.*

The scriptural character of Polycarp's epistle

The short epistle of Polycarp contains far more references to the writings of the New Testament than any other work of the first age; and still, with one exception, all the phrases which he borrows are inwoven into the texture of his letter without any sign of quotation. In other cases it is possible to assign verbal coincidences to accident; but Polycarp's use of scriptural language is so frequent that it is wholly unreasonable to doubt that he was acquainted with the chief parts of our Canon; and the mode in which this familiarity is shown serves to justify the conclusion that the scriptural language of other books, in which it occurs more scantily, implies a like knowledge of the Apostolic writings<sup>2</sup>.

illustrates the early method of quotation.

yet the boldness of the metaphor seems in Ignatius' manner. Πῦρ φιλόυλον, 'fiery passion for the material world,' which forms a good contrast with ὕδωρ ζῶν, 'living water,' is certainly, I think, the true reading. Cf. John iv. 13; vii. 38.

<sup>1</sup> *Ad Rom.* l. c.: ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου. Cf. John xii. 31; xvi. 11: ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ κόσμου τούτου. 1 Cor. ii. 6, 8.

<sup>2</sup> The authenticity of Polycarp's Epistle stands quite unshaken. Cf. Schliemann, s. 418 anm. Jacobson, *ad vit. Polyc.* n. q. Schwegler, ii. 154 sqq., has added no fresh force to the old objections.

The fragments of 'Polycarp's Responsions' given by Fevardentius in his notes on Irenæus (iii. 3) cannot, I

A scriptural tone naturally involves a catholicity of spirit. Polycarp, next to Clement among the early Fathers, embraces in his epistle the widest range of Apostolic teaching<sup>1</sup>. The influence of St Peter, St John, and St Paul, may be traced in his doctrine. In one sentence he has naturally united<sup>2</sup> the watchwords, so to say, of the three Apostles, where he speaks of Christians being 'built up into the *faith* given to them, which is the mother of us all (cf. Gal. iv. 26), *hope* following after, *love* towards God and Christ, and towards our neighbour, preceding.' But the peculiar similarity of this epistle to that of St Peter was a matter of remark even in early times<sup>3</sup>. It would be curious to enquire how this happens; for though the disciple of St John reflects from time to time the burning zeal of his master<sup>4</sup>; though in writing to the beloved Church of St Paul, he recalls the features of their 'glorious' founder; still he exhi-

CHAP. I.

Its connexion with the New Testament, and especially with

St PETER, and

think, be genuine. Is anything known of the MS. Catena from which they were taken?

<sup>1</sup> The similarity between parts of the Epistles of Clement and Polycarp is very striking. The passages are printed at length by Hefele, *Proleg.* xxvii. sqq. In single words the likeness is not less remarkable.

<sup>2</sup> Schwegler, ii. 157.—Polyc. ad Phil. c. iii. Cf. Jacobson's note.

<sup>3</sup> Euseb. H. E. iv. 14.

<sup>4</sup> The famous passage, c. vii. *init.* in connexion with Iren. iii. 3 (Euseb. iv. 14), will occur to every one.

**CHAP. I.** bits more frequently the tone of St Peter, when he spoke at last as the expounder of the Christian law. Whatever may be the explanation of this, the fact is in itself important; for it confirms and defines what has been already remarked as to the mutual influences which appear to have ultimately modified the writings of St Peter and St Paul. The style of St Peter, it is well known, is most akin to that of the later Pauline epistles; and in full harmony with this the letter of Polycarp, while it echoes so many familiar phrases of the First Epistle of St Peter, shows scarcely less likeness to the Pastoral Epistles of St Paul<sup>1</sup>. It can scarcely be an accident that it is so; and, at any rate, it follows that a peculiar representation of Christian doctrine, which has been held in our own time to belong to the middle

the Pastoral Epistles.

<sup>1</sup> The following passages from St Peter may be noticed: 1 Pet. i. 8 (c. i.); i. 13 (c. ii.); i. 21 (c. ii.); iii. 9 (c. ii.); ii. 11 (c. v.); iv. 7 (c. 7); ii. 22, 24 (c. viii.).

We may perhaps compare also the references to St Paul: 2 Pet. iii. 15; Polyc. c. iii.

On the other hand, see c. iii. (1 Tim. vi. 10; vi. 7); c. v. (2 Tim. ii. 12); c. xii. (1 Tim. ii. 2.)

The inscriptions of the epistles of the Apostolic Fathers are not without special significance. Polycarp writes 'ελεος υμιν και ειρηνη;' in the New Testament ελεος occurs in the salutations of the Pastoral Epistles of 2 John and Jude. Ignatius, with one exception (*ad Philad.*), says 'ελεειστα χαριεν.' Cf. James i. 1. Clement, in the name of the Church of Rome, uses the common Pauline salutation 'χαριε και ειρηνη.'

of the second century, was familiarly recognized in its double form, without one mark of doubt, almost within the verge of the Apostolic age<sup>1</sup>. Unless we admit the authenticity of the Pastoral Epistles, and of the First Epistle of St Peter, the language of the Epistle of Polycarp is wholly inexplicable<sup>2</sup>.

CHAP. I

c. A. D. 108.

The dangers which impressed their peculiar character on the Ignatian letters have given some traits to that of Polycarp. He, too, insists on the necessity 'of turning away from false teaching to the word handed down from the first.' Christians, he says elsewhere, 'are to be subject to the priests and deacons, as to God and Christ<sup>3</sup>.' Fasting had already become a part of the discipline of the Church<sup>4</sup>.

Relation to Ignatian letters.

In one respect the testimony of Polycarp is more important than that of any other of the

The special value of Polycarp's testimony.

<sup>1</sup> The epistle of Polycarp was written shortly after the Martyrdom of Ignatius, and its date consequently depends on that. Cf. cc. ix., xiii., and Jacobson's note on the last passage, which removes Lücke's objection.

<sup>2</sup> Among the peculiarities of Polycarp's language are the following: he has in common with St Paul only ἀποκτανῶν—ἀρραβῶν—ἀφιλάργυρος—τὸ καλὸν—ματαιολογία—προσοεῖν. Of his coincidences with St Peter, which consist in whole phrases and not in single words, we have already spoken. The following words are not found elsewhere in the Patr. App. or in the New Testament, μίμημα—ἀνακόπτεσθαι—ψευδάδελφος—ψευδοδιδασκαλία—μεθοδεύειν (μεθοδεία, St Paul)—ἀπότομος (ἀποτομία, St Paul).

<sup>3</sup> cc. vii. v.

<sup>4</sup> c. vii.

CHAP. I. **Apostolic Fathers.** Like his Master, he lived to unite two ages<sup>1</sup>. He had listened to St John, and became himself the teacher of Irenæus. In an age of convulsion and change he stands at Smyrna and Rome as a type of the changeless truths of Christianity. In his extreme age he still taught 'that which he had learned from the Apostles, and which continued to be the tradition of the Church<sup>2</sup>.' And in the next generation his teaching was confirmed by all the Churches in Asia<sup>3</sup>. Thus the zeal of Polycarp watches over the whole of the most critical period of the history of Christianity. His words are the witness of the second age.

#### § 4. *Barnabas.*

The letter of  
Barnabas  
authentic.

The arguments which have been urged against the claims of the Epistle of Barnabas to be considered as a work of the first age, cannot overbalance the direct historical testimony by which it is supported. It is quoted frequently, and with respect, by Clement and Origen. Eusebius speaks of it as a book well known, and commonly circulated (*φερομένη*), though he classes it with the books whose Canonicity was questioned or denied<sup>4</sup>. In Jerome's time it was still read

<sup>1</sup> His death is variously placed from 147—178. Perhaps 167 is the most probable date.

<sup>2</sup> Iren. iv. 3, 4.

<sup>3</sup> Iren. l. c.

<sup>4</sup> H. E. iii. 25; vi. 14.

among the Apocryphal Scriptures. In the *Stichometria* of Nicephorus it is classed with the *Antilegomena*. CHAP. I.

But while the antiquity of the Epistle is firmly established, its apostolicity is very questionable. A writing bearing the name of Barnabas, and known to be of the Apostolic age, might very naturally be attributed to the 'Apostle' in default of any other tradition; and the supposed connexion of Barnabas of Cyprus with Alexandria<sup>1</sup>, where the letter first gained credit, would render the hypothesis more natural. Clement and Jerome identify the author with the fellow-labourer of St Paul; but, on the other hand, Origen and Eusebius are silent on this point. From its contents it seems unlikely that it was written by a companion of Apostles, and a Levite<sup>2</sup>. In addition to this, it is probable that Barnabas died before A. D. 62<sup>3</sup>; and the letter contains not only an allusion to the destruction of the Jewish Temple<sup>4</sup>, but also affirms the abrogation of the Sabbath, and the general celebration of the

<sup>1</sup> Clem. *Hom.* i. 9, 13 : ii. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Hefele, *Das Sendschreiben des Apostels Barnabas*, ss. 166 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Hefele, ss. 37, 159.

<sup>4</sup> c. xvi. : διὰ γὰρ τὸ πολεμεῖν αὐτοὺς καθηρέθη [ὁ ναὸς] ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν νῦν, καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὑπηρέται ἀνοικοδομήσουσιν αὐτόν. Hefele's punctuation (ἐχθρῶν νῦν κ.τ.λ.) cannot, I think, stand. The writer calls attention to the present desolation of the temple.



## 50 THE AGE OF THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS.

CHAP. I. Lord's Day<sup>1</sup>, which seems to show that it could not have been written before the beginning of the second century. From these and similar reasons Hefele rightly, as it seems, decides that the Epistle is not to be attributed to Barnabas the Apostle; but, at the same time, he attaches undue importance to the conclusion as it affects the integrity of the Canon. Jerome evidently looked upon the Epistle as an authentic writing of 'him who was ordained with St Paul,' and yet he classed it with the Apocrypha. It is an arbitrary assumption that a work of this Barnabas would necessarily be Canonical. There is no reason to believe that he received his appointment to the Apostolate directly from our Lord, as the Twelve did, and afterwards St Paul; and those who regard the Canon merely as a collection of works stamped with Apostolic authority, can scarcely find any other limit to its contents than that which is fixed by the strictest use of the Apostolic title<sup>2</sup>.

Its relation  
to the Epistle  
to the He-  
brews,

As a monument of the first Christian age the Epistle is full of interest. Among the writings of the Apostolic Fathers it holds the same place as the Epistle to the Hebrews in the New Testa-

<sup>1</sup> c. xv. f.: διὸ καὶ ἄγομεν τὴν ἡμέραν τὴν ὀγδόην εἰς εὐφροσύνην κ.τ.λ. Cf. Ign. *ad Magn.* ix.

<sup>2</sup> Möhler, I find with the greatest satisfaction, uses exactly the same argument as to the Canonicity of an authentic letter of the Apostolic Barnabas (*Patrol.* 88).

ment. There is, at least, so much similarity between them as to render a contrast possible, and thus to illustrate and confirm the true theory of Scriptural Inspiration. Both Epistles are constructed, so to speak, out of Old Testament materials; and yet the mode of selection and arrangement is widely different. Both exhibit the characteristic principles of the Alexandrine school; but in the one case they are modified, as it were, by an instinctive sense of their due relation to the whole system of Christianity; in the other, they are subjected to no restraint, and usurp an independent and absolute authority.

The mystical interpretations of the Old Testament found in the Epistle to the Hebrews are marked by a kind of reserve. The author shows an evident consciousness that this kind of teaching is not suited to all, but requires mature powers alike in the instructor, and in his hearers<sup>1</sup>. Those types which are pursued in detail are taken from the salient points of the Jewish ritual, and serve to awaken attention without creating any difficulties in the way of those who are naturally disinclined to what are called mystical speculations. It is otherwise in the Epistle of Barnabas. In that the subtlest interpretations are addressed to promis-

in regard to the mystical interpretation of scripture, and

<sup>1</sup> Hebr. v. 11 sqq.

cuous readers—to his ‘sons and daughters’—and the highest value is definitely affixed to them<sup>1</sup>. In parts there is an evident straining after novelty wholly alien from the calm and conscious strength of the Apostle; and the details of his explanations are full of the rudest errors<sup>2</sup>. In the one Epistle we have to do with a method of interpretation clear and broad; in the other we have an application of the method, at times ingenious and beautiful, and then again arbitrary and incongruous. The single point of direct connexion between the two Epistles illustrates their respective characters. Both speak of the rest of God on the seventh day; but in the Epistle to the Hebrews this rest yet to come is made a motive for earnest and watchful efforts, and nothing more is defined as to the time of its approach. Barnabas, on the contrary, having spoken of the promise, determines the date of its fulfilment. The six days of the creation furnish a measure, and so he accepts the old tradition, current even in Etruria, which fixed the consummation of all things at the end of six thousand years from the creation<sup>3</sup>.

the Mosaical  
Dispensation.

But yet more than this: the general spirit of the Epistle of Barnabas is different from that of

<sup>1</sup> c. ix. f.

<sup>2</sup> c. x. Yet the passages are quoted by Clement of Alexandria. Cf. Hefele, *Das Sendschreiben u. s. w.*, s. 86. anm.

<sup>3</sup> Hebr. iv., Barn. xv.

the Epistle to the Hebrews. In the latter it is shown that there lies a deep meaning for us under the history and the law of Israel. The old Covenant was real, though not 'faultless,' and its ordinances were 'patterns of the things in heaven,' though not the heavenly things themselves<sup>1</sup>. But in the former it is assumed throughout that the Law was, from its institution, misunderstood by the Jews. The first covenant was broken by reason of their idolatry, and the second became a stumblingblock to them in spite of the teaching of the Prophets<sup>2</sup>. Fasts, feasts, and sacrifices, were required by God only in a spiritual sense<sup>3</sup>. Even circumcision, as they practised it, was not the seal of God's covenant, but rather the work of an evil spirit, who induced them to substitute that for the circumcision of the heart<sup>4</sup>. The Jewish Sabbath was not according to God's will: their temple was a delusion<sup>5</sup>. Judaism is made a mere riddle, of which Christianity is the answer. It had in itself no value, even as the slave (*παιδαγωγός*) which guards us in infancy from outward dangers, till we are placed under the true teacher's care. Each symbolic act is emptied of its real meaning, because it is deprived of the sacramental character with which God had invested it. The

<sup>1</sup> Hebr. viii. 7 ; x. 23.<sup>2</sup> Barn. c. xiv.<sup>3</sup> cc. iii., ii.<sup>4</sup> c. ix.<sup>5</sup> cc. xv., xvi.

CHAP. I. worth of the Law, as one great instrument in the education of the world, is disregarded: the true idea of revelation, as a gradual manifestation of God's glory, is violated: the harmonious subordination of the parts of the divine scheme of redemption is destroyed. On such principles it is not enough that the sum of all future growth should be implicitly contained in the seeds: that the vital principle which inspires the first and the last should be the same: that the identity of essence should be indicated by the identity of life: but all must be perfect according to some arbitrary and stereotyped standard. Against this doctrine, which is the germ of all heresy, the Holy Scriptures ever equally protest. Their catholicity is the constant mark of their divine origin; and the undesigned harmony which results from every possible combination of their different parts is the surest pledge of their absolute truth<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The language of Barnabas is more remarkable for peculiar words than for coincidences with any parts of the New Testament. He has ἀνακαινίζειν—ἐνέργημα—ζωοποιεῖσθαι, in common with St Paul; and among his peculiarities may be noticed ἀκεραιοσύνη—δίγνωμος—δίγλωσσος—διπλοκαρδία—θρασύτης—παναμάρτητος—πλάσμα, ἀναπλάσσεσθαι—προφανεροῦσθαι—συλλήπτωρ—ὑπεραγαπᾶν.

SECT. II.—THE RELATION OF THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS  
TO THE CANON OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

THE testimony of the Apostolic Fathers is not, however, confined to the recognition of the several types of Christianity which are preserved in the Canonical Scriptures: they confirm the genuineness and authority of the books themselves. That they do not appeal to the Apostolic writings more frequently and more distinctly, springs from the very nature of their position. Those who had heard the living voice of Apostles were unlikely to appeal to their written words. It is an instinct which always makes us prefer any personal connexion to the more remote relationship of books. Thus Papias tells us that he sought to learn from every quarter the traditions of those who had conversed with the elders, thinking that he should not profit so much by the narratives of books as by the living and abiding voice of the Lord's disciples. And still Papias affirmed the exact accuracy of the Gospel of St Mark, and quoted testimonies (*μαρτυρίας*) from the Catholic Epistles of St Peter and St John. So, again, Irenæus in earnest language tells with what joy he listened to the words of Polycarp, when he told of his intercourse with those who had seen the Lord; and how those who had been with Christ spoke

CHAP. I.

The testimony of the Apostolic Fathers to the New Testament.

How far modified by the 'Apostolic tradition.'

CHAP. I. of His mighty works and teaching. And still all was according to the Scriptures (*πάντα σύμφωνα ταῖς γραφαῖς*); so that the charm lay not in the novelty of the narrative, but in its vital union with the fact.

(a) Their testimony to the Books of the New Testament,  
(1) explicit,

(a) In three instances<sup>1</sup> in which it was natural to expect a direct allusion to the Pauline Epistles, the references are as complete as possible. 'Take up the Epistle of the blessed Paul the Apostle,' is the charge of Clement to the Corinthians, '..... in truth he spiritually charged you concerning himself, and Cephas, and Apollos<sup>2</sup>.....' 'Those who are borne by martyrdom to God,' Ignatius writes to the Ephesians, 'pass through your city; ye are initiated into mysteries (*συμμύσται*) with St Paul, the sanctified, the martyred, worthy of all blessing .....who in every part of his letter (*ἐν πάσῃ ἐπιστόλῃ*) makes mention of you in Christ Jesus<sup>3</sup>.' 'The blessed and glorious Paul,' says Polycarp to the Philippians, 'wrote letters to

<sup>1</sup> The subject of Ignatius' letter to the Romans explains the absence of any direct allusion to St Paul's Epistle. The mention of St Peter and St Paul (c. iv.) is, however, worthy of notice.

<sup>2</sup> Clem. c. xlvii.

<sup>3</sup> The reference in *συμμύσται* to Eph. v. 32 seems clear when we remember the whole tenor of Ignatius' letter. 'Ἐν πάσῃ ἐπ. is not necessarily, I think, 'in every letter,' but, 'in every part of his letter;' compare Eph. ii. 21, *πᾶσα οἰκοδομή* (not *πᾶσα ἡ οἰκ.*), 'Every part of the building.'

you, into which, if ye look diligently, ye will be able to be built up to [the fulness of] the faith given to you<sup>1</sup>.' CHAP. I.  

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 (2) incidental.

Elsewhere in the Apostolic Fathers there are clear traces of a knowledge of the Epistles of St Paul to the Romans, Corinthians (i. ii.), Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, and to Timothy (i. ii.), of the Epistle to the Hebrews, of the Epistle of St James, the first Epistle of St Peter, and the first Epistle of St John. The allusions to the Epistles of St Paul to the Thessalonians, Colossians, to Titus, and Philemon, are very uncertain; and there are, I believe, no coincidences of language with the Epistles of Jude, John (ii. iii.), and Peter (ii.)<sup>2</sup>

The instances quoted by Hefele are otherwise explained by Winer, *N. T. Grammatik*, s. 132 (ed. v.) The passage is not found in the Syriac.

<sup>1</sup> Polyc. c. iii.

<sup>2</sup> The following table will be found useful and interesting as showing how far each writer makes use of the books of the New Testament:

**CLEMENT.** Romans (c. xxxv.); 1 Corinthians (c. xlvi.); Ephesians (c. xlvi.); 1 Timothy? (c. vii.); Titus? (c. ii.); Hebrews (cc. xvii., xxxvi., &c.); James (c. x. &c.)

**IGNATIUS.** 1 Corinthians (*ad Ephes.* xviii.); Ephesians (*ad Ephes.* xii.); Philippians? (*ad Philad.* viii.); 1 Thessalonians? (*ad Ephes.* x.); Philemon? (*ad Ephes.* c. ii., &c.)

**POLYCARP.** Romans (c. vi.); 1 Corinthians (c. xi.); 2 Corinthians (cc. ii., iv.); Galatians (cc. iii., xii.); Ephesians (c. xii. ?); Philippians (c.



## CHAP. I.

The peculiar value of this anonymous evidence.

These incidental references, it is true, are anonymous. The words of Scripture are inwrought into the texture of the books, and not parcelled out into formal quotations. They are not arranged with argumentative effect, but used as the natural expression of Christian truths. Now this use of the Holy Scriptures shows at least that they were even then widely known, and so guarded by a host of witnesses—that their language was transferred into the common dialect—that it was as familiar to those first Christians as to us, who use it as unconsciously as they did in writing or in conversation. If the quotations from the Old Testament in the Apostolic Fathers were uniformly explicit and exact, this mode of argument would lose much of its force. With the exception of Barnabas it does not appear that they have made a single reference by name to any one of the books of the Old Testament<sup>1</sup>. Clement uses

Illustrated by the quotations from the Old Testament.

iii., xi.); 1 Thessalonians (?) (c. ii., iv.); 1 Timothy (c. iv.); 2 Timothy (c. v.); 1 Peter (cc. i., ii., &c.); 1 John (c. vii.).

BARNABAS. Matthew (c. iv.); 1 Timothy? (c. xii.); 2 Timothy? (c. vii.). Cf. Hefele, ss. 230—240.

<sup>1</sup> Barn. Ep. c. x.: λέγει αὐτοῖς Μωσῆς ἐν τῷ Δευτερονομίῳ. The last words may be an interpolation. Elsewhere Barnabas mentions the writer's name: c. iv. *Daniel*; c. xii. *David, Esaias*; c. vi., x., xii. *Moses*. Perhaps the peculiar usage of the writer will confirm the reading of the Latin Version (c. 4), *sicut scriptum est*, applied to a passage of

the general formula, 'It is written,' or even more frequently, 'God saith,' or, simply, 'One saith<sup>1</sup>.' The two quotations from the Old Testament in Ignatius are simply preceded by 'It is written.' In the Greek text of Polycarp there is no mark of quotation at all<sup>2</sup>; and Clement sometimes introduces the language of the Old Testament into his argument without any mark of distinction<sup>3</sup>. Exactness of quotation was foreign to the spirit of their writing.

Nothing has been said hitherto of the coincidences between the Apostolic Fathers and the Canonical Gospels. From the nature of the case casual coincidences of language cannot be brought forward in the same manner to prove the use of a history as of a letter. The same facts and words, especially if they be recent and striking, may be preserved in several narratives. References in the sub-apostolic age to the

How far it can be applied to the Gospels.

St Matthew. Otherwise Credner's doubts do not seem unreasonable (*Beiträge*, i. 28.)

In the second 'Epistle' of Clement there is the same explicitness of reference as in Barnabas, c. iii. *Esaias*; c. vi. *Ezechiel*. So likewise St Matthew's Gospel is called *γραφή* (c. ii.) The fact is worth notice.

<sup>1</sup> c. xxvi. (Job), &c., xxxii. (David), cannot be considered exceptions to the rule.

<sup>2</sup> The reading of the Latin Version, c. xi. *sicut Paulus docet*, seems to be less open to suspicion than that in c. xii. *ut his scripturis dictum est* (Ps. iv. 5; Eph. iv. 26), which is at least quite alien from Polycarp's manner.

<sup>3</sup> E. g. cc. xxvii., liv. So also Ignatius *ad Trall.* viii.

CHAP. I. discourses or actions of our Lord as we find them recorded in the Gospels, show that what they relate was then so far held to be true; but it does not necessarily follow that they were already in use, and the precise source of the passages in question. On the contrary, the mode in which Clement<sup>1</sup> refers to our Lord's teaching, 'the Lord said,' not, 'saith,' seems to imply that he referred to tradition, and not to any written accounts, for words most closely resembling those which are still found in our Gospels. The testimony of the Apostolic Fathers is to the substance, and not to the authenticity of the Gospels. And in this respect they have an important work to do. They witness that the great outlines of the life and teaching of our Lord were familiarly known to all from the first: they prove that Christianity rests truly on a historic basis.

The great features of Christ's life familiarly known.

The 'Gospel' which the Fathers announce includes all the articles of the ancient Creeds<sup>2</sup>. Christ, we read, our God, the eternal Word, the

<sup>1</sup> cc. xiii., xlvi. (εἶπεν), compared with Acts xx. 35. The past tense in Ignat. *ad Smyr.* iii. appears to be of a different kind.

Barnabas, on the other hand, uses a present tense (cc. iv. vii.) when quoting words not found in the Canonical Gospels.

<sup>2</sup> On the use of oral and written Gospels in the first age, compare Gieseler, *über die Entstehung u. s. w.*, ss. 149 sqq.

Lord and Creator of the world, who was with the Father before time began<sup>1</sup>, at the end humbled Himself, and came down from heaven, and was manifested in the flesh, and was born of the Virgin Mary, of the race of David according to the flesh; and a star of exceeding brightness appeared at His birth<sup>2</sup>. Afterwards He was baptized by John, to fulfil all righteousness; and then, speaking His Father's message, he invited not the righteous, but sinners, to come to Him<sup>3</sup>. At length, under Herod and Pontius Pilate He was crucified, and vinegar and gall were offered Him to drink<sup>4</sup>. But on the first day of the week He rose from the dead, the first-fruits of the grave; and many prophets were raised by Him for whom they had waited. After His resurrection He ate with His disciples, and showed them that He was not an incorporeal spirit<sup>5</sup>. And He ascended into heaven, and sat down on the right hand of the Father, and thence

<sup>1</sup> Ign. *ad Rom.* inscr.; c. iii.; *ad Ephes.* inscr.; Ign. *ad Magnes.* viii.: Barn. v.: Ign. *ad Magnes.* vi.

<sup>2</sup> Clem. xvi.: Ign. *ad Magnes.* vii.: Barn. xii.: Ign. *ad Smyr.* i., *ad Trall.* ix., *ad Ephes.* xix.: Ign. *ad Ephes.* xx.; Ign. *ad Ephes.* xix.

<sup>3</sup> Ign. *ad Smyr.* i.; Ign. *ad Rom.* viii.: Barn. ix.

<sup>4</sup> Ign. *ad Magnes.* xi., *ad Trall.* ix., *ad Smyr.* i.: Barn. vii. Ignatius alludes also to anointing the head of Christ (John xii. 3), *ad Ephes.* xvii.

<sup>5</sup> Barn. xv.: Ign. *ad Magnes.* ix.: Clem. xxiv.: Polyc. ii.: Ign. *ad Magnes.* ix.: Ign. *ad Smyr.* iii.

CHAP. I. He shall come to judge the quick and the dead<sup>1</sup>.

Such, in their own words, is the testimony of the earliest Fathers to the life of the Saviour. Round these facts their doctrines are grouped; on the truth of the Incarnation, and the Passion, and the Resurrection of Christ, their hopes were grounded<sup>2</sup>.

(β) to their authority,

(β) If the extent of the evidence of the Apostolic Fathers to the books of the New Testament is exactly what might be expected from

<sup>1</sup> Barn. xv. : Polyc. ii. : Barn. vii. : Polyc. ii.

There are also numerous references to discourses of our Lord which are recorded in the gospels :

Clement, c. xiii. (Luc. vi. 36—38, &c.) : c. xlvi. (Matt. xxvi. 24.)

Ignatius, *ad Ephes.* vi. (Matt. x. 40) : *ad Trall.* xi. (Matt. xv. 13) : *ad Ephes.* v. (Matt. xviii. 19) : *ad Philad.* vii.

Polycarp, c. ii. (Matt. vii. 1 sqq., x. 16) : c. v. (Matt. xx. 28) : c. vi. (Matt. vi. 12) : c. vii. (Matt. vi. 13, xxvi. 41.)

Barnabas, c. iv. (Matt. xx. 16, xxv. 5 sqq.) : c. v. (Matt. ix. 13) : c. xix. (Luc. vi. 30) : c. v. (Matt. xxvi. 31) : cf. Hefele, s. 233.

Barnabas refers to two sayings of our Lord not found in our Gospels : c. iv., vii. : and so perhaps Ign. *ad Smyr.* iii. (yet cf. Luke xxiv. 39.) This is no proof of the use of Apocryphal Gospels : cf. Gieseler, *über die Entstehung der schrift. Evv.* ss. 147 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Ign. *ad Philad.* viii. It is very worthy of notice that there are no references to the miracles of our Lord in the Apostolic Fathers. All miracles are implicitly included in the Incarnation and Resurrection of Christ.

men who had seen the Apostles, who had heard them, and who had treasured up their writings as the genuine records of their teaching, the character of their evidence is equally in accordance with their peculiar position. It will be readily seen that we cannot expect to find the New Testament quoted in the first age as authoritative in the same manner as the Old Testament. There could not, indeed, be any occasion for an appeal to the testimony of the Gospels when the history of the faith was still within the memory of many; and most of the Epistles were of little use in controversy, for the earliest heretics denied the Apostleship of St Paul. The Old Testament, on the contrary, was common ground; and the ancient system of biblical interpretation furnished the Christian with ready arms. When these failed it was enough for him to appeal to the Death and Resurrection of Christ, which were at once the sum and the proof of his faith. 'I have heard some say,' Ignatius writes, 'that "unless I find it in the ancients, [the writers of the Old Testament,] I believe not in the Gospel," and when I said to them, "It is written [in the Prophets that Christ should suffer and rise again]," they replied, "[That must be proved;] the question lies before us." But to me,' he adds, 'Jesus Christ is [in place of all] records; my inviolable records are

CHAP. I.

modified by

(1) the circumstance of the time, and

CHAP. I. His Cross, and Death, and Resurrection, and the Faith through Him<sup>1</sup>.'

(2) the gradual perception of the doctrine of Inspiration,

It cannot, however, be denied, that the idea of the Inspiration of the New Testament, in the sense in which it is maintained now, was the growth of time. Distance is a necessary condition if we are to estimate rightly any object of vast proportions. The history of any period will furnish illustrations of this truth; and the teaching of God through man always appears to be subject to the common laws of human life and thought. If it be true that a prophet is not received in his own country, it is equally true that he is not received in his own age. The sense of his power is vague even when it is deepest. Years must elapse before we can feel that the words of one who talked with men were indeed the words of God.

which followed from the relation of the Apostles to their first successors.

The successors of the Apostles did not, we admit, recognize that the written histories of the Lord, and the scattered epistles of His first dis-

<sup>1</sup> *Ad Philad.* viii. The passage is beset with many difficulties, but the translation which I have ventured to give seems to remove many of them. Προκείσθαι is continually used of a question in debate: Plat. Euthyd. 279 D. καταγέλαστον δήπου ὁ πάλαι πρόκειται τοῦτο πάλιν προτιθέναι. Resp. viii. 533 E. etc. In place of ἐν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις we may read ἐν τοῖς ἀρχείοις, according to Voss' conjecture. The sense would be unchanged. The sudden burst of feeling (ἐμοὶ δέ κ. τ. λ.) is characteristic of Ignatius.

principles, would form a sure and sufficient source and test of doctrine, when the current tradition had grown indistinct or corrupt. Conscious of a life in the Christian body, and realizing the power of its Head, as later ages cannot do, they did not feel that the Apostles were providentially charged to express once for all in their *writings* the essential forms of Christianity, even as the Prophets had foreshadowed them. The position which they held did not command that comprehensive view of the nature and fortunes of the Christian Church by which the idea is suggested and confirmed. But they had certainly an indistinct sense that their work was essentially different from that of their predecessors. They declined to perpetuate their title, though they may have retained their office. They attributed to them power and wisdom to which they themselves made no claim. Without any exact sense of the completeness of the Christian Scriptures, they still drew a distinct line between them and their own writings. As if by some providential instinct, each one of those teachers who stood nearest to the writers of the New Testament plainly contrasted his writings with theirs, and definitely placed himself on a lower level. The fact is most significant; for it shows in what way the formation of the Canon was an act of the intuition of the Church, derived from



**CHAP. I.** basis and moulded the expression of the common creed. They recognize the fitness of a Canon, and indicate the limits within which it must be fixed. And their evidence is the more important when it is remembered that they speak to us from four great centres of the ancient Church—from Antioch and Alexandria, from Ephesus and Rome. One Church alone is silent. The Christians of Jerusalem contribute nothing to this written portraiture of the age. The peculiarities of their belief were borrowed from a conventional system destined to pass away, and did not embody the permanent characteristics of any particular type of Apostolic doctrine. The Jewish Church at Pella was an accommodation, if we may use the word, and not a form of Christianity. How far its principles influenced the Church of the next age will be seen in the following Chapter<sup>1</sup>.

*Its great local  
extent and  
importance.*

<sup>1</sup> Papias might, perhaps, have been noticed in this Chapter, but I believe that he belongs properly to the next generation. The testimony to the Gospel of St Mark, which he quotes from the Presbyter John, must, however, be considered as drawn from the Apostolic age. It will be convenient to notice this when speaking of Papias (c. ii. § 1.)

## CHAPTER II.

### THE AGE OF THE GREEK APOLOGISTS.

A. D. 120—170.

Οὐ σιωπῆς μόνον τὸ ἔργον, ἀλλὰ μεγέθους ἐστὶν ὁ  
Χριστιανισμός.—IGNATIUS.

CHAP. II.

THE writings of the Apostolic age were all moulded in the same form, and derived from the same relation of Christian life. As they represented the mutual intercourse of believers, so they rested on the foundation of a common rule and showed the peculiarities of a common dialect. The literature of the next age was widely different both in scope and character<sup>1</sup>. It included almost every form of prose composition—letters, chronicles, essays, apologies, visions, tales—and answered to the manifold bearings of Christianity in the world<sup>2</sup>. The Church had then to maintain its ground amid systematic persecution, organized heresies and philosophic controversy. The name of the Christian had already become a by-word<sup>3</sup>; and it was evident

The wide scope of the Christian Literature of this period

occasioned by the new relation of the Church to

the Empire,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Möhler, ss. 179 ff.

<sup>2</sup> It is probable that some of the Christian parts of the Sibylline Oracles (Libb. vi., vii.) also fall within this period. Cf. Friedlieb, *Oracula Sibyllina*, Einleit. ss. Lxxi., Lii.

Very little is known of the prophecies of Hystaspes. Cf. Lücke, *Comm. ü. d. Schriften des Ev. Johannes*, iv. 1. ss. 45 f.

<sup>3</sup> Just. Mart. Ap. i. 4. (p. 10, n. 4. Otto.)

CHAP. II. that they were free alike from Jewish superstition and Gentile polytheism<sup>1</sup>: they were no longer sheltered by the old title of Jews, and it became needful that they should give an account of the faith for which they sought protection. The Apostolic tradition was insufficient to silence or condemn false teachers who had been trained in the schools of Athens or Alexandria; but now that truth was left to men it was upheld by wisdom. New champions were raised up to meet the emergency; and some of these did not scruple to maintain the doctrines of Christianity in the garb of philosophers.

Heresies,

Philosophy.

The remains of it are, however, scanty.

But although the entire literature of the age was thus varied, the fragments of it which are left scarcely do more than witness to its extent. The letter to Diognetus, and some of the writings of Justin, alone survive in their original form. In addition to these there is the Latin translation of the Shepherd of Hermas, and a series of precious quotations from lost books, due mainly to the industry of Eusebius<sup>2</sup>. The

<sup>1</sup> Ep. ad Diogn. i. : ὁρῶ . . . . ὑπερσπουδακότα σε τὴν θεοσέβειαν τῶν Χριστιανῶν μαθεῖν . . . . τίνι τε Θεῷ πεποιθότες, καὶ πῶς θρησκεύοντες . . . . οὔτε τοὺς νομιζομένους ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων θεοὺς λογίζονται, οὔτε τὴν Ἰουδαίων δεισιδαιμονίαν φυλάσσουσι . . . . The whole passage is very interesting as showing how the object and form of Christian worship, and the character of the Christian life, would strike a thoughtful man at the time.

<sup>2</sup> Collected by Routh, *Reliquiæ Sacræ*, (Ed. 2. Oxon. 1846).

‘Enarrations’ of Papias, the Treatises of Justin and Agrippa Castor against Heresies, the numerous works of Melito, the Chronicles of Hege-  
sippus, have perished, and with them the most natural and direct sources of information on the history of this period of the Church. CHAP. II.

It does not, however, seem to have been a mere accident which preserved the writings of Justin. As the Apologists were the truest representatives of the age, so was he in many respects the best type of the natural character of the Greek Apologist. For him philosophy was truth, reason a spiritual power, Christianity the fulness of both. The Apostolic Fathers exhibit their faith in its inherent energy; their successors show in what way it was the satisfaction of the deepest wants of humanity—the sum of all ‘knowledge;’ it was reserved for the Latin Apologists to apprehend its independent claims, and establish its right to supplant, as well as to fulfil what was partial and vague in earlier systems. The time was not ripe for this when Justin wrote, for there is a natural order in the development of truth. As Christianity was shown to be the true completion of Judaism before the Church was divided from the synagogue; so it was well that it should be clearly set forth as the centre to which old philosophies converged before it was declared to supersede them. In

Yet Justin represents the character of the Greek Apologist, and so of the age.

each case the fulfilment and interpretation of the old was the groundwork and beginning of the new. The pledge of the future lay in the satisfaction of the past.

The first work of the period—the settlement of the relation of Christianity to Heathendom.

This, then, was one great work of the time, that Apologists should proclaim Christianity to be the Divine answer to the questionings of heathendom, as well as the antitype to the Law and the hope of the Prophets. To a great extent the task was independent of the direct use of Scripture. Those who discharged it had to deal with the thoughts, and not with the words of the Apostles—with the facts, and not with the records of Christ's life. Even the later Apologists abstained from quoting Scripture in their addresses to heathen; and the practice was still more alien from the object and position of the earliest<sup>1</sup>. The arguments of philosophy and history were brought forward first, that men might be gradually familiarized to the light; the use of Scripture was for a while deferred (*dilatæ paulisper divinæ lectiones*), that they might not be blinded by the sudden sight of its unclouded glory<sup>2</sup>.

The second work of the period—the separation of Christianity from Judaism.

The recognition of Christianity as a revelation which had not only a general, but also, in

<sup>1</sup> Justin's use of the *prophecies* of the Old Testament is no exception to the rule; but of this we shall speak in § 7.

<sup>2</sup> Lactant. *Instit.* v. 4.

some sense, a special message for the heathen, was co-ordinate with its final separation from the Mosaic ritual<sup>1</sup>. This separation was the second great work of the period. It is difficult to trace the progress of its consummation, though the result was the firm establishment of the Catholic Church. But by the immediate reaction which accompanied it one type of Apostolic Christianity was brought out with great clearness, without which the circle of its secondary developments would have been incomplete. Yet the conflict which was then carried on was not the repetition, but the sequel of that of the Apostolic age<sup>2</sup>. The great crisis out of which it

Its reaction.

The crisis by which this was brought about.

<sup>1</sup> Just. Mart. Ap. i. 46 : Οἱ μετὰ λόγου βιώσαντες Χριστιανοί εἰσι, κἂν ἄθεοι ἐνομίσθησαν, οἷον ἐν Ἑλλησι μὲν Σωκράτης καὶ Ἡράκλειτος καὶ οἱ ὅμοιοι αὐτοῖς, ἐν βαρβάροις δὲ Ἀβραάμ . . . . Cf. Ap. ii. 13.

<sup>2</sup> Some modern writers have confounded together the different steps by which the distinction of Jew and Gentile were removed in the Christian Church. Since it is of great importance to a right understanding of the early history of Christianity that they should be clearly distinguished, it may not be amiss to mention them here :—

1. The admission of Gentiles (*εὐσεβεῖς*) to the Christian Church. Acts x., xi.

2. The freedom of Gentile converts from the Ceremonial Law. Acts xv.

3. The indifference of the Ceremonial Law for Jewish converts. Gal. ii. 14-16; Acts xxi. 20-26.

4. The incompatibility of Judaism with Christianity.

The first three—that is the essential—principles are recognized in Scripture; the last, which introduces no new

CHAP. II. sprung impressed it with a peculiar character. The Christians of Jerusalem had clung to their ancient law, till their national hopes seemed to be crushed for ever by the building of Ælia, and the establishment of a Gentile Church within the Holy City. Then, at length, men saw that they were already in the new age—'the world to come:' they saw that the kingdom of heaven, as distinguished from God's typical kingdom, was now set up; and it seemed that the gospel of St Paul was to be the common law of its citizens. Under the pressure of these circumstances the Judaizing party naturally made a last effort to regain their original power. It was possible to maintain what had ceased to be national only by asserting that it was universal. The discussions of the first age were thus reproduced in form, but they had a wider bearing. The Gentile Christians no longer claimed tolerance, but supremacy. They had been established on an equality with the Jewish Church; but now, when they were on the point of becoming paramount, the spirit which had opposed St Paul was roused to its greatest activity.

How it was distinguished from the conflicts of the Apostolic age.

Its influence on Christian Literature.

Apart from heretical writings the effect of this movement may be traced under various forms in the contemporary literature. And as element, is evolved in the history of the Church. This is an instance of the true 'Development,' which organizes, but does not create.

the Apologists represent the Greek element in the Church, so the Jewish may be characterized by the chroniclers, Papias and Hegesippus. The tendency to that which is purely rational and ideal is thus contrasted with that towards the sensuous and the material. CHAP. II.

In one respect, however, Christian literature still preserved the same form as in the Apostolic age. It was wholly Greek: the work of the Latin churches was as yet to be wrought in silence<sup>1</sup>. It is the more important to notice this, because the permanent characteristics of the national literatures of Greece and Rome reappear with powerful effect in patristic writings. On the one side there is universality, freedom, large sympathy, deep feeling: on the other there is individuality, system, order, logic. The tendency of the one mind is towards truth, of the other towards law<sup>2</sup>. In the end, when the object is the highest truth and the deepest law, they will achieve the same results, but the process will be different. This difference is not without its bearing on the history of the New Testament. From their very constitution Greek

The literature still, however, wholly Greek.

The effect of this.

<sup>1</sup> Of the *Greek* literature of the Italian Churches we shall speak hereafter.

<sup>2</sup> As a familiar instance of these characteristic differences we may refer to the marked distinction in form and tone between the Nicene (Greek) and the Athanasian (Latin) Creeds.



CHAP. II. writers would be inclined, in the first instance, to witness, not to the Canon of Scripture, but to the substance of its teaching.

### § 1. *Papias.*

The date of Papias.

The first and last names of this period—Papias and Hegesippus—belong to the early Christian chroniclers, whom we have taken to represent the Judaizing party of the time. Papias, a friend of Polycarp, was Bishop of Hierapolis in Phrygia<sup>1</sup> in the early part of the second century. According to some accounts he was a disciple of the Apostle St John<sup>2</sup>; but Eusebius, who was acquainted with his writings, affirms that his teacher was the Presbyter, and not the Apostle; and the same conclusion appears to follow from his own language<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> This follows from Hieron. *de virr. ill.* xviii.; Papias—Hierapolitanus Episcopus in Asia; and also from a comparison of Euseb. H. E. iii. 36, 39, 31.

<sup>2</sup> This is maintained by Routh, i. p. 22, sqq. On the other hand, cf. Davidson, *Introd.* i. 425, sqq.

<sup>3</sup> Euseb. H. E. iii. 39. 'I used to inquire,' he says, 'when I met any who had been acquainted with the Elders, of the teaching of the Elders—what Andrew or Peter said (*εἶπεν*) . . . . or John or Matthew . . . . or any other of the Lord's disciples; as what Aristion and the Elder (Presbyter) John, the Lord's disciples, say (*λέγουσιν*).' The natural interpretation of these words can only be that the Apostles—Elders in the highest sense, 1 Pet. v. 1—were already dead when Papias began his investigations, and that he distinguished two of the name of John, one an apostle, and

A church was formed at Hierapolis in very early times<sup>1</sup>; and it afterwards became the residence of 'the Apostle Philip and his daughters<sup>2</sup>,' whose tomb was shown there in the third century<sup>3</sup>. This fact seems to point to some close connexion with the churches of Judæa; but the city was also remarkable in another respect. The Epistle of St Paul to the neighbouring church of Colossæ proves, that even in the Apostolic age the characteristic extravagance of the province—the home of the Galli and Corybantes — was already manifested in the corruption of Christianity; and it is not unreasonable to attribute the extreme Chiliasm of Papias to the same influence<sup>4</sup>.

The character of his Sec.

another the presbyter, who was alive at that time. Cf. Davidson, l. c.

<sup>1</sup> It is said that he suffered martyrdom (Steph. Gobar. ap. Cave, i. 29) at Pergamus in the time of Aurelius (A.D. 164), under whom Polycarp and Justin Martyr also suffered (Chron. Alex. l. c.).

His work was probably written at a late period of his life (c. 140-150), since he speaks of those who had been disciples of the Apostles as now dead. His inquiries were made some time before he wrote (*ἀνέκρινον*), and he had treasured up the tradition in his memory (*καλῶς ἐμνημόνευσα*). The necessity for such a work as his would not, indeed, be felt, as Rettig has well observed, till the first generation after the Apostles had passed away. Cf. Thiersch, *Versuch u. s. w.* s. 438.

<sup>2</sup> Coloss. iv. 13; Euseb. H. E. iii. 31. Cf. Routh, ii. 25.

<sup>3</sup> Euseb. H. E. iii. 31, on the authority of Caius.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Iren. v. 33.

## CHAP. II.

An account  
of his work.

Since he stood on the verge of the first age Papias naturally set a high value on the Evangelic traditions still current in the Church. These he preserved, as he tells us, with zeal and accuracy; and afterwards embodied them in five books, entitled 'An Exposition of the Oracles of the Lord' (*Λογίων κυριακῶν ἐξήγησις*<sup>1</sup>). There is, however, no reason to suppose that he intended to compose a Gospel; and the very name of his treatise seems to imply the contrary. The traditions which he collected do not appear to have formed the staple of his book; but they were introduced as illustrative of his exposition. 'Moreover,' he says, 'I must tell you that I shall not scruple to place side by side with my interpretations all that I have rightly learnt from the elders and rightly remembered, solemnly affirming that it is true<sup>2</sup>.' The apologetic tone of the sentence, its construction (*δέ*), the mention of his interpretations (*αἱ ἐρμηνεῖαι*), convey the idea that his reference to tradition might seem

His own description of it.

It was expository, and not narrative.

<sup>1</sup> Pap. l. c.: οὐκ ὀκνήσω δέ σοι καὶ ὅσα ποτὲ παρὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων καλῶς ἔμαθον καὶ καλῶς ἐμνημόνευσα, συγκατατάξαι ταῖς ἐρμηνεῖαις, διαβεβαιούμενος ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀλήθειαν, κ. τ. λ.

<sup>2</sup> In accordance with this view of Papias' book we find him mentioned with Clement, Pantænus, and Ammonius, as 'one of the ancient Interpreters (*ἐξηγητῶν*) who agreed to understand the Hexaemeron as referring to Christ and the Church.' (fr. ix., x.) The passage quoted by Irenæus from 'the Elders' (v. ad f.) may probably be taken as a specimen of his style of interpretation.

unnecessary to some, and that it was, in fact, only a secondary object:—in other words, they imply that there were already recognized records of the teaching of Christ which he sought to expound. For this purpose he might well go back to the Apostles themselves, and ‘make it his business to inquire what they said,’ believing ‘that the information which he could draw from books was not so profitable as that which was preserved in a living tradition’.

This conclusion, which we have drawn from the apparent aim of Papias’ work, is strongly confirmed by the direct testimony which he bears to our Gospels. It has been inferred already that some Gospel was current in his time; he tells us that the Gospels of St Matthew and St Mark were so. Of the former he says: ‘Matthew composed the oracles in Hebrew; and each one interpreted them as he was able’.<sup>2</sup> The form of the sentence (*μὲν οὖν*) would seem to

Papias’ testimony to the Gospels.

St MATTHEW.

<sup>1</sup> Eusebius, l. c. gives some account of the traditional stories which he collected; among others he mentions that of ‘a woman accused before our Lord of many sins,’ generally identified with the disputed *pericope*, John vii. 53-viii. 11. To these must be added the account of Judas (fr. iii. Routh.)

‘The books’ of which Papias speaks may have been some of the strange mystical commentaries current at very early times among the Simonians and Valentinians.

<sup>2</sup> Euseb. l. c.: *Ματθαῖος μὲν οὖν Ἑβραϊδὶ διαλέκτῳ τὰ λόγια συνεγράψατο ἠρμήνευσε δ’ αὐτὰ ὡς ἦν δυνατὸς ἕκαστος.* It is difficult to give the full meaning of *τὰ λόγια, τὰ κυριακὰ*

CHAP. II. introduce this statement as the result of some inquiry, and it may, perhaps, be referred to the presbyter John; but all that needs to be particularly remarked is, that when Papias wrote, the Aramaic Gospel of St Matthew was already accessible to Greek readers: the time was then past when each one was his own interpreter.

ST MARK.

The account which he gives of the Gospel of St Mark is full of interest: 'This also,' he writes, 'the Elder [John] used to say. Mark, having become Peter's interpreter, wrote accurately all that he remembered; though he did not [record] in order that which was either said or done by Christ. For he neither heard the Lord, nor followed Him; but subsequently, as I said, [attached himself to] Peter, who used to frame his teaching to meet the [immediate] wants [of his hearers]; and not as making a connected narrative of the Lord's discourses. So Mark committed no error, as he wrote down some particulars just as he recalled them to mind.

λόγια—the Gospel—the sum of the words and works of the Lord.

The sense, I believe, would be best expressed in this passage by the translation: 'Matthew composed his *Gospel* in Hebrew,' giving to the word its necessary notion of scriptural authority. Cf. Acts vii. 38; Rom. iii. 2; Heb. v. 12; 1 Pet. iv. 11. Polyc. *ad Phil.* c. vii.; Clem. *ad Cor.* i. 19, 53.

Davidson (Introd. i. 65, sqq.) has reviewed the other interpretations of the word.

For he took heed to one thing—to omit none of the facts that he heard, and to state nothing falsely in [his narrative of] them<sup>1</sup>.’

It has, however, been argued that the Gospel here described cannot be the Canonical Gospel of St Mark, since that shows at least as clear an order as the other Gospels. On this hypothesis we must seek for the original record of which John spoke in ‘the Preaching of Peter’ (κήρυγμα Πέτρου), or some similar work<sup>2</sup>. In short, we must suppose that two different books were current under the same name in the times of Papias and Irenæus—that in the interval, which was less than fifty years, the older document had passed entirely into oblivion, or, at least, wholly lost its first title—that this substitution of the one book for the other was so secret that

CHAP. II.

Objection from his description of St Mark's Gospel.

Its consequences.

<sup>1</sup> Euseb. l. c. : καὶ τοῦθ' ὁ πρεσβύτερος ἔλεγε· Μάρκος μὲν ἑρμηνευτῆς Πέτρου γενόμενος ὅσα ἐμνημόνευσε ἀκριβῶς ἔγραψεν, οὐ μέντοι τάξει τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἢ λεχθέντα ἢ πραχθέντα· οὔτε γὰρ ἤκουσε τοῦ Κυρίου οὔτε παρηκολούθησεν αὐτῷ· ὕστερον δὲ, ὡς ἔφην, Πέτρῳ, ὅς πρὸς τὰς χρείας ἐποιεῖτο τὰς διδασκαλίας, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὡσπερ σύνταξιν τῶν Κυριακῶν ποιούμενος λόγων· ὥστε οὐδὲν ἤμαρτε Μάρκος οὕτως ἔνια γράψας ὡς ἀπεμνημόνευσεν· ἐνὶ γὰρ ἐποιήσατο πρόνοιαν, τοῦ μηδὲν ὧν ἤκουσε παραλιπεῖν ἢ ψεύσασθαι τι ἐν αὐτοῖς.

Burton and Heinichen rightly read λόγων, for which Routh has λογίων. I do not think that λογίων could stand in such a sense. As the word occurs again directly, and was used in the title of Papias' book, the error was natural.

<sup>2</sup> Schwegler, i. 458 ff. ; Baur, *Kritische Untersuchungen*, 538 f.

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there is not the slightest trace of the time, the motive, the mode of its accomplishment, and so complete that Irenæus, Clement, Origen, and Eusebius, applied to the later Gospel what was really only true of that which it had replaced<sup>1</sup>. And all this must be believed, because it is assumed that John could not have spoken of our present Gospel as not arranged 'in order.' But it would surely be far more reasonable to conclude that he was mistaken in his criticism than to admit an explanation burdened with such a series of improbabilities<sup>2</sup>. There is, however, another solution of the difficulty which seems preferable. The Gospel of St Mark is not a complete Life of Christ, but simply a memoir of 'some events' in it. It is not a chronological biography, but simply a collection of facts which seemed suited to the wants of a particular audience. St Mark had no personal acquaintance with the events which he recorded to enable him to place them in their natural order, but was wholly dependent on St Peter; and the special object of the Apostle excluded the idea of a complete narrative. The sequence of his teaching was moral, and not historical. That the arrange-

How we  
must under-  
stand his  
words.

<sup>1</sup> Iren. adv. Hær. iii. 1. 1; Clem. Alex. fr. ap. Euseb. vi. 14; Orig. fr. ap. Euseb. vi. 25; Euseb. H. E. ii. 15.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Davidson, Introd. i. 158 sq., who supposes that John was 'mistaken in his opinion.'

ment of the other Synoptic Evangelists very CHAP. II.  
nearly coincides with that of St Mark is nothing  
to the point: John does not say that it was  
otherwise. He merely shows, from the circum-  
stances under which St Mark wrote, that his  
Gospel was necessarily neither chronological nor  
complete; and under similar conditions—as in  
the case of St Matthew<sup>1</sup>—it is reasonable to  
look for a like result.

In addition to the Gospels of St Matthew His testi-  
mony to St  
JOHN'S Gos-  
pel.  
and St Mark, Papias appears to have been  
acquainted with the Gospel of St John<sup>2</sup>. Euse-  
bius also says explicitly that he quoted 'the  
former Epistle of John, and that of Peter like-  
wise<sup>3</sup>.' He maintained, moreover, 'the divine 1 JOHN.  
1 PETER.

<sup>1</sup> Euseb. H. E. iii. 24: *Ματθαῖος μὲν γὰρ πρότερον Ἑβραίοις κηρύξας, ὡς ἔμελλεν καὶ ἐφ' ἑτέρους ἵναί, πατρίῳ γλώττῃ γραφῇ παραδοὺς τὸ κατ' αὐτὸν εὐαγγέλιον, τὸ λείπον τῆ αὐτοῦ παρουσίᾳ, τούτοις ἀφ' ὧν ἐστέλλετο, διὰ τῆς γραφῆς ἀπεπλήρου.* The written Gospel was the sum of the oral Gospel. The oral Gospel was not, as far as we can see, a Life of Christ, but a selection of representative events from it, suited in its great outlines to the general wants of the Church, and adapted by the several Apostles to the peculiar requirements of their special audiences—*ἔνια, οὐ τάξει, πρὸς τὰς χρείας [τῶν ἀκουόντων.]*

<sup>2</sup> The Gospel of St John is quoted in the Latin fragment (fr. xi. Routh) first published by Grabe from a MS. of the 14th century. Routh is inclined to believe that it is genuine. There is also an allusion to it in the quotation from the 'Elders' found in Irenæus (Lib. v. ad f.), which probably was taken from Papias (fr. v. Routh, et nott.)

<sup>3</sup> Euseb. l. c.: *κέχρηται μαρτυρίαις ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰωάννου προτέρας*



CHAP. II. inspiration' of the Apocalypse, and probably  
 APOCALYPSE. commented upon part of it<sup>1</sup>.

But he makes  
 no mention  
 of the writ-  
 ings of St  
 PAUL or St  
 LUKE.

There is, however, one great chasm in his testimony. Though he was the friend of Polycarp, he nowhere alludes to any of the Pauline writings. It cannot be an accident that he omits all these—the Epistles of St Paul, the Gospel of St Luke, and the Acts of the Apostles—and these only, of the acknowledged books of the New Testament. The cause of the omission must be sought for deeper than this; and it will then be seen that the limited range of his evidence gives it an additional reality.

The distinc-  
 tion between  
 the Jewish  
 and Genile  
 Churches in  
 the Apostolic  
 age,

As we gain a clearer and fuller view of the Apostolic age it becomes evident that the fusion between the Gentile and Judaizing Christians was far less perfect than we are at first inclined to suppose. Both classes, indeed, were essentially united by sharing in a common spiritual life, but the outward barriers which separated them had not yet been removed. The elder Apostles gave to Barnabas and Paul the right hand of fellowship, but, at the same time, they

*ἐπιστολῆς, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Πέτρου ὁμοίως.* The language of Eusebius is remarkable: *ἡ Ἰωάννου προτέρα*, and *ἡ Πέτρου*—not *ἡ Ἰωάννου πρώτη* and *ἡ Πέτρου προτέρα*, as in H. E. v. 8. Can he be quoting the titles which Papias gave to them? In the fragment on the Canon (see below, § 10) *two* Epistles only of St John are mentioned.

<sup>1</sup> Andreas, Proleg. in Apoc. (fr. viii. Routh.)

defined the limits of their teaching<sup>1</sup>. This di- CHAP. II.  
 vision of missionary labour was no compromise,  
 but a gracious accommodation to the needs of  
 the time. As Christianity was apprehended  
 more thoroughly the causes which necessitated  
 the distinction lost their force; but the change  
 was neither sudden nor abrupt. It would have  
 been contrary to reason and analogy, if differ-  
 ences recognized by the Apostles, and based on  
 national characteristics, had wholly disappeared  
 at their death, or had been at once magnified  
 into schisms. If this were implied in the few,  
 but precious memorials of the first age, then it  
 might well be suspected that they give an un-  
 faithful picture of the time; but, on the con-  
 trary, just in proportion as we can trace in them  
 each separate principle which existed from the  
 first, must it be felt that there is a truth and  
 reality in the progress of the Church by which  
 all the conditions of its development, suggested  
 by reason or experience, are satisfied.

to be looked  
 for also in the  
 next.

It is in this way that the partial testimony of  
 Papias furnishes a characteristic link in the his- Papias was  
 the represen-  
 tative of the  
 Jewish  
 church.  
 tory of Christianity. As far as can be con-  
 jectured from the scanty notices of his life he was  
 probably of Jewish descent, and constitutionally  
 inclined to Judaizing views<sup>2</sup>. In such a man

<sup>1</sup> Gal. ii. 7—9.

<sup>2</sup> Euseb. H. E. iii. 36: ἀνὴρ τὰ πάντα ὅτι μάλιστα λογίω-

CHAP. II. any positive reference to the teaching of St Paul would have been unnatural. He could not condemn him, for he had been welcomed by the other Apostles as their fellow-labourer, and Polycarp had early rejoiced to recognise his claims: he could not feel bound to witness to his authority, for his sympathies were with 'the circumcision,' to whom St Paul was not sent<sup>1</sup>. He stands as the representative of 'the Twelve,' and witnesses to every book which the next generation generally received in their name. His testimony is partial; but its very imperfection is not only capable of an exact explanation, but is also in itself a proof that the Christianity of the second age was a faithful reflexion of the teaching of the Apostles<sup>2</sup>.

The value of his evidence on this ground.

*τατος (in all respects of the greatest erudition) καὶ τῆς γραφῆς εἰδήμων.* This disputed clause is quite consistent with what Eusebius says elsewhere (iii. 39): *σφόδρα γὰρ τοι σμικρὸς ὦν τὸν νοῦν, ὡς ἂν ἐκ τῶν αὐτοῦ λόγων τεκμηράμενον εἰπεῖν, [ὁ Παπίας] φαίνεται.* The preponderance of external evidence is in its favour; and the omission of it by Rufinus is quite consistent with his rules of translation.

<sup>1</sup> Gal. ii. 9.

<sup>2</sup> In speaking of Papias as the first Chronicler of the Church, it would, perhaps, have been right to except the authors of the 'Martyrdom of Ignatius.' The substance, at least, of the narrative seems an authentic memorial of the time. The mention of 'the Apostle Paul' (c. 2) by Ignatius admirably accords with his character; and the whole scene before Trajan could scarcely have been invented at a later time. The history contains coincidences of language with the Epistles of St Paul to the Romans (c. 3), Corinthians

§ 2. *The Elders quoted by Irenæus.*

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Papias is not, however, the only representative of those who had been taught by the immediate disciples of the Apostles. Irenæus has preserved some anonymous fragments of the teaching of others who occupied the same position as the Bishop of Hierapolis; and the few sentences thus quoted contain numerous testimonies to books of the New Testament, and fill up that which is left wanting by his evidence<sup>1</sup>. Thus, 'the elders, disciples of the

The evidence of the second generation after the Apostles not confined to Papias.

(i., ii), Galatians (c. 2), and 1 Timothy (c. 4). At the close of the first chapter there is also a remarkable similarity of metaphor with 2 Pet. i. 19. But the parallelism between many parts of the narrative with the Acts is still more worthy of notice, because, from the nature of the case, references to that book are comparatively rare in early writings. See especially chapp. 4, 5.

His testimony is completed by that of other 'Elders.'

<sup>1</sup> They have been collected by Routh, *Reliquiæ Sacræ*, i. 47 sqq. Eusebius notices the quotations, but did not know their source (H. E. v. 8). It is clear that Irenæus appeals to several authorities; and it appears also that he quoted traditions as well as writings: e. g. iv. 27 (45). 'Audivi a quodam Presbytero,' &c.; iv. 31 (49). 'Talia quædam enarraus de antiquis Presbyter, reficiebat nos et dicebat,' &c. The other forms of quotation are: ὑπὸ τοῦ κρείττονος ἡμῶν εἶρηται (i. Pref. 2)—ὁ κρείσσων (sic) ἡμῶν ἔφη (i. 13, 3)—quidam dixit superior nobis (iii. 17, 4)—ex veteribus quidam ait (iii. 23, 3)—senior Apostolorum discipulus disputabat (iv. 32, 1)—λέγουσιν οἱ πρεσβύτεροι τῶν Ἀποστόλων μαθηταί (v. 5, 1)—ἔφη τις τῶν προβεβηκότων (v. 17, 4)—quidam ante nos dixit (iv. 41, 2)—ὁ θεῖος πρεσβύτης . . . ἐπιβεβόηκε . . . εἰπών (i. 15, 6). The last precedes some Iambic lines against Marcus: cf. Grabe, l. c.

CHAP. II. Apostles,' as he tells us, speak of 'Paradise, to which the Apostle Paul was carried, and there heard words unutterable to us in our present state' (2 Cor. xii. 4)<sup>1</sup>. In another place he records the substance of that which he had heard 'from an Elder who had heard those who had seen the Apostles, and had learnt from them,' to the effect that 'the correction drawn from the Scriptures was sufficient for the ancients in those matters which they did without the counsel of the Spirit.' In the course of the argument, after instances from the Old Testament, the Elder alludes to 'the Queen of the South' (Matt. xii. 42), the Parable of the Talents (Matt. xxv. 27), the fate of the traitor (Matt. xxvi. 24), the judgment of disbelievers (Matt. x. 15); and also makes use of the Epistles to the Romans (as St Paul's), to the Corinthians (the first, by name), and to the Ephesians, and probably to the First Epistle of St Peter<sup>2</sup>. In another place an Elder appears to allude to the Gospels of St Matthew and St John<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Iren. v. 5, 1; Fr. vii. (Routh.)

<sup>2</sup> Iren. iv. 27 (45); Fr. v. (Routh). The oblique construction of the whole paragraph proves that Irenæus is giving accurately at least the general tenor of the Elder's statement; and the quotations form a necessary part of it, and cannot have been added for illustration. *E. g.* Non debemus ergo, inquit ille Senior, superbi esse . . . sed ipsi timere . . . et ideo Paulum dixisse: *Si enim naturalibus ramis, &c.* (Rom. xi. 21, 17.)

<sup>3</sup> Iren. iv. 31 (49); Fr. vi. (Routh). The reference to St

Thus each great division of the New Testament is again found to be recognized in the simultaneous teaching of the Church. We have already traced in the disciples of the Apostles the existence of the characteristic peculiarities by which they were themselves marked; and we can now see that their writings still remained in the next generation to witness at once to the different forms and essential harmony of their teaching. Polycarp, who united by his life two great ages of the Church, reconciles in his own person the followers of St James and St Paul: he was the friend of Papias as well as the teacher of Irenæus.

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Thus this generation also witnesses to each great division of the New Testament.

§ 3. *The Evangelists in the reign of Trajan.*

Hitherto Christianity has been viewed in its inward construction: now it will be regarded in its outward conflicts. It is no longer 'a work for silence, but for might.' Truth is not only strengthened, consolidated, developed to its full proportions: it is charged to conquer the world. In what way this charge was accomplished must now be seen.

The change in our point of sight.

It is, then, at the outset, very worthy of notice that Eusebius introduces the mention

The early Evangelists said to have circulated written Gospels.

Matthew (xi. 19) is remarkable from being introduced by 'Inquit;' that to St John (viii. 56) is more uncertain.

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A.D.  
98—117.

of New Testament Scriptures into the striking description which he gives of the zeal of the first Christian missionaries. 'They discharged the work of Evangelists,' he says, speaking of the time of Trajan, 'zealously striving to preach Christ to those who were still wholly ignorant of Christianity (ὁ τῆς πίστεως λόγος), and to deliver to them the Scripture of the divine Gospels (τὴν τῶν θείων εὐαγγελίων παραδίδόναι γραφήν<sup>1</sup>).' The statement may not be in itself convincing as an argument; but it falls in with other traditions which affirm that the preaching of Christianity was, even in the earliest times, accompanied by the circulation of written Gospels; for these were at once the sum of the Apostolic message—the oral Gospel—and its representative<sup>2</sup>. Thus, in the other glimpse which Eusebius gives of the labours of Evangelists—'men inspired with godly zeal to copy the pattern of the Apostles'—the written Word again appears. Pantænus, towards the end of the second century, penetrated 'even to the Indians; and there it is said that he found that the Gospel according to Matthew had prevented his arrival, among some there who were acquainted with Christ,

Thus Pantænus found the Gospel of St Matthew among some of the Indians, c. A.D. 180.

<sup>1</sup> Euseb. H. E. iii. 37.

<sup>2</sup> Euseb. H. E. iii. 24: Ματθαῖος . . . . Ἑβραίοις κηρύξας . . . . τὸ λείπον τῆ αὐτοῦ παρουσίας, τοῦτοις ἀφ' ὧν ἐστέλλετο, διὰ τῆς γραφῆς ἀπεπλήρου. The traditions of the origin of the Gospels of St Mark and St Luke point to the same fact.

to whom Bartholomew, one of the Apostles, had preached, and given on his departure (καταλείψαι) the writing of Matthew in Hebrew letters<sup>1</sup>.’... The whole picture may not be original; but the several parts harmonize exactly together, and the general effect is that of reality and truth.

#### § 4. *The Athenian Apologists.*

At the same time at which the first Evangelists were extending the knowledge of Christianity, the first Apologists were busy in confirming its authority<sup>2</sup>. While Asia and Rome had each their proper task to do in the building of the Church, it was reserved for the countrymen of Socrates to undertake the formal defence of its claims before the rulers of the world. The occasion of this new work arose out of the celebration of the Eleusinian mysteries—those immemorial rites which seem to have contained all that was deepest and truest in the old religion. During his first stay at Athens, Hadrian suffered himself to be initiated; and probably because the Emperor was thus pledged to the

The place and occasion of the first Apology.

A.D.  
123—126.

<sup>1</sup> Euseb. H. E. v. 10. Cf. Heinichen, *l. c. et add.* Pantænus was at the head of the Catechetical School of Alexandria in the time of Commodus (Euseb. v. 9); and his journey to India probably preceded his appointment to that office.

<sup>2</sup> Euseb. H. E. iii. 37.



CHAP. II. support of the national faith, the enemies of the Christians set on foot a persecution against them. On this, or perhaps not until his second c. A. D. 130. visit to the city, Quadratus, 'a disciple of the Apostles<sup>1</sup>,' offered to him his Apology, which is said to have procured the well-known rescript to Minucius in favour of the Christians<sup>2</sup>.

The character  
of the Apo-  
logy of Quad-  
ratus.

This Apology of Quadratus was generally current in the time of Eusebius, who himself possessed a copy of it; 'and one may see in it,' he says, 'clear proofs both of the intellect of the man and of his apostolic orthodoxy<sup>3</sup>.' The single passage which he has preserved shows that

<sup>1</sup> Hieron. *de Virr. Ill.* xix. It is disputed whether the *Apologist* was identical with the *Bishop* of the same name, who is said to have 'brought the Christians of Athens again together who had been scattered by persecution, and to have rekindled their faith' (Euseb. H. E. iv. 23). The narrative of Eusebius leaves the matter in uncertainty. (Cf. iii. 37; iv. 3, with iv. 23). Jerome identifies them (l. c.; Ep. ad Magn. 84), and Cave supports his view (Hist. Litt. i. an. 123). Cf. Routh, *Rel. Sacrae*, i. 72 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Routh, l. c. The details of the history are very obscure. If Jerome speaks with strict accuracy when he says, 'Quadratus . . . Adriano principi *Eleusinae sacra invi-senti* librum pro nostra religione tradidit,' the Apology must be placed at the time of Hadrian's first visit; otherwise it seems more likely that it should be referred to the second. Pearson (ap. Routh, p. 78) fixes the date on the authority of Eusebius (?) at 127. The rescript to Minucius is found in Just. Mart. Ap. i. ad f.

<sup>3</sup> H. E. iv. 3: ἐξ οὗ [συγγράμματος] κατιδεῖν ἐστὶ λαμπρὰ τεκμήρια τῆς τε τοῦ ἀνδρὸς διανοίας καὶ τῆς ἀποστολικῆς ὀρθο-τομίας.

Quadratus insisted rightly on the historic worth of Christianity. 'The works of our Saviour,' he argues, 'were ever present; for they were real:—those who were healed:—those who were raised from the dead:—who were not only seen at the moment when the miracles were wrought, but also [were seen continually, like other men] being ever present; and that not only while the Saviour sojourned on earth, but also after his departure for a considerable time, so that some of them survived even to our times<sup>1</sup>.'

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A second 'Apology for the Faith,'—'a rationale of Christian doctrine'—was addressed to Hadrian by Aristides, 'a man of the greatest eloquence,' who likewise was an Athenian, and probably wrote on the same occasion as Quadratus<sup>2</sup>. Eusebius and Jerome speak of the book

The Apology of Aristides.

<sup>1</sup> The original cannot be quoted too often: Τοῦ δὲ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν τὰ ἔργα ἀεὶ παρῆν· ἀληθῆ γὰρ ἦν· οἱ θεραπευθέντες· οἱ ἀναστάντες ἐκ νεκρῶν· οἱ οὐκ ὤφθησαν μόνον θεραπευόμενοι καὶ ἀνιστάμενοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀεὶ παρόντες· οὐδ' ἐπιδημοῦντος μόνον τοῦ Σωτῆρος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπαλλαγέντος ἦσαν ἐπὶ χρόνον ἰκανόν, ὥστε καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἡμετέρους χρόνους τινὲς αὐτῶν ἀφίκοιτο (Euseb. H. E. iv. 3). The repetition of ὁ Σωτῆρ absolutely is remarkable; in the New Testament, and in the Apostolic Fathers, it occurs only as a title. The usage of Quadratus clearly belongs to a later date. It appears again in the Letter to Diognetus (c. 9), and very frequently in the fragment on the Resurrection appended to Justin's works (cc. 2, 4, 6, 7, &c.)

<sup>2</sup> Hieron. *de Virr. Ill.* xx. Volumen nostri dogmatis rationem continens. *Fragm. Martyrol.*, ap. Routh, p. 76.

as still current in their time, but they do not appear to have read it. Jerome, however, adds that 'in the opinion of scholars it was a proof of the writer's ability;' and this falls in with what he elsewhere says of its character, that it was constructed out of philosophic elements<sup>1</sup>. Aristides, in fact, like Justin, was a philosopher; and did not lay aside his former dress when he became a Christian<sup>2</sup>.

Both witness  
to the Catho-  
lic doctrine.

Nothing, it will be seen, can be drawn directly from these scanty notices in support of the Canon; but the position of the men gives importance even to the most general views of their doctrine. They represent the teaching of Gentile<sup>3</sup> Christendom in their generation, and witness to its soundness. Quadratus is said to have been eminently conspicuous for the gift of Aristides philosophus, vir eloquentissimus . . . . If there were sufficient reason for the supposition that Quadratus himself suffered martyrdom in the time of Hadrian, the Apology of Aristides might be supposed to have been called forth at that time.

<sup>1</sup> Hieron. l. c. apud philologos ingenii ejus indicium est; ad Magn. Ep. 84 (Routh, p. 76). Apologeticum pro Christianis obtulit contextum philosophorum sententiis, quem imitatus postea Justinus, et ipse philosophus.

<sup>2</sup> Hieron. l. c. Dorner (i. 180) says the same of Quadratus, but I cannot tell on what authority. Probably the names were interchanged.

<sup>3</sup> Yet Grabe's conjecture with regard to the rule attributed to Quadratus in a Martyrology 'ut nulla esca a Christianis repudiaretur, quæ rationalis et humana est,' seems very plausible. Routh, p. 79.

prophecy<sup>1</sup>; and yet he appealed with marked emphasis, not to any subjective evidence, but to the reality of Christ's works. Aristides investigated Christianity in the spirit of a philosopher; and yet he was as conspicuous for faith as for wisdom<sup>2</sup>. Their works were not only able, but in the opinion of competent judges they were orthodox.

### § 5. *The Letter to Diognetus.*

In addition to the meagre fragments just reviewed, one short work—the so-called Letter to Diognetus—has been preserved entire, or nearly so, to witness to the character of the earliest apologetic literature<sup>3</sup>. It differs, however, from the Apologies in this, that it was written in the first instance to satisfy an inquirer, and not to conciliate an enemy. It is anonymous, resembling in form a speech much more than a letter, and there are no adequate means of determining its authorship. For a long time it was attributed to Justin Martyr; but it is equally

The letter to Diognetus.

Not written by Justin, but

<sup>1</sup> Euseb. H. E. iii. 37; v. 17.

<sup>2</sup> Hieron. ad Magn. l. c.: fide vir sapientiaque admirabilis. Another very remarkable testimony to the character of his teaching is found in the *Martyrolog. Rom.* (ap. Routh, p. 80). Quod Christus Jesus solus esset Deus præsentē ipso Imperatore luculentissime peroravit.

<sup>3</sup> Like the Epistles of Clement it is at present found only in one ancient MS. Cf. Otto, *Just. Mart.* ii., *proleg.* xiv. xx. sqq. Stephens may have had access to another.

CHAP. II. alien in thought and style from his acknowledged writings; and the mainstay of such a hypothesis seems to be the pardonable desire not to leave a gem so precious without an owner<sup>1</sup>. Other names have been suggested; but in the absence of external evidence they serve only to express the character of the Essay. It is eloquent, but that is no sure sign that it was written by Apollos. It is opposed to Judaism, but that is no proof purely Greek. that it proceeded from Marcion<sup>2</sup>. It may be the work of Quadratus<sup>3</sup> or Aristides; but it is

<sup>1</sup> The evidence on which we conclude that it cannot be Justin's is briefly this: (1) It is contained in no catalogue of his writings. (2) Justin's style is cumbrous, involved, and careless; while that of the Letter to Diognetus is simple, vigorous, and classical. (3) Justin regards idolatry, Judaism, even Christianity itself, from a different point of view. Idols, according to him, were really tenanted by spiritual powers (Apol. i. 12), and were not mere stocks or stones (ad Diogn. 2): the Mosaic Law was a fitting preparation for the Gospel (Dial. c. Tr. xlili.), and not an arbitrary system (ad Diogn. 4): Christianity was the completion of that which was begun in men's hearts by the seminal word (Ap. ii. 13), so that they were not, even in appearance, left uncared for by God before Christ came (ad Diogn. c. 8). The second ground is in itself decisive; the doctrinal differences can be more or less smoothed down by the comparison of other passages of Justin: e.g. Ap. i. 9; Dial. c. Tr. 46 f.

<sup>2</sup> Lumper (ap. Möhler, 165) and Gallandi (ap. Hefele, lxxix.) suggest Apollos. Bunsen (Hipp. i. 187) 'believes that he has proved (in an unpublished work) that [the first part] is the lost early letter of Marcion.'

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Dorner, i. 178 *anm.*

enough that we can regard it as the natural out-  
pouring of a Greek heart holding converse with  
a Greek mind in the language of old philoso-  
phers. CHAP. II.

The question of the authorship of the Letter being thus left in uncertainty, that of its integrity still remains. As it stands at present it consists of two parts (cc. i.—x.; xi., xii.) connected by no close coherence; and at the end of the first the manuscript marks the occurrence of a 'chasm'.<sup>1</sup> The separation thus pointed out is fully established by internal evidence. The first part—the true Letter to Diognetus—is everywhere marked by the characteristics of Greece; the second by those of Alexandria. The one, so to speak, sets forth truth 'rationally,' and the other 'mystically.' The centre of the one is faith: of the other, knowledge. The different manner in which they treat the ancient Covenant illustrates their relation. The Mosaic institutions—sabbaths, and circumcision, and fasts—are at once set aside in the Letter to Diognetus as palpably ridiculous and worthless. In the concluding fragment, on the contrary, 'the fear of the Law and the grace of the Prophets' are united with 'the faith of the Gospels and the

The Letter consists of two parts.

Their characteristics.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Otto, ii. p. 201, n. The words are: *καὶ ὧδε ἐγκοπὴν εἶχε τὸ ἀντίγραφον.*

CHAP. II. tradition of the Apostles' as contributing to the wealth of the Church<sup>1</sup>.

The date of  
the Letter to  
Diognetus.

Indications of the date of the writings are not wholly wanting. The address to Diognetus was composed after the faith of Christians had been tried by wide-spread persecution, which had not even at that time passed over<sup>2</sup>; and, on the other hand, a lively faith in Christ's speedy

<sup>1</sup> It is always impossible to convey by words any notion of the variations in tone, and language, and manner, which are instinctively felt in comparing two cognate, but separate books; and yet the distinction between the two parts of the 'Letter to Diognetus' seems to me to be shown clearly by these subtle, but most real differences. In addition to this the argument is completed at the end of c. x. according to the plan laid down in c. i.; and the close of c. xi. seems to imply a different motive for writing. On the other hand, it is quite wrong to insist on the fact that 'the second fragment addresses not one, but many,' for the singular is used as often as the plural (c. xi.: ἦν χάρις μὴ λυπῶν ἐπιγνώση. c. xii.: ἦτω σοὶ καρδία γνῶσις.)

There may have been a formal conclusion after c. x., but even now the termination is not more abrupt than that to Justin's first Apology, and it expresses the same motive—a regard to future judgment (c. x. f.; Just. Ap. i. 68.) In c. vii. there is a lacuna. Cf. n. (2.)

<sup>2</sup> c. vii.: [οὐχ ὀρᾶς] παραβαλλομένους θηρίους... It is impossible to read the words without thinking of the martyrdom of Ignatius, which may, indeed, have suggested them.

Just before παραβαλλομένους there is a lacuna; οὐχ ὀρᾶς is introduced from the next sentence. The MS. has the note: οὕτως καὶ ἐν τῷ ἀντιγράφῳ εὑρον ἐγκοπήν, παλαιοτάτου ὄντος (Otto, ii. p. 184, n.) It is quite unnecessary to alter the last words as Otto wishes. Cf. Jelf, Gr. Gr. § 710 c.

Presence (*παρουσία*) still lingered in the Church<sup>1</sup>. CHAP. II.  
 The first condition can hardly be satisfied before  
 the reign of Trajan; and the second forbids us to c. 117 A.D.  
 bring the letter down to a much later time. In  
 full accordance with this Christianity is spoken  
 of as something 'recent;' Christians are a 'new  
 class;' the Saviour has been only 'now' set forth<sup>2</sup>.

The concluding fragment is more recent, but  
 still, I believe, not later than the first half of the  
 second century. The greater maturity of style,  
 and the definite reference to St Paul, can be  
 explained by the well-known activity of religious  
 thought, and the early advancement of Chris-  
 tian literature at Alexandria<sup>3</sup>. And everything  
 else in the writing betokens an early date. The

The date of  
the second  
fragment  
somewhat  
later.

<sup>1</sup> c. vii.: ταῦτα τῆς παρουσίας αὐτοῦ δείγματα. The word does not occur in this sense in the Apostolic Fathers. Justin speaks of the second *παρουσία* without alluding to its approach: Dial. c. Tr. cc. xxxi., xxxii.

<sup>2</sup> cc. i. ii. This argument is of weight when connected with the others, though not so independently. Our view of the date of the Letter is not inconsistent with the belief that it was addressed to Diognetus, the tutor of Marcus Aurelius. That prince openly adopted the dress and doctrines of the Stoics when twelve years old (133 A.D.); and if we place the Epistle at the close of the reign of Trajan (c. 117 A.D.) there is no difficulty in reconciling the dates.

<sup>3</sup> c. xii.: ὁ ἀπόστολος. The antagonism between the Serpent (*ἡδονή*) and Eve (*αἴσθησις*) was commented on by Philo, Leg. Alleg. ii. §§ 18 sqq. Τὴν ὀφιομάχον οὖν γνώμην ἀντίταπτε καὶ κάλλιστον ἀγῶνα τοῦτου διάθλησον . . . κατὰ τῆς τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας νικώσης ἡδονῆς . . . (§ 26.) Cf. Just. M. Dial. c. 100 and Otto, l. c.



CHAP. II. author speaks of himself as 'a disciple of Apostles and a teacher of Gentiles<sup>1</sup>.' The Church, as he describes it, was still in its first stage<sup>2</sup>. The sense of personal intercourse with the Word was fresh and deep. Revelation was not then wholly a thing of the Past<sup>3</sup>.

Both parts show a combination of the doctrine of St Paul and St John.

In one respect the two parts of the book are united, so far as they exhibit a combination of the teaching of St Paul and St John. The love of God, it is said in the Letter to Diognetus, is the source of love in the Christian; who must needs 'love God who thus first loved him (*προαγαπήσαντα*),' and find an expression for this love by loving his neighbour, whereby he will be 'an imitator of God.' 'For God loved men, for whose sakes he made the world, to whom He

<sup>1</sup> c. xi. init.

<sup>2</sup> c. xii. f.: ... σωτήριον δείκνυται καὶ ἀπόστολοι συνετίζονται, καὶ τὸ κυρίου πάσχα προέρχεται, καὶ κληροὶ συνάγονται, καὶ μετὰ κόσμου ἀρμόζονται, καὶ διδάσκων ἁγίους ὁ Λόγος εὐφραίνεται, δι' οὗ Πατὴρ δοξάζεται. I have adopted the admirable emendation κληροὶ (1 Pet. v. 3) for κηροὶ, printed by Bunsen (Hipp. i. p. 192), though in p. 188 he seems to read καιροὶ. It does not appear on what authority Otto says 'Designantur cerei, quibus Christiani potissimum tempore paschali utebantur;' if it were so, κηροὶ συνάγονται would still be a marvellous expression. Cf. Bingham, Orig. Eccles. ii. 461 sq. The phrase παράδοσις ἀποστόλων φυλάσσεται is of no weight against this opinion. Cf. 2 Thess. ii. 15; iii. 6; 1 Cor. xi. 2.

<sup>3</sup> The phrase already quoted, (note (2)) 'the Lord's passover advances,' seems to point to the early Paschal controversy. If a special date must be fixed, I should be inclined to suggest some time between 140—150.

subjected all things that are in the earth, ... unto whom (*πρός*) He sent His only-begotten Son, to whom He promised the kingdom in heaven (*τὴν ἐν οὐρανῷ βασιλείαν*), and will give it to those who love Him<sup>1</sup>. God's will is mercy: 'He sent His Son as wishing to save (*ὡς σώζων*) ... and not to condemn;' and as witnesses of this, 'Christians dwell in the world, though they are not of the world.' So in the Conclusion we read that 'the Word Who was from the beginning,' 'at His appearance, speaking boldly, manifested... the mysteries of the Father to those who were judged faithful by Him.' And those again to whom the Word speaks 'from love of that which is revealed to them' share their knowledge with others. And this is the true knowledge which is inseparable from life; and not that false knowledge of which the Apostle says, 'knowledge puffeth up, but love edifieth<sup>2</sup>.'

The presence of the teaching of St John is here placed beyond all doubt. There are, how-

How far the Synoptic Gospels are recognised in the letter to Diognetus.

<sup>1</sup> c. x. Cf. 1 John iv. 19, 11; Eph. v. 1; John iii. 16; [James i. 12.] I cannot call to mind a parallel to the phrase *ἡ ἐν οὐρανῷ βασιλεία*.

<sup>2</sup> cc. xi., xii. Cf. John i. 1, 18; 1 Cor. viii. 1. The phrase *παρρησία λαλεῖν* is peculiar to St John among the New Testament writers with the exception of Mark viii. 32. 'Ἐξ ἀγάπης τῶν ἀποκαλυφθέντων is a very note-worthy expression.

**CHAP. II.** Lord's discourses; and with regard to the Synoptic Evangelists, it is more difficult to trace the marks of their use. From time to time the writer to Diognetus appears to show familiarity with their language; but this is all<sup>1</sup>.

Other references to the New Testament in the letter to Diognetus; and

The influence of the other parts of the New Testament on the Letter is clearer. In the first part the presence of St Paul is even more discernible than that of St John. In addition to Pauline words and phrases<sup>2</sup>, whole sections are constructed with manifest regard to passages in the Epistles to the Romans, Corinthians, and Galatians; and there are other coincidences of language more or less evident with the Acts, and with the Epistles to the Ephesians, Philippians, the First Epistle to Timothy, and the Epistle to Titus, and with the First Epistle of Peter<sup>3</sup>. In

<sup>1</sup> Compare Matt. vi. 25-31; xix. 17, with cc. ix., viii.; and also Matt. v. 44; xix. 26, with cc. vi., ix.

<sup>2</sup> The following phrases may be noticed: ἀποδέχομαι τινά τινος—τὸ ἀδύνατον τῆς ἡμετέρας φύσεως—τὸ τῆς θεοσεβείας μυστήριον—οἰκονομίαν πιστεύεσθαι—τεχνίτης καὶ δημιουργός (Hebr.)—μιμητῆς Θεοῦ—κατὰ σάρκα ζῆν—καινὸς ἄνθρωπος.

Among the Pauline words are: παρεδρεύειν (1 Cor. ix. 13)—θεοσέβεια—δεισιδαιμονία—χορηγεῖν—συνήθεια—προσδεόμενος—παραιτοῦμαι—πολιτεύομαι—ἀφθαρσία—ἐκλογή—ὁμολογουμένως—ὑπόστασις (Hebr.)

The peculiarities in the language of the Letter may be judged from these examples: ὑπερσπουδάζειν—προκατέχειν—ἐξομοιοῦσθαι—ἐγκαταστηρίζειν—ἀπερινόητος—παντοκτίστης; γεραίρειν—ψοφοδεής—μνησικακεῖν.

<sup>3</sup> Compare c. ix. with Rom. iii. 21-26, and Gal. iv. 4;

the second fragment there is, in addition to the references to St John, to the Gospels generally, and to the Epistle to the Corinthians already mentioned, an apparent reminiscence of a passage in the First Epistle to Timothy<sup>1</sup>.

CHAP. II.  
in the second  
Fragment.

The conclusion of the Letter has, however, a further importance as marking the presence of a new element in the development of Christian philosophy. Knowledge (*γνῶσις*) is vindicated from its connexion with heresy, and welcomed as the highest expression of revealed truth. Believers are God's Paradise, bringing forth manifold fruits; and in them, as in Paradise of old, the tree of knowledge is planted hard by the tree of Life; for it is not knowledge that killeth, but disobedience. Life cannot exist without knowledge; nor sure knowledge without true Life. Knowledge without the witness of Life is only the old deception of the serpent. The Christian's heart must be knowledge; and his Life must be true Reason. In other words, Christian wisdom must be the spring of action, and Christian life the realization of truth<sup>2</sup>. The groundwork of this teaching lies in the relation of the Word to man. The Incarnation of the

The 'Gnostic'  
element re-  
cognized in  
the second  
Fragment.

and c. v. with 2 Cor. vi. 9, 10. The following references also are worthy of remark: Acts xvii. 24, 25—c. iii.: Eph. iv. 21-24—c. ii.; Phil. iii. 18 sqq.—c. v.: 1 Tim. iii. 16—c. iv.: Tit. iii. 4—c. ix.: 1 Pet. iii. 18—c. ix.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. 1 Tim. iii. 16 with c. xi.

<sup>2</sup> c. xii.

Eternal Word is connected intimately with His Birth from time to time in the heart of the believer<sup>1</sup>. The same Word which manifested the mysteries of the Father when He was shown to the world, is said still to converse with whom He will<sup>2</sup>. The Word is still the teacher of the saints<sup>3</sup>.

How corrected.

In this doctrine it is possible to trace the germs of later mysticism, but each false deduction is excluded by the plain recognition of the correlative objective truth. The test of knowledge is the presence of Life<sup>4</sup>; and the influence of the Word on the Christian is made to flow from His historical revelation to mankind<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Οὗτος ὁ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, ὁ καινὸς φανεῖς καὶ [παλαιὸς] εὐρεθεῖς καὶ πάντοτε νέος ἐν ἀγίων καρδίαις γεννώμενος (c. xi.)

<sup>2</sup> c. xi.: . . . ἐπιγνώση ἃ Λόγος ὁμιλεῖ δι' ὧν βούλεται ὅτε θέλει.

<sup>3</sup> c. xii.: διδάσκων ἀγίους ὁ Λόγος εὐφραίνεται.

It is to be remarked that the Word appears in both parts of the Letter rather as the correlative to Reason in man, (ζωὴ δὲ λόγος ἀληθής, c. xii.—ὁ Θεὸς . . . τὴν ἀλήθειαν καὶ τὸν Λόγον τὸν ἅγιον καὶ ἀπερινόητον ἀνθρώποις ἐνίδρυσε . . . c. vii.), than as the expression of the creative Will of God. Cf. Dorner, i. p. 411.

<sup>4</sup> Ὁ γὰρ νομίζων εἰδέναι τι ἄνευ γνώσεως ἀληθοῦς καὶ μαρτυρουμένης ὑπὸ τῆς ζωῆς, οὐκ ἔγνω . . . c. xii.

<sup>5</sup> Εὐαγγελίων πίστις ἱδρύται . . . c. xi.

§ 6. *The Jewish Apologists.*

The conclusion of the Letter to Diognetus offers a natural transition to the few relics of Apologetic writings derived apparently from Jewish authorship. It bears, as has been said, the impress of Alexandria, and was probably the work of a Jewish convert<sup>1</sup>. Coming from such a source it may be taken to show the Catholic spirit of one division of Jewish Christendom; but, since it may seem that the freedom of thought which distinguished Alexandria was unlikely to foster Judaizing views, it becomes a matter of importance to inquire whether there be any early records of the Palestinian Church, their acknowledged source and centre. A notice of one such book,—the ‘Dialogue between Jason and Papiscus,’ has been preserved<sup>2</sup>. It appears to have had a wide popularity, and was translated into Latin in the third century<sup>3</sup>. Celsus, it is true,

The Letter to Diognetus a transition to the Judæo-Christian writings.

The Dialogue of Jason and Papiscus.

<sup>1</sup> This follows, I think, from the manner in which the Book of Genesis is allegorized. In later writers such interpretations became generally current. The contrast which the fragment offers to the Epistle of Barnabas is very instructive, as showing the opposite extremes deducible from the same principles.

<sup>2</sup> Routh, i. 95—109.

<sup>3</sup> This is the date given by Cave. Others have placed it as late as the end of the fifth century. The translation was made by Celsus, and dedicated to Bishop Vigilus; but nothing can be determined as to their identity. The preface

CHAP. II. thought that it was fitter for pity than for ridicule; but Origen speaks highly of its dramatic skill<sup>1</sup>. It is uncertain whether it has been attributed rightly to Aristo of Pella; for that late belief may have arisen from its known connexion with the Church to which he belonged<sup>2</sup>. The general plan of the writer, however, is exactly characteristic of the position which a teacher at Pella may be supposed to have occupied. It was his object to represent a *Hebrew Christian* convincing an *Alexandrine Jew* 'from

Its character.

to the translation is appended to many editions of Cyprian. Cf. Routh, p. 109.

<sup>1</sup> Orig. c. Cels. iv. 52.: Παπίσκου τινός καὶ Ἰάσονος ἀντιλογίαν ἔγνω (in the words of Celsus) οὐ γέλωτος ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἐλείους καὶ μίσους ἀξίαν. The book, as Origen allows, was more adapted in some parts for the simpler sort of men than for the educated: δυνάμενον μὲν τι πρὸς τοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ ἀπλουστέρους πίστεως χάριν συμβαλέσθαι, οὐ μὴν οἶόν τε καὶ συνετωτέρους κινήσαι (l. c.). Afterwards he adds: καίτοιγε οὐκ ἀγεννῶς οὐδ' ἀπρεπῶς τῷ Ἰουδαϊκῷ προσώπῳ τοῦ ἐτέρου ἱσταμένου πρὸς τὸν λόγον.

<sup>2</sup> Origen and Jerome quote the Dialogue without mentioning the author's name; and it is not given in the Preface of Celsus. The fragment quoted from Aristo by Eusebius (H. E. iv. 6) appears to belong to an entirely different work. Maximus (7th cent.) is the earliest writer who attributes the Dialogue to Aristo, adding: ἦν [διάλεξις] Κλήμης ὁ Ἀλεξανδρεὺς ἐν ἑκτῷ βιβλίῳ τῶν Ὑποτυπώσεων τὸν ἄγιον Λουκᾶν φησὶν ἀναγράψαι. This tradition is probably due to the identification of Jason with the Jason mentioned in the Acts (xvii. 5).

Of the Apology which Aristo is said to have offered to Hadrian (Chron. Pasch. 477, ap. Routh, p. 104, if the reading be correct,) nothing is known.

the Old Testament Scriptures, (ἐκ τῶν Ἰουδαϊκῶν γραφῶν) CHAP. II. showing that the Messianic prophecies were applicable to Jesus<sup>1</sup>. To this end he apparently made frequent use of allegorical interpretations of Scripture; but it is more important to notice that he speaks of Jesus as the Son of God, the Creator of the World<sup>2</sup>. The words, though few, are key-words of Christianity, and, as the single expression of the early doctrine of the Church of Palestine, they go far to expose the unreality of the hypothesis which exhibits it as Ebionitic. They do not prove anything as to the existence of a New Testament Canon; but, as far as they have any meaning, they tend to show that no such divisions had place in the Church as have been supposed to render it impossible<sup>3</sup>.

Agrippa Castor introduces a new form of the The writings  
of Agrippa  
Castor

<sup>1</sup> Pref. Cels. ap. Routh, p. 97: Orig. l. c.

<sup>2</sup> Orig. l. c.:—Cels. Pref. l. c.:—Hieron. *Quæst. Hebr.* ii. 507 (ap. Routh, p. 95). In the last instance he reads Gen. i. 1, In filio fecit Deus cœlum et terram. Cf. Routh, p. 100.

<sup>3</sup> The Dialogue was in circulation in the time of Celsus, and consequently its composition cannot be placed long after the death of Hadrian.

It may be concluded from Origen's notice (l. c.) that the doctrine of the Resurrection of the body suggested some of Celsus' objections, probably in connexion with the Second Advent. The reference to 'a strange and memorable narrative' contained in one of the Christian books probably refers to the dialogue (compare c. 53, p. 200, *init.* with c. 52, *init.*)



CHAP. II. Apology. Hitherto we have noticed in succession defences of Christianity addressed to persecutors, philosophers, and Jews; he maintained the truth against heretics. Nothing appears to be known of his history. He is said to have been a 'very learned man,' and was probably of Jewish descent<sup>1</sup>. Eusebius speaks of him as a contemporary of Saturninus and Basilides, and adds, that he was the most famous among the many writers of the time 'who defended the doctrine of the Apostles and the Church chiefly on philosophic principles (λογικώτερον)<sup>2</sup>.' In particular, he composed 'a most satisfactory (ικανώτατος) refutation of Basilides,' in which he noticed his commentaries on the Gospel, and exposed the claims of certain supposititious (ἀνύπαρκτοι) prophets, whom he had used to support his doctrines. This slight fact shows that historic criticism was not wholly wanting in the Church as soon as it was required. It would not, as far as we can see, have been an easy matter to secure a reception for forgeries, claiming to be authoritative, even at the beginning of the second century.

show signs of historical criticism.

<sup>1</sup> Vir valde doctus. Hieron. *de Vir. Ill.* xxi. His Jewish descent appears to follow from the fact that he charged Basilides with teaching 'indifference in eating meats offered to idols' (Euseb. H. E. iv. 7); yet see Just. M. *Dial.* c. 35. His controversy with Basilides probably indicates some connexion with Alexandria.

<sup>2</sup> Euseb. l. c.

§ 7. *Justin Martyr.*

The writings and character of Justin Martyr stand out in clear relief from the fragments and names which we have hitherto reviewed. Instead of interpreting isolated phrases we can now examine complete and continuous works: instead of painfully collecting a few dry details from tradition we can contemplate the image which a Christian himself has drawn of his own life and experience. Justin was of Greek descent, but his family had been settled for two generations in the Roman colony of Flavia Neapolis, which was founded in the time of Vespasian near the site of the ancient Sichem<sup>1</sup>. The date of his birth is uncertain, but it was probably at the close of the first century. He tells us that his countrymen generally were addicted to the errors of Simon Magus<sup>2</sup>, but it appears that he himself escaped that delusion, and began his search for truth among the teachers of the old philosophic schools.

The comparative fulness of our knowledge of Justin.

<sup>1</sup> Ap. i. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Ap. i. 26: Σχεδὸν πάντες μὲν Σαμαρεῖς, ὀλίγοι δὲ καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις ἔθνεσιν, ὡς τὸν πρῶτον θεὸν ἐκεῖνον (Simon) ὁμολογούντες [ἐκεῖνον] καὶ προσκυνοῦσι. Cf. Dial. c. 120. It is an instructive fact that Sadducæism also prevailed in Samaria. [Hipp.] *Adv. Hæc.* ix. 29.

## CHAP. II.

His own account of his philosophic studies.

First he applied to a Stoic<sup>1</sup>; but after some time he found that he learned nothing of God from him, and his master affirmed that such knowledge was unnecessary. Next he betook himself to a Peripatetic, 'a shrewd man,' he adds, 'in his own opinion.' But before many days were over, the Philosopher was anxious to settle with his pupil the price of his lessons, that their intercourse might prove profitable to them both. So Justin thought that he was no philosopher at all; and still yearning for knowledge (*τῆς ψυχῆς ἔτι σπαργώσης*) he applied to a Pythagorean, who enjoyed a great reputation, and prided himself on his wisdom. But a knowledge of Music, Astronomy, and Geometry, was the necessary passport to his lectures; and, since he was not possessed of it, Justin, as he seemed near to the fulfilment of his hopes, was once again doomed to disappointment. He fared better, however, with a Platonist, his next teacher, and in his company he seemed to grow wiser every day. It was at that time—when 'in his folly,' as he says, 'he hoped soon to attain to a clear vision of God,'—that, seeking calm and retirement by the sea-shore, he met an aged man, meek and venerable, who led him at length

<sup>1</sup> The following account is given chiefly in a translation from his own striking narrative. Dial. cc. ii. sqq.

from Plato to the Prophets, from metaphysics to faith. 'Pray before all things,' were the last words of this new master, 'that the gates of light be opened to you; for [the truths of revelation] are not comprehensible by the eye or mind of man, unless God and His Christ give him understanding<sup>1</sup>.'

CHAP. II.

'Immediately a fire was kindled in my soul,' Justin adds, 'and I was possessed with a love for the prophets and those men who are Christ's friends<sup>2</sup>. And as I discussed his arguments with myself I found Christianity to be the only philosophy that is sure and suited to man's wants. (ἀσφαλῆ τε καὶ σύμφορον). Thus then, and for this cause, am I a philosopher.'

Christianity the true philosophy.

In the strength of his new conviction he travelled far and wide to spread the truth which he had found. In the public walk (*xystus*) at Ephesus he held a discussion with the Jew Trypho, proving from the Old Testament that Jesus was the Christ. At Rome he is said to have established a school where he endeavoured to satisfy the doubts of Greeks. Everywhere he

The wide extent of Justin's labours.

<sup>1</sup> Dial. c. vii. f.

<sup>2</sup> This phrase, in connexion with the phrase immediately below, βουλοίμην ἂν . . . πάντα . . . μὴ ἀφίστασθαι τῶν τοῦ Σωτῆρος λόγων, seems to point to Christian Scriptures co-ordinate with the Old Testament. The nature of the first interview with Trypho precluded any more immediate mention of them at the time.

CHAP. II. appeared 'as an ambassador of the Divine Word in the guise of a philosopher<sup>1</sup>.'

His numerous writings.

His activity found frequent expression in writing. Eusebius has given a list of such books of his 'as had come to his own knowledge,' adding that there were besides 'very many other works which were widely circulated<sup>2</sup>.' Of the writings which bear his name now, two Apologies and the Dialogue with Trypho are genuine beyond all doubt; the rest are either undoubtedly spurious or reasonably suspected<sup>3</sup>. But those three books are invaluable so far as they combine to give a wide view of the relation of Christianity, not indeed to the Christian Church, but to heathendom and Judaism.

A general account of the relation of his books to the Gospel-narrative.

The evidence of Justin is thus invested with peculiar importance; and the difficulties by which it is perplexed, though they have been frequently exaggerated, are proportionately great. Since a general view of its chief features will

<sup>1</sup> Euseb. H. E. iv. ii. Cf. Dial. c. i. If the *Cohortatio ad Gentiles* be Justin's, we must add Alexandria to the cities which he visited (c. xiii). Compare Semisch, *Denkwürd. Just.* ss. 2 ff.

Credner (*Beitr.* i. 99) suggests Corinth as the place where the Dialogue took place, if it be historical.

<sup>2</sup> Euseb. H. E. iv. 18.

<sup>3</sup> There is, I believe, a difference of style and tone which distinguishes the two Apologies and the Dialogue from all the other works attributed to Justin. The question is of little importance for our present inquiry, since the Gospel-references are chiefly confined to the former.

render our inquiry into its extent and character easier and more intelligible, we may state by anticipation that his writings exhibit a mass of references to the Gospel-narrative—that they embrace the chief facts of our Lord's life, and many details of His teaching—that they were derived, at least frequently, from written records, which he affirmed to rest upon Apostolic authority, and to be used in the public assemblies of Christians, though he does not mention the names of their authors. It is to be noticed further that these references generally coincide, both in facts and words, with what has been related by the four Evangelists—that they imply peculiarities of each of the Gospels—that, nevertheless, they show additions to the received narrative, and remarkable variations from its text, which are sometimes repeated by Justin, and found also in other writings<sup>1</sup>.

Such are the various phenomena which must be explained and harmonized. At first the difficulties of the problem were hardly felt, and the testimony of Justin was quoted in support of our Gospels without doubt or justification. But when the whole question was fairly stated there came a reaction, and various new hypotheses

Various solutions of the problem.

<sup>1</sup> Compare Semisch, *Denkwürdigkeiten Justin's* (Hamburg, 1848); Credner, *Beiträge*, i. 92—267 (Halle, 1832); Schwegler, *Nachapostolische Zeitalter*, i. 217—231.

CHAP. II. were proposed as offering a better solution of it than the traditional belief. Some fancied that Justin made use of one or more of the original sources from which the Canonical Gospels were derived. Others, with greater precision, identified his Memoirs of the Apostles with the Gospel according to the Hebrews. Others, again, suggested that he made use of a Harmony or combined narrative constructed out of Catholic materials<sup>1</sup>. Further investigations showed that these notions were untenable, and the old opinion had again gained currency, when Credner maintained, with great sagacity and research, that we must look for the peculiarities of his quotations in a Gospel according to St Peter—one of the oldest writings of the Church, which under various forms retained its influence among Jewish Christians even after the doctrine of St Paul had obtained general reception<sup>2</sup>.

Their common ground to be examined.

In one respect all these theories are alike. They presuppose that Justin's quotations cannot be naturally reconciled with a belief in his use of our Gospels<sup>3</sup>. This is their common basis;

<sup>1</sup> These various hypotheses are examined clearly and satisfactorily by Semisch, ss. 16—33.

<sup>2</sup> Beiträge, i. 266, &c.

<sup>3</sup> Credner himself allows that Justin was *acquainted* with the Canonical Gospels of St Matthew, St Mark, and St Luke, though he used in preference (p. 267) the Gospel of St Peter. His acquaintance with the Gospel of St John he

and instead of examining in detail the various schemes which have been built upon it, we may inquire whether it be itself sound. CHAP. II.

The first thing that must strike any one who examines a complete collection of the passages in question, is the general coincidence in range and contents with our Gospels. Nothing, for instance, furnished wider scope for Apocryphal narratives than the history of the Infancy of our Blessed Lord: nothing, on the other hand, could be more fatal to Ebionism—the prevailing heresy of the age, as we are told—than the early chapters of St Matthew and St Luke. Yet Justin's account of the Infancy is as free from legendary admixture as it is full of incidents recorded by the Evangelists. He does not appear to have known anything more than they knew; and he tells, without doubt, what they have related.

I. The general coincidence of Justin's quotations with our Gospels: 1. Coincidence in facts.

He tells us that Christ was descended from (a) His account of the Infancy. considers more doubtful. Credner's words are well worthy of notice: 'Justin kannte in der That, wie es auch kaum anders denkbar ist, unsere Evangelien . . . Nur allein über die Bekanntschaft Justin's mit dem Ev. des Johannes lässt sich, ausser der allgemeinem Analogie, nichts Bestimmtes nachweisen' (Beiträge, i. 258). It was, however, unlikely that his conclusions should be allowed to remain so incomplete. Schwegler, for instance, says (i. 232): ' . . . so hat er (Justin) ohne Zweifel die εὐαγγέλια κατὰ Ματθαῖον, Μάρκον, u. s. f., bei denen es überdiess eine Frage ist, ob sie damals schon existirten, nicht gekannt, sondern ausschliesslich das sogenannte Evangelium Petri . . . oder das mit demselben identische Hebräer-evangelium benützt . . . '



CHAP. II. Abraham through Jacob, Judah, Phares, Jesse, and David<sup>1</sup>—that the Angel Gabriel was sent to announce His Birth to the Virgin Mary<sup>2</sup>—that this was a fulfilment of the prophecy of Isaiah (vii. 14)<sup>3</sup>—that Joseph was forbidden in a vision to put away his espoused wife, when he was so minded<sup>4</sup>—that our Saviour's Birth at Bethlehem had been foretold by Micah<sup>5</sup>—that His parents went thither from Nazareth, where they dwelt, in consequence of the enrolment under Cyrenius<sup>6</sup>—that as they could not find a lodging in the village, they lodged in a cave close by it, where Christ was born, and laid by Mary in a manger<sup>7</sup>—that while there wise men from Arabia,

<sup>1</sup> Dial. c. Tr. cc. 100, 120: ἐξ ὧν κατάγει ἡ Μαρία τὸ γένος. Cf. c. 43. This interpretation of the genealogies was probably adopted early.

<sup>2</sup> Dial. c. 100. Luke i. 35, 38.

<sup>3</sup> Apol. i. 33. Matt. i. 22.

<sup>4</sup> Dial. c. 78. Matt. i. 18 sqq.

<sup>5</sup> Apol. i. 34; Dial. c. 78. Matt. ii. 5, 6. The quotation (Mic. v. 2) in Justin agrees verbally with that in St Matthew, and differs very widely from the LXX., with the exception that Justin omits τὸν Ἰσραήλ. Cf. Credner, *Beitr.* ii. 148 f.

<sup>6</sup> Apol. i. 34: ἐπὶ Κυρηνίου τοῦ ὑμετέρου ἐν Ἰουδαίᾳ πρώτου γενομένου ἐπιτρόπου. Dial. c. 78. Cf. Credner, *Beitr.* i. 232 f.

<sup>7</sup> Dial. c. 78: . . . Ἐπειδὴ Ἰωσήφ οὐκ εἶχεν ἐν τῇ κώμῃ ἐκείνῃ που καταλύσαι, ἐν δὲ σπηλαίῳ τινι σύνεγγυς τῆς κώμης κατέλυσε· καὶ τότε αὐτῶν ὄντων ἐκεῖ ἐτετόκει ἡ Μαρία τὸν Χριστὸν καὶ ἐν φάτνῃ αὐτὸν ἐτεθείκει. . . . Luke ii. 6. . . . ἀνέκλινεν αὐτὸν ἐν φάτνῃ (sic) διότι οὐκ ἦν αὐτοῖς τόπος ἐν τῇ καταλύματι. The two accounts seem to be simply supplementary. Later Fathers (e.g. Orig. c. Cels. i. 51) speak

guided by a star, worshipped Him, and offered Him gold, and frankincense, and myrrh, and by revelation were commanded not to return to Herod, to whom they had first come<sup>1</sup>—that He was called Jesus as the Saviour of His people<sup>2</sup>—that by the command of God His parents fled with Him to Egypt for fear of Herod, and remained there till Archelaus succeeded Him<sup>3</sup>—that Herod, being deceived by the wise men, commanded the children of Bethlehem to be put to death, so that the prophecy of Jeremiah was fulfilled who spoke of Rachel weeping for her children<sup>4</sup>—that Jesus grew after the common manner of men, and so waited thirty years, more or less, till the coming of John the Bap-

of the Cave without any misgiving that they contradict St Luke. Thilo has collected the authorities on the question: Cod. Apocr. i. 381 sqq.

<sup>1</sup> Dial. c. 78. Matt. ii. 11, 12.

<sup>2</sup> Ap. i. 33. Matt. i. 21.

<sup>3</sup> Dial. cc. 78, 103. Matt. ii. 19—23.

<sup>4</sup> Dial. c. 78. Matt. xvi. 18. There is a natural exaggeration in Justin's language which forms a remarkable contrast to St Matthew. 'Herod ordered,' he says, 'all the children in Bethlehem without exception (*ἀπλῶς*) to be put to death.' Cf. c. 103. So, again, it is not insignificant that he appeals to the prophecy (Jerem. xxxi. 15) in a different manner. St Matthew says simply, *τότε ἐπληρώθη τὸ ῥηθὲν* but Justin more definitely, *τοῦτο ἐπροφητεύετο μέλλειν γίνεσθαι*. He transforms a typical event into a special prediction. In the Gospel they are markedly distinguished.

The quotation is verbally the same in Justin and St Matthew, differing widely from the LXX.

## CHAP. II.

(8) His account of the Mission of John the Baptist.

tist<sup>1</sup>. He tells us, moreover, that this John the son of Elizabeth, came preaching by the Jordan the baptism of repentance, wearing a leathern girdle and a raiment of camel's hair, and eating only locusts and wild honey<sup>2</sup>—that men supposed that he was the Christ, to whom he answered, 'I am not the Christ, but a voice of one crying; for He that is mightier than I will soon come (ἤξει), whose sandals I am not worthy to bear<sup>3</sup>'—that when Jesus descended into the Jordan, to be baptized by him, a fire was kindled in the river, and when He came up out of the water the Holy Spirit as a dove lighted upon Him, and a voice came from heaven, saying, 'Thou art my Son; this day have I begotten Thee<sup>3</sup>'—that immediately after His Baptism the devil came to Jesus and tempted him, bidding Him at last to worship him<sup>4</sup>. He further adds, that Christ

<sup>1</sup> Dial. c. 88. Luke ii. 40; iii. 23. The explanation of the ὡσεὶ of St Luke is to be noticed.

<sup>2</sup> Dial. c. 88, (cf. c. 49); Matt. iii. 1, 4; Luke i. 13; John i. 19 sqq. The phrase Ἰωάννου καθεζομένου ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἰορδάνου, repeated by Justin (Dial. 88. 51) is changed into καθεζομένου ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰορδάνην in c. 49. There can be no reason to think with Credner (p. 218) that Justin found the words in his Gospel.

<sup>3</sup> Dial. cc. 88, 103. Compare ii., (2), (γ), below, for an explanation of the Apocryphal additions to the text of the Evangelists.

<sup>4</sup> Dial. cc. 103, 125. The order of the Temptations followed by Justin is therefore apparently that of St Matthew. Semisch, s. 99 *anm.*

Himself recognized John as the Elias who should precede Him, 'to whom men had done whatsoever they listed;' and thus he relates how Herod put John into prison, and how the daughter of Herodias danced before the king on his birthday and pleased him; so that he promised to grant her anything she wished, and that she, by her mother's desire, asked for the head of John to be given her on a charger, and that so John was put to death<sup>1</sup>. CHAP. II.

Henceforth, after speaking in general terms of the miracles of Christ—how 'he healed all manner of sickness and disease'<sup>2</sup>—Justin says little of the details of His Life till the last great events. Then he narrates the triumphal entry into Jerusalem from Bethphage as a fulfilment of prophecy<sup>3</sup>, the cleansing of the Temple<sup>4</sup>, the conspiracy of the Jews<sup>5</sup>, the institution of the Eucharist 'for a remembrance of Christ<sup>6</sup>,' the singing of the Psalm afterwards<sup>7</sup>, the Agony at night on the Mount of Olives, at which three of (γ) His account of the Passion.

<sup>1</sup> Dial. c. 49. Matt. xvii. 11—13.

<sup>2</sup> Ap. i. c. 48; Dial. c. 69. Matt. iv. 23.

<sup>3</sup> Ap. i. 35; Dial. c. 53. The version of the prophecy is different in the two passages. The first part, however, in both agrees with the LXX. and differs from St Matthew; the last words, on the contrary, agree better with St Matthew than with the LXX. Cf. Semisch, ss. 117—119.

<sup>4</sup> Dial. c. 17.

<sup>5</sup> Dial. c. 104.

<sup>6</sup> Ap. i. 66. Cf. Dial. 41; 70.

<sup>7</sup> Dial. c. 106.

**CHAP. II.** His disciples were present<sup>1</sup>, the prayer<sup>2</sup>, the bloody sweat<sup>3</sup>, the arrest<sup>4</sup>, the flight of the Apostles<sup>5</sup>, the silence before Pilate<sup>6</sup>, the remand to Herod<sup>7</sup>, the Crucifixion, the division of Christ's raiment by lot<sup>8</sup>, the signs and words of mockery of the bystanders<sup>9</sup>, the Cry of Sorrow<sup>10</sup>, the Last Words of Resignation<sup>11</sup>, the Burial in the evening of Friday<sup>12</sup>, the Resurrection on Sunday<sup>13</sup>, the Appearance to the Apostles and disciples, how Christ opened to them the Scriptures<sup>14</sup>, the calumnies of the Jews<sup>15</sup>, the commission to the Apostles<sup>16</sup>, the Ascension<sup>17</sup>.

General character of this coincidence.

The same particularity, the same intertexture of the narratives of St Matthew and St Luke—for St Mark has few peculiar materials to contribute—the same occasional introduction of a minute trait, or of higher colouring, characterize the great mass of Justin's references to the Gospel-history. These features are as distinctly marked in his account of the Passion as of the Nativity. There are some slight differences in detail, which will be noticed afterwards, but the

<sup>1</sup> Dial. c. 99.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Dial. c. 103. Cf. Ap. 50; Dial. 53.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. <sup>6</sup> Dial. c. 102. <sup>7</sup> Dial. c. 103. Luke xxiii. 7.

<sup>8</sup> Dial. c. 97. Cf. Ap. i. 35.

<sup>9</sup> Ap. i. 38; Dial. 101.

<sup>10</sup> Dial. c. 99.

<sup>11</sup> Dial. c. 105. Luke xxiii. 46.

<sup>12</sup> Dial. c. 97.

<sup>13</sup> Ap. i. 67.

<sup>14</sup> Dial. cc. 53, 106. Ap. i. 50.

<sup>15</sup> Dial. 108. Matt. xxviii. 13. See ii. (2), (γ), below.

<sup>16</sup> Ap. i. 61.

<sup>17</sup> Dial. 132. Ap. i. 46.

broad resemblance remains unchanged. The incidents of the Gospel-narrative to which Justin refers, appear to be exactly such as he might have derived from the four Evangelists. CHAP. II.

The greater part of Justin's references are, however, to the teaching of the Saviour, and not to His works. He spoke of Christianity as a power mighty in its enduring and godlike character. He spoke of Christ as Him of whom the prophets witnessed. But miracles—those transient signs of a Divine Presence—are almost unnoticed in comparison with the words which bear for ever the living stamp of their original source. This form of argument was in some degree imposed upon him by the position which he occupied; but to such a mind as his it was no less congenial than necessary. Whether he addressed Heathen or Jews the fulfilment of prophecy furnished him with a striking outward proof of the claims of Christianity; and the moral teaching of Christ completed the impression by introducing an inward proof. It was enough if he could bring men to listen to the teaching of the Church. It was not his task to anticipate its office, or to do away with the discipline and duties of the catechumen. To forget this is to forget the very business of an Apologist. And yet the entire consistency of his writings, with their proposed end, has furnished an objection

2. Coincidence in the quotations of our Lord's teaching.

How far Justin's quotations were limited by his position.

Relation to St John's Gospel.

**CHAP. II.** against the authenticity of St John's Gospel. For unless we put out of sight the purpose for which Justin wrote, can it be a matter of wonder that he makes few allusions to the 'spiritual Gospel'—that he exhibits few traces of those deep and mysterious revelations which our Lord vouchsafed under peculiar circumstances for the conviction of his enemies, or for the confirmation of believing hearts. They were of no weight as evidence, even as our Lord himself said; and the time was not yet come when Justin could naturally unfold them to his hearers. The same cause which retarded the publication of St John's Gospel deferred the use of it. It was a spiritual supplement to the others—a light from heaven to kindle them into life; but it was necessary that the substance should exist before the supplement could be added; it was necessary that the body should be fully formed before the spirit—the highest life, could be infused into it.

John v. 47.

Coincidences  
in language.

It has been already shown that the incidents in the Life of Christ which Justin mentions strikingly coincide with those narrated in the Gospels; the style and language of the quotations which he makes from Christ's teaching agree no less exactly with those of the Evangelists. He quotes frequently from memory<sup>1</sup>; he

<sup>1</sup> This follows from the fact that his quotations of the

interweaves the words which we find at present CHAP. II.  
separately given by St Matthew, St Mark, and  
St Luke<sup>1</sup>; he condenses, combines, transposes,  
the language of our Lord as they have recorded  
it<sup>2</sup>; he makes use of phrases characteristic of  
different Gospels<sup>3</sup>; yet, with very few exceptions,  
he preserves through all these changes the  
marked peculiarities of the New Testament  
phraseology, without the admixture of any foreign  
element<sup>4</sup>.

And more than this: with the omission of Coincidences  
in substance.

same passage differ. Compare Ap. i. 15, Dial. c. 96; Ap. i. 16,  
Dial. c. 101; Ap. i. 16, Ap. i. 62; Ap. i. 16, Dial. 76.

<sup>1</sup> (a) Matthew and Luke: Dial. c. 17; c. 51; c. 76;  
Ap. i. 19;

(β) Matthew and Mark: Ap. i. 15.

<sup>2</sup> E. g. Ap. i. 15, 43; Dial. cc. 49; 77, 78, &c.

<sup>3</sup> (a) Words characteristic of St Matthew: e. g. βασιλεία  
τῶν οὐρανῶν—μαλακία—[ἵνα πληρωθῇ τὸ ῥηθὲν, de  
Resurr. c. iv.]—ὁ πατὴρ ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς—  
ἐρρέθη—βρέχει—ἀνατελλειν (act.)

(β) Words characteristic of St Luke: e. g. χάρις—  
εὐαγγελίζεσθαι—υἱὸς ὑψίστου.

(γ) Words characteristic of St John: e. g. τέκνα Θεοῦ  
—προσκυνοῦμεν λόγον καὶ ἀληθεία τιμῶντες—τὸ  
ὔδωρ τῆς ζωῆς—πηγὴ ὕδατος ζῶντος—φῶς.

<sup>4</sup> The differences of language which I have noticed are  
the following: καινὸν ποιεῖτε (Ap. i. 15, bis)—δέρματα προ-  
βάτων (Ap. i. 16; Dial. c. 35. Cf. Hebr. xi. 37)—σκολο-  
πενδρῶν (Dial. c. 76)—ψευδαπόστολοι (Dial. c. 35)—δικαιο-  
σύνην καὶ εὐσέβειαν πληροῦσθαι (Dial. c. 93)—ἡ κλεις (Dial.  
c. 17)—ἄμα (freq.) Credner (p. 260) quotes ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι  
αὐτοῦ as a peculiarity, but surely without reason. Cf.  
Matt. xviii. 5; xxiv. 5. Mark ix. 39. Luke ix. 48, 49; xxi. 8.



the Parables<sup>1</sup>, which are rather lessons of wisdom than laws of authority, he refers to parts of the whole series of our Lord's discourses given in the Synoptic Gospels; and attributes only two sayings to Him which are not substantially found there<sup>2</sup>. The first call to repentance<sup>3</sup>, the Sermon on the Mount<sup>4</sup>, the gathering from the East and West<sup>5</sup>, the invitation to sinners<sup>6</sup>, the description of the true fear<sup>7</sup>, the charge to the Apostles<sup>8</sup>, the charge to the Seventy<sup>9</sup>, the mission of John<sup>10</sup>, the revelation of the Father<sup>11</sup>, the promise of the sign of Jonah<sup>12</sup>, the prophecy of the Passion<sup>13</sup>, the acknowledgement of Sonship<sup>14</sup>, the teaching on the price of a soul<sup>15</sup>, on marriage<sup>16</sup>, on the goodness of God only<sup>17</sup>, on the tribute due to Cæsar<sup>18</sup>, on the two command-

<sup>1</sup> The only references to the Parables are, I believe, to that of the Sower, and of the Talents (Dial. c. 125).

<sup>2</sup> Dial. c. 47: *Διὸ καὶ ὁ ἡμέτερος κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς εἶπεν* 'Ἐν οἷς ἂν ὑμᾶς καταλάβω, ἐν τούτοις καὶ κρινῶ (κρίνω, Credner). Dial. c. 35. See below, ii. (2), (γ).

<sup>3</sup> Dial. c. 51. Matt. iv. 17.

<sup>4</sup> Ap. i. 15, 16. Dial. cc. 96, 105, 115, 133.

<sup>5</sup> Dial. c. 76. <sup>6</sup> Ap. i. 15. <sup>7</sup> Ap. i. 19.

<sup>8</sup> Dial. c. 82. Matt. x. 22.

<sup>9</sup> Ap. i. 16. Luke x. 16. Dial. c. 76. Luke x. 19.

<sup>10</sup> Dial. c. 51. Matt. xi. 12—15.

<sup>11</sup> Ap. i. 63; Dial. c. 100. Matt. xi. 27.

<sup>12</sup> Dial. c. 107. <sup>13</sup> Dial. cc. 76, 100.

<sup>14</sup> Dial. c. 76. <sup>15</sup> Ap. i. 15.

<sup>16</sup> Ap. i. 15. Matt. xix. 12. Dial. c. 81. Luke xx. 35, 36.

<sup>17</sup> Ap. i. 16; Dial. c. 101. <sup>18</sup> Ap. i. 17.

ments<sup>1</sup>, the woes against the Scribes and Pharisees<sup>2</sup>, the prophecy of false teachers<sup>3</sup>, the denunciation of the future punishment of the wicked<sup>4</sup>, the teaching after the Resurrection<sup>5</sup>—are all clearly recognized, and quoted, if not always in the language of any one Evangelist, at least in the dialect of the New Testament. At present we do not offer any explanation of the peculiar form which Justin's quotations wear. It is sufficient to remark, that both in range and tone, in substance and expression, they bear a general and striking likeness to the contents of our Gospels.

Up to this time it has been noticed that the quotations from the Gospel-history in the early Fathers are almost uniformly anonymous. The words of Christ were as a living voice in the Church, apart from any written record; and the great events of His Life were symbolized in its services. In Justin the old and new meet. He habitually represents Christ as speaking, and not the Evangelist as relating His discourses; but he also distinctly refers to histories, the famous 'Memoirs of the Apostles<sup>6</sup>,' in which he found

<sup>1</sup> II. Justin's special quotations from the 'Memoirs of the Apostles.'

<sup>1</sup> Ap. i. 16; Dial. c. 93.

<sup>2</sup> Dial. cc. 17, 112, 122.

<sup>3</sup> Ap. i. 16; Dial. cc. 35, 82.

<sup>4</sup> Ap. i. 16; Dial. c. 76. Cf. Ap. i. 17; Luke xii. 48.

<sup>5</sup> Ap. i. 61. Dial. c. 53.

<sup>6</sup> Ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν Ἀποστόλων. Cf. p. 127, note 2.

## 126 THE AGE OF THE GREEK APOLOGISTS.

### CHAP. II.

The nature of his writings called for no exact description of these memoirs.

written 'all things concerning Jesus Christ.'

The peculiar objects which he had in view in his extant writings did not suggest, even if they did not exclude, any minute description of these records. It would have added nothing to the vivid picture of Christianity which he drew for the heathen to have quoted with exact precision the testimony of this or that Apostle, even if such a mode of quotation had been usual. One thing they might require to know, and that he tells them, that the words of Christ were still the text of Christian instruction, that the 'Memoirs of the Apostles' were still read, together with the writings of the Prophets, in their weekly services<sup>1</sup>. So, on the other hand, the great difficulty in a controversy with a Jew was to show that the humiliation and death of Christ were reconcileable with the Messianic prophecies. The chief facts were here confessed; and in other points it was enough for the Apologist to assert generally that the Memoirs which he quoted rested upon Apostolic authority<sup>2</sup>.

The different modes in which he quotes them in his Apology and in his Dialogue.

The manner in which Justin alludes to these Memoirs of the Apostles in his first Apology,

The word was probably borrowed from Xenophon's well-known book. In various forms it appears frequently in ecclesiastical Greek. Euseb. H. E. iii. 39 (p. 81, note 1); v. 8; vi. 25.

<sup>1</sup> Ap. i. 67.

<sup>2</sup> Dial. c. 103. See p. 131, note 3.

and in his Dialogue with Trypho, confirms what has been just said. If his mode of reference were not modified by the nature of his subject, it would surely have been the same in both. As it is, there is a marked difference, and exactly such, as might have been expected. In the Apology, which contains nearly fifty allusions to the Gospel-history, he speaks only twice of the Apostolic authorship of his Memoirs, and in one other place mentions them generally<sup>1</sup>. In the Dialogue, which contains about seventy allusions, he quotes them ten times as 'the Memoirs of the Apostles,' and in five other places as 'the Memoirs<sup>2</sup>.'

This difference is still more striking if examined closely. Every quotation of our Lord's words in the Apology is simply introduced by the

The quotations in the Apology.

<sup>1</sup> Ap. i. 66; 67; 33. Cf. c. 61.

<sup>2</sup> It will be useful to give a classification of all the passages in which Justin quotes the 'Memoirs,' with the forms of quotation. The following will suffice:

(α) Generally: τὰ ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν ἀποστόλων. Dial. c. 100, γεγραμμένον ἐν τ. ἀπομν. τ. ἀπ.; cc. 101, 103, 104, 106, ἐν τ. ἀπομν. τ. ἀπ. γέγραπται; c. 102, ἐν τ. ἀπομν. τ. ἀπ. δεδήλωται: c. 106, ἐν τ. ἀπομν. τ. ἀπ. δηλοῦται: c. 88, ἔγραψαν οἱ ἀπόστολοι.

(β) Specially: Dial. c. 106: γεγράφθαι ἐν τοῖς ἀπομνημονεύμασιν αὐτοῦ (i. e. Πέτρου); c. 103 [ἀπομνημονεύματα] εἶφημι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐκείνοις παρακολουθησάντων συντετάχθαι.

(γ) τὰ ἀπομνημονεύματα: Dial. c. 105, ἀπὸ τ. ἀπομν. ἐμάθομεν: c. 105, ἐκ τ. ἀπομν. ἔμαθον: cc. 105, 106, 107, ἐν ἀπομν. γέγραπται.

**CHAP. II.** phrases, 'thus Christ said,' or 'taught,' or 'exhorted;' His words were their own witness. For the public events of His Life Justin refers to the Enrolment of Quirinus and the Acts of Pilate<sup>1</sup>. He quotes the 'Gospels' only when he must speak of things beyond the range of common history. Standing before a Roman emperor as the apologist of the Christians, he confines himself as far as possible to common ground; and if he is compelled for illustration to quote the books of the Christians he takes care to show that they were recognized by the Church, and no private documents of his own. Thus, in speaking of the Annunciation, he says: 'And the Angel of God sent to the Virgin at that season, announced to her glad tidings, saying, 'Behold, thou shalt conceive of the Holy Spirit, and bear a Son, and he shall be called the Son of the Highest; and thou shalt call His name Jesus; for He shall save His people from their sins,' as those who have written memoirs of all things concerning our Saviour Jesus Christ taught us, whom we believed, since also the

<sup>1</sup> Ap. i. 34: ὡς καὶ μαθεῖν δύνασθε ἐκ τῶν ἀπογραφῶν τῶν γενομένων ἐπὶ Κυρηναίου. Cap. 35: καὶ ταῦτα ὅτι γέγονε δύνασθε μαθεῖν ἐκ τῶν ἐπὶ Ποιτίου Πιλάτου γενομένων ἄκτων. Whether Justin referred to the apocryphal 'Acts of Pilate,' which we now have, or not, is of no importance: it is only necessary to remark the kind of evidence which he thought best suited to his design.

prophetic Spirit said that this would come to pass<sup>1</sup>. So again, when explaining the celebration of the Eucharist, he adds: 'The Apostles in the Memoirs made by them, which are called Gospels, have handed down that it was thus enjoined on them<sup>2</sup>...' And once more, when describing the Christian Service he notices that 'the Memoirs of the Apostles or the writings of the Prophets are read, as long as the time admits<sup>3</sup>.'

There is no further mention of the Memoirs in the Apology. In the Dialogue the case was somewhat different. Trypho was himself acquainted with the Gospel<sup>4</sup>, and Justin's language becomes proportionately more exact. The words of our Lord are still quoted very often simply as His words, without any acknow-

The quotations in the Dialogue.

<sup>1</sup> Ap. i. 33: *ὡς οἱ ἀπομνημονεύσαντες πάντα τὰ περὶ τοῦ σωτήρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐδίδαξαν*. Credner (p. 129) raises a difficulty about this description. Where, he asks, is the written Gospel which could contain all?—The quotation points to St Luke; and St Luke himself tells us that his Gospel contained an account 'of all things (*περὶ πάντων*) that Jesus began to do and to teach' (Acts i. 1). The coincidence is at least very worthy of notice. It removes the difficulty, even if it do not also point to the very source of Justin's language.

<sup>2</sup> Ap. i. 66. The conjecture that *ἡ καλεῖται εὐαγγέλια* is a gloss is very unfortunate. It could not be intended for the information of Christian readers; and a copyist would scarcely be likely to supply for the use of heathen what Justin had not thought fit to add.

<sup>3</sup> Ap. i. 67.

<sup>4</sup> Dial. c. 10: *τὰ ἐν τῷ λεγομένῳ εὐαγγελίῳ*.

**CHAP. II.** ledgment of a written record ; but from time to time, when reference is made to words of more special moment, so to speak, it is added that they are so 'written in the Gospel<sup>1</sup>.' In one passage the contrast between the substance of Christ's teaching and the record of it is brought out very clearly. After speaking of the death of John the Baptist, Justin adds : 'Wherefore also our Christ when on earth told those who said that Elias must come before Christ : "Elias indeed will come, and will restore all things ; but I say to you that Elias came already, and they knew him not, but did to him whatsoever they listed." And it is written, "Then understood the disciples that he spake to them concerning John the Baptist<sup>2</sup>.'" In another place it appears that Justin refers particularly to one out of the Memoirs. 'The mention of the fact,' he says, 'that Christ changed the name of Peter, one of the Apostles, and that the event has been written in his (Peter's) Memoirs, together with His having changed the name of two other brethren, who were sons of Zebedee, to that of Boanerges, tended to signify that He was the same through whom the surname Israel was given to Jacob, and Joshua to Oshea<sup>3</sup>.' Now the surname given

Coincidences  
with

St MATTHEW,

St MARK,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. below, ii. (2), (a).

<sup>2</sup> Dial. c. 49 ; Matt. xvii. 13 ; cf. below, l. c.

<sup>3</sup> Dial. c. 106 ; Mark iii. 16, 17.

to James and John is only found at present in CHAP. II.  
 one of our Gospels, and there it is mentioned in  
 immediate connexion with the change of Peter's  
 name. That Gospel is the Gospel of St Mark,  
 which by the universal voice of antiquity was  
 referred to the authority of St Peter<sup>1</sup>. That  
 Justin found in his Memoirs facts at present  
 peculiar to St Luke's narrative, is equally clear.  
 'And Jesus, as He gave up His Spirit upon the St Luke.  
 cross,' he writes, 'said, "Father, into Thy hands  
 I commend my spirit:" as I learned from the  
 Memoirs<sup>2</sup>.'

But this is not all: in his Apology Justin A more  
exact descrip-  
tion of the  
authorship of  
the Memoirs  
 speaks of the Memoirs generally as written by  
 the Apostles. In the Dialogue his words are  
 more precise: 'In the Memoirs, which I say were  
 composed by the Apostles and those who followed  
 them, [it is written] that sweat as drops [of blood]  
 streamed down [from Jesus], as He was praying  
 and saying, "Let this cup, if it be possible, pass  
 away from me<sup>3</sup>."' The description, it will be

<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 81, note (1).

<sup>2</sup> Dial. c. 105; Luke xxiii. 46.

<sup>3</sup> Dial. c. 103: ἐν τοῖς ἀπομνημονεύμασιν, ἃ φημι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐκείνοις παρακολουθησάντων (Luke i. 3) συντετάχθαι, [γέγραπται], ὅτι ἰδρῶς ὡσεὶ θρόμβοι κατεχεῖτο, αὐτοῦ εὐχομένου καὶ λέγοντος· Παρελθέτω, εἰ δυνατόν, τὸ ποτήριον τοῦτο. Luke xxii. 44; (Matt. xxvi. 39). The omission of the word αἵματος was probably suggested by the passage in the Psalm (xxi. 14) which Justin is explaining, (Semisch, p. 147). It cannot have arisen from any Docetic tendency,



seen, precedes the quotation of a passage found in St Luke, the follower of an Apostle, and not an Apostle himself. Some such fact as this is needed to explain why Justin distinguishes at this particular time the authorship of the records which he used. And no short account would apply more exactly to our present Gospels than that which he gives. Two of them were written by Apostles, two by their followers. There were many apocryphal Gospels, but it is not known that any one of them bore the name of a follower of the Apostles. The application of Justin's words to our Gospels seems indeed absolutely necessary when they are compared with those of Tertullian, who says<sup>1</sup>: 'we lay down as a principle first that the Evangelic Instrument has Apostles for its authors, on whom this charge of publishing the Gospel was imposed by the

compared  
with that of  
Tertullian.

as the whole context shows. The whole pericope (vv. 43, 44) is omitted by very important authorities, but I cannot find that *αἵματος* alone is omitted elsewhere than in Justin. Cf. Griesbach, with Schulz's additions, ad l.

Epiphanius, (adv. Hær. ii. 2. 59, quoted by Semisch) insists on the sweat only, though he quotes the verse at length.

<sup>1</sup> Tertull. Adv. Marc. iv. 2: *Constituimus imprimis evangelicum instrumentum apostolos autores habere, quibus hoc munus evangelii promulgandi ab ipso Domino sit impositum; si et apostolicos, non tamen solos sed cum apostolis et post apostolos. . . . Denique nobis fidem ex apostolis Johannes et Matthæus insinuant, ex apostolicis Lucas et Marcus instaurant. . . .*

Lord Himself; that if [it includes the writings of] Apostolic men also, still they were not alone, but [wrote] with [the help of] Apostles and after [the teaching of] Apostles... In fine, John and Matthew out of the number of the Apostles implant faith in us, Luke and Mark out of the number of their followers refresh it ...' CHAP. II.

In addition to these cardinal quotations from the Memoirs, Justin refers to them elsewhere in his Dialogue for facts and words from the Evangelic history. As the exact form of all these quotations will be examined afterwards, as far as may be necessary, it will be sufficient now to show only by a general enumeration the extent of their coincidence with our Gospels<sup>1</sup>. They include an account of the Birth of our Lord from a Virgin<sup>2</sup>, of the appearance of a Dove at His Baptism<sup>3</sup>, of His Temptation<sup>4</sup>, of the conspiracy of the Jews against Him<sup>5</sup>, of the hymn which He sang with His disciples before His betrayal<sup>6</sup>, of His silence before Pilate<sup>7</sup>, of His Crucifixion at the Passover<sup>8</sup>, of the mockery of his enemies<sup>9</sup>. So

The substance of Justin's quotations from them.

<sup>1</sup> It is interesting to compare this summary of special references with the list of all Justin's Evangelic references given already, pp. 115 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Dial. c. 105.

<sup>3</sup> Dial. c. 88.

<sup>4</sup> Dial. c. 103.

<sup>5</sup> Dial. c. 104.

<sup>6</sup> Dial. c. 106; Matt. xxvi. 30.

<sup>7</sup> Dial. c. 102; Luke xxiii. 9.

<sup>8</sup> Dial. c. 111.

<sup>9</sup> Dial. c. 101; Matt. xxvii. 39—43.

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CHAP. II. likewise Justin quotes from them His reproof of the righteousness of the Pharisees<sup>1</sup>, and how He gave them only the sign of Jonah<sup>2</sup>, and proclaimed that He alone could reveal the Father to men<sup>3</sup>.

A summary  
of all that  
Justin says  
of them.

This then is the sum of what Justin says of the Memoirs of the Apostles. They were many, and yet one<sup>4</sup>: they were called Gospels: they contained a record of all things concerning Jesus Christ: they were admitted by Christians generally: they were read in their public services: they were of Apostolic authority, though not exclusively of apostolic authorship: they were composed in part by Apostles and in part by their followers. And further than this, we gather that they related facts only mentioned at present by one or other of the Evangelists: that thus they were intimately connected with each one of the synoptic Gospels: that they contained nothing, as far as Justin expressly quotes them, which our Gospels do not now substantially contain. And if we go still further, and take in

<sup>1</sup> Dial. c. 105; Matt. v. 20.

<sup>2</sup> Dial. c. 107; Matt. xii. 38—41.

<sup>3</sup> Dial. c. 100; Matt. xi. 27.

<sup>4</sup> Ap. i. 66: ἃ καλεῖται εὐαγγέλια. Dial. c. 100: ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ γέγραπται. This view of the essential oneness of the Gospels explains very naturally the freedom with which different narratives were combined in quotation. Irenæus was the first apparently to recognize, however, imperfectly, variety in this unity.

the whole mass of Justin's anonymous references to the life and teaching of Christ, the general effect is the same. The resemblance between the narratives is in the one case more exact, but in the other it is more extensive. Up to this point of our inquiry, and without any consideration for the moment of Justin's historical relation to the anonymous Roman Canon and to Irenæus, the identification of his Memoirs with our Gospels seems to be as reasonable as it is natural. But on the other hand, it is said that there are fatal objections to this identification; that Justin nowhere mentions the Evangelists by name: that the text of his quotations differs materially from that of the Gospels: that he introduces apocryphal additions into his narrative. And each of these statements must be examined before the right weight can be assigned to these general coincidences between the books in subject, language, and character of which we have hitherto spoken.

Objections to their identification with our Gospels.

It has been already shown that there were peculiar circumstances in Justin's case which rendered any definite quotation of the Evangelists unlikely and unsuitable, even if such a mode of quotation had been common at the time. But in fact when he referred to written records of Christ's life and words he made an advance beyond which the later Apologists rarely pro-

(1) The authors' names are not mentioned.

The Gospels constantly referred to anonymously.

CHAP. II. ceeded<sup>1</sup>. *Tatian*, his scholar, has several allusions to passages contained in the Gospels of St Matthew and St John, but they are all anonymous<sup>2</sup>. *Athenagoras* quotes the words of our Lord as they stand in St Matthew four times, and appears to allude to passages in St Mark and St John, but he nowhere mentions the name of an Evangelist<sup>3</sup>. *Theophilus*, in his Books to Autolycus, cites five or six precepts from 'the Gospel' or 'the Evangelic voice,' and once only mentions John as 'a man moved by the Holy Spirit,' quoting the prologue to his Gospel; though he elsewhere classes the Evangelists with the prophets as all inspired by the same Spirit<sup>4</sup>. In *Hermias* and *Minucius Felix* there appears to be no reference at all to the Gospels. The usage

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Norton, *Genuineness of the Gospels*, i. 137; Semisch, 83 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Orat. c. Gr.* 30; *Matt.* xiii. 44. Cf. *Fragg.* i, ii; *Matt.* vi. 24, 19; xxii. 30. *Orat. c.* 5; *John* i. 1: c. 4; *John* iv. 24: c. 13; *John* i. 5: c. 19; *John* i. 3.

<sup>3</sup> *Apol.* p. 2; *Matt.* v. 39, 40: p. 11; *Matt.* v. 44, 45: p. 12; *Matt.* v. 46, 47: p. 36; *Matt.* v. 28: *Apol.* p. 37; *Mark* x. 6, 11: *Apol.* p. 12; *John* xvii. 3.

<sup>4</sup> *Ad Autolycum*, iii. § 12, p. 124: ἔτι μὴν καὶ περὶ δικαιοσύνης, ἧς ὁ νόμος εἴρηκεν, ἀκόλουθα εὐρίσκεται καὶ τὰ τῶν προφητῶν καὶ τῶν εὐαγγελίων ἔχειν, διὰ τὸ τοὺς πάντας πνευματοφόρους ἐν πνεύματι θεοῦ λελαληκέναι. If the Commentaries attributed to him were genuine he wrote on the *four* Evangelists.

Cf. *ad Autol.* iii. p. 126; *Matt.* v. 28, 32, 44, 46; vi. 3: *Lib.* ii. p. 92; *Luke* xviii. 17: *Lib.* ii. § 22. p. 100; *John* i. 1, 3.

of *Tertullian* is very remarkable. In his other books he quotes the Gospels continually, and, though rarely, mentions every Evangelist by name; but in his Apology, while he gives a general view of Christ's life and teaching, and speaks of the Scriptures as the food and the comfort of the Christian<sup>1</sup>, he nowhere cites the Gospels, and scarcely exhibits any coincidence of language with them<sup>2</sup>. *Clement of Alexandria*, as is well known, investigated the relation of the Synoptic Gospels to St John, and his use of the words of Scripture is constant and extensive; and yet in his 'Exhortation to Gentiles,' while he quotes every Gospel, and all except St Mark repeatedly, he only mentions St John by name, and that but once<sup>3</sup>. *Cyprian*, in his address to Demetrian, quotes words of our Lord as given by St Matthew and St John, but says nothing of the source from which he derived them<sup>4</sup>. The books of *Origen* against Celsus turned in a great measure on the criticism of the Gospels, for Celsus had diligently examined them to find objections to Christianity; and yet even there the common custom prevails. In

<sup>1</sup> Apol. cc. xxi (pp. 57, sqq.); xxxix. (p. 93.)

<sup>2</sup> The only passage I have noticed is c. xxxi. (Matt. v. 44.) The same is true of the imperfect book 'ad Nationes.'

<sup>3</sup> Protrep. § 59.

<sup>4</sup> Ad Demetr. c. i; Matt. vii. 6: c. xxiv; John xvii. 8.

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CHAP. II.

the first book, for instance, Origen quotes our Lord's words from the text of our Gospels more than a dozen times anonymously, and only once, as far as I have observed, with the mention of the Gospel in which they were to be found<sup>1</sup>. At a still later time *Lactantius* blamed Cyprian for quoting Scripture in a controversy with a heathen<sup>2</sup>; and though he shows in his *Institutions* an intimate acquaintance with the writings of the Evangelists he mentions John only by name, quoting the beginning of his Gospel<sup>3</sup>. *Arnobius*, again, makes no allusion to the Gospels; and *Eusebius*, to whose zeal we owe most of what is known of the history of the New Testament, though he quotes the Gospels eighteen times in his 'Introduction to Christian Evidences,' (*Præparatio Evangelica*), yet always does so without referring to the Evangelist of whose writings he made use.

The custom of anonymous reference even still more extensive.

It would be easy to extend what has been said:—to show that the words of 'the Apostle' are quoted scarcely less frequently than those of the Lord, without any more exact citation:—that this custom of indefinite reference is not confined to Apologetic writings of which it is

<sup>1</sup> c. Lxiii; Luke v. 8. He also quotes the Gospels of St Luke and St Mark by name for facts, cc. Lx, Lxii; and St Matthew three times as used by Celsus, cc. xxxiv, xxxviii, xl.

<sup>2</sup> *Instit.* v. 4.

<sup>3</sup> *Instit.* iv. 8.

peculiarly characteristic, but likewise traceable CHAP. II.  
in many other cases:—that a habit which arose almost necessarily in an age of MS. literature has not ceased even when the printing-press has left no material hinderances to occasion or excuse it; but this would lead us away from our subject, and it must be sufficiently clear that if Justin differs in any way from other similar writers as to the mode in which he introduces his Evangelic quotations, it is because he has described with unusual care the sources from which he drew them.

Justin's method of quotation from the Old Testament may seem at first sight to create a difficulty. It has been calculated that he makes 197 citations, with exact references to their source, and 117 indefinitely. But under any circumstances this fact would affect the peculiar estimation, and not the historical reception, of the New Testament books<sup>1</sup>. And since the same phenomenon occurs in writers like Clement of Alexandria and Cyprian, whose views on the inspiration and authority of the New Testament were most definite and full, its explanation must be sought for on other principles. As far as Justin is concerned, the search leads to a satisfactory conclusion. His quotations are, I believe,

The case of quotations from the Prophets.

<sup>1</sup> In the Apostolic Fathers scriptural quotations are almost universally anonymous. Cf. p. 58.



CHAP. II.

exclusively prophecies; and the purpose for which he introduces them required particularity of reference<sup>1</sup>. The proof of Christianity, even for the heathen, was to be derived, as he tells us, from the fulfilment of prophecy<sup>2</sup>. The gift of foretelling the future—for already in his time this was the common view of a prophet's work—was a certain mark of a divine power; and the antiquity of the Prophets invested them with a venerable dignity beyond all other poets or seers. To quote prophecy habitually without mentioning the prophet's name would be to deprive it of half its value; and if it seem strange that Justin does not quote Evangelists like Prophets, it is no less worthy of notice that he does quote by name the single prophetic book of the New Testament. 'Moreover also among us a man named John, one of the Apostles of Christ, prophesied in a revelation made to him, that those who have believed on our Christ shall spend a thousand years in Jerusalem<sup>3</sup>...'

Justin refers to the Apocalypse of St John by name.

<sup>1</sup> e. g. Ap. i. 32: Μωσῆς πρῶτος τῶν προφητῶν . . . Ἡσαΐας ἄλλος προφήτης . . .

<sup>2</sup> Ap. i. 14, 30: τὴν ἀπόδειξιν ἤδη ποιησόμεθα οὐ τοῖς λέγουσι πιστεύοντες ἀλλὰ τοῖς προφητεύουσι πρὶν ἢ γενέσθαι κατ' ἀνάγκην πειθόμενοι . . .

<sup>3</sup> Dial. c. 81: ἔπειτα καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν ἀνὴρ τις, ᾧ ὄνομα Ἰωάννης, εἰς τῶν ἀποστόλων τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἐν ἀποκαλύψει γενομένη αὐτῷ χίλια ἔτη ποιήσει ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ τοὺς τῷ ἡμετέρῳ Χριστῷ πιστεύσαντας προεφήτευσεν . . . The constrained manner of this

ferent parts of CHAP. II.  
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mb. xxvii. 18),

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. 43, 66. Cf. c. 77.

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ist of prophecies  
of sense.

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ent note (note 2,  
which he quotes  
amount of verbal

**CHAP. II.** Fathers, may be expected to relate the events of Christ's life often in his own words, combining, arranging, modifying, as the occasion may require: like them, he may be expected to change but rarely the language of the Gospels in citing Christ's teaching, though he transpose words and clauses: like them, too, we may be allowed to believe that he would have quoted the language of the New Testament with scrupulous care in his polemical writings if they had been preserved for us. If this be a mere supposition, it must be remembered that we have no longer those books of his in which we might have expected to find critical accuracy.

The general character of Justin's quotations from the Old Testament.

But, at the same time, it is to be noticed that Justin appears to be remarkable for freedom, not only in his use of classical authors<sup>1</sup>, but also in his treatment of the Old Testament, even in the Dialogue, where it forms the real basis of his argument. In these cases his quotations are confessedly taken from books, whether by memory or reference; and the original text can be compared with his version of it. Here, at least, we can determine the limits of accuracy within which he confined himself; and when

<sup>1</sup> Semisch has examined them in detail, pp. 232 ff. An example will be given below, p. 14, note 2. Others may be found, Ap. ii. 11 (Xen. Mem. ii. 1); Ap. i. 5 (Plat. Resp. v. p. 473); Ap. ii. 10 (Trin. p. 28 c.)

they have been once fixed they will serve as a standard. No greater accuracy is to be expected anywhere than in the use of the prophecies; and a few characteristic examples of his mode of dealing with them, as well as with the other writings of the Old Testament, will show what kind of variations we must be prepared to find in any references which he may make to the Gospel-narrative<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Norton has brought forward some good passages from the first Apology (Note E. § 2); and Semisch has carried out the investigation with considerable skill (pp. 239 ff.). Credner has collected Justin's quotations, and compared them elaborately with the MSS. of the LXX. It is superfluous to praise the care and ability by which his critical labours are always marked.

The following Table of the more remarkable instances of the freedom of Justin's quotations from the Old Testament, where the variations cannot be explained on the supposition of differences in MSS., will be useful for those who wish to examine the question for themselves.

(a) Free quotations, giving the sense of the original text :

Gen. i. 1—3	Apol. i. 59
— iii. 16	Dial. c. 102
— vii. 16	— c. 127
— xi. 5	— —
— xvii. 14	— c. 10
Exod. iii. 16, 17	Apol. i. 63
— xvii. 16	Dial. c. 49
— xx. 4	— c. 94
— xxxii. 6	— c. 20
2 Sam. vii. 14 sqq.	Dial. c. 118
1 Kings xix. 14 sqq.	— c. 39
Job i. 6	— c. 79
Ezra vi. 21 (?)	— c. 72

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### CHAP. II.

(a) Combination of different texts.

The first and most striking phenomenon in his quotations is the combination of detached

Isai. i. 7	Apol. i. 47
—— 9	—— 37
—— 23	Dial. c. 82
— iii. 16	— c. 27
— v. 25	— c. 133
— ix. 6	Apol. i. 35
— xxxv. 5 sqq.	—— 48. Cf. Matt. xi. 5.
— xlii. 16	Dial. c. 122
— liv. 9	— c. 138
— lxvi. 1	— c. 22
Jerem. vii. 21, 22	—— —
— xxxi. 27	— c. 123
Ezech. iii. 17—19	—— c. 82
— xiv. 20	—— c. 45
— xxxvii. 7	Apol. i. 32
Hos. i. 1	Dial. c. 19
Joel ii. 28	—— c. 87
Zech. ii. 6	Apol. i. 52
— xii. 10 sqq.	—— —

#### (β) Adaptations of the text:

Gen. xxxv. 1	Dial. c. 60
Exod. iii. 5	Apol. i. 62
Numb. xxi. 8, 9	—— 61
—— —	Dial. c. 94
Deut. xi. 16 sqq.	—— c. 49
— xxi. 23	—— c. 96. Cf. Gal. iii. 10.
— xxvii. 26	—— c. 95
— xxx. 15, 19	Apol. i. 44

#### (γ) Combinations of different passages:

Isai. xi. 1, 10 } Numb. xxiv. 17 }	Apol. i. 32
Psalm xxi. 17—19 } — iii. 5 }	—— 38
Isai. Liii. 12 } — Lii. 13—Liii. 8 }	—— 50

texts, sometimes taken from different parts of the same book, and sometimes from different books. Thus, when he is explaining the presence of the spirit of Elias in John the Baptist, against Trypho's objection, he says: 'Does it not seem to you that the same transference was made in the case of Joshua...when it was told to Moses to place his hands on Joshua (Numb. xxvii. 18),

CHAP. II.  

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In the Dialogue.

Zech. ii. 6	}	Apol. i. 52
Isai. xliii. 5		
Zech. xii. 11 sqq.		
Joel ii. 13		
Isai. lxiii. 13		
— lxiv. 11	}	— 53
Ezech. xxxvii. 7		
Isai. xlv. 23		
Exod. iii. 2, 14, 15	}	— 63
Isai. vii. 10—16		
— viii. 4		
— vii. 16, 17	}	Dial. cc. 43, 66. Cf. c. 77.
Jerem. ii. 13		
Isai. xvi. 1		
Jerem. iii. 8	}	— c. 114

It will be seen that the free quotations are found almost equally distributed in the Apology and the Dialogue, being chiefly short passages, for which it was not unreasonable to trust to memory: that the adaptations are perhaps exclusively from the Pentateuch—the typical history of the establishment of Israel: that the combinations are almost confined to the first Apology, and consist of prophecies fitted together according to the connexion of sense.

These passages will serve to illustrate the general principles of Justin's quotations. In a subsequent note (note 2, p. 150) we shall give a table of those texts which he quotes differently, in order to show with what amount of verbal accuracy he contented himself.

CHAP. II. when God said to him: And I will impart to him of the Spirit that is in thee<sup>1</sup>?" (c. xi. 17). So, again, when showing that the Word is the Messenger (ἄγγελος καὶ ἀπόστολος) of God, he adds: 'And moreover this will be made clear from the writings of Moses. Now it is said in them thus: The Angel of the Lord spake to Moses in a flame of fire out of the bush, and said: I am That I Am (ὁ ὢν), the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, the God of Jacob, the God of thy fathers. Go down to Egypt, and lead forth thy people<sup>2</sup>.' Passages of different writers are combined even when the citation is by name. 'For Jeremiah cries thus,' we read, "Woe to you, because ye have forsaken a living fountain, and digged for yourselves broken cisterns, which will not be able to hold water (Jerem. ii. 13). Shall it be a wilderness [without water] where is the Mount Sion (Isai. xvi. 1. LXX.), because I have given to Jerusalem a bill of divorce before you<sup>3</sup>?"

<sup>1</sup> Dial. c. 49. The passage Numb. xi. 17 refers to the LXX. elders. Credner appears to have omitted this quotation.

<sup>2</sup> Apol. i. 63. Exod. iii. 2, 14, 6, 10. 'These free quotations are adapted to the wants of heathen readers' (Credner, ii. 58). By a reasonable adaptation these words become: 'These free quotations [from the Gospel] are adapted to the wants of Jewish [or heathen] readers.'

<sup>3</sup> Dial. c. 114. Credner (ii. 246) remarks that Barnabas (c. xi.) connects the two former passages together; yet his text is wholly different from that of Justin. Cf. Semisch, 262 *anm.*

(Jerem. iii. 8). In the Apology the intertexture of various passages is still more complicated. CHAP. II.  
In the Apo-  
logy.

‘What then the people of the Jews will say and do when they see Christ’s advent in glory, has been thus told in prophecy by Zacharias: I will charge the four winds to gather together my children who have been scattered. I will charge the north wind to bear them, and the south wind not to hinder them (cf. Zech. ii. 6; Isai. xliii. 5). And then shall there be in Jerusalem a great lamentation, not a lamentation of mouths and lips, but a lamentation of heart (Zech. xii. 11), and they shall not rend their garments, but their minds (Joel ii. 13). They shall lament tribe by tribe (Zech. xii. 12); and then shall they look on Him whom they pierced (Zech. xii. 10), and say: Why, O Lord, didst thou make us to err from thy way? (Isai. lxiii. 13). The glory, which our fathers blessed, is turned to our reproach<sup>1</sup>.’ (Isai. lxiv. 11).

The same cause which led Justin to combine various texts in other places led him to compress, to individualize, to adapt, the exact words (β) Adapta-  
tion of texts.

<sup>1</sup> Ap. i. 52. The last clause *ὄψονται εἰς ὃν ἐξεκέντησαν* is quoted in the Dialogue (c. 14) as from *Hosea*, *ὄψεται ὁ λαὸς ὑμῶν καὶ γνωριεῖ εἰς ὃν ἐξεκέντησαν*. The reading in the LXX. is *ἐπιβλέψονται πρὸς με ἀνθ’ ὧν κατωρχήσαντο*, which arose from a confusion of the Hebrew letters *ק*, *ק*. The rendering which Justin gives occurs John xix. 37; Apoc. i. 7. Cf. Credner, pp. 293 ff.



CHAP. II. of Scripture for the better expression of his meaning; and at times he may appear to misuse the passages which he quotes. The extent to which this licence is carried will appear from the following examples.

In the Dialogue.

In speaking of the duty of proclaiming the truth which we know, and of the judgment which will fall on those who know and say not, he quotes the declaration of God by Ezechiel: 'I have placed thee as a watchman unto the house of Judah. Should the sinner sin, and thou not testify to him, he indeed shall perish in his sin, but from thee will I require his blood; but if thou testify to him, thou shalt be blameless.' (Ezech. iii. 17—19). In this quotation only two phrases of the original text remain; but the remainder expresses the sense of the Prophet with conciseness and force<sup>1</sup>. Again, when referring to Plato's idea of the cruciform distribution of the principle of life through the universe<sup>2</sup>, he says, 'This likewise he borrowed from Moses; for in the writings of Moses it is recorded that at that time when the Israelites came out of Egypt, and were in the wilderness, venomous

In the Apology.

<sup>1</sup> Dial. c. 82.

<sup>2</sup> Pl. Tim. p. 36 B. ταύτην οὖν τὴν ξύστασιν πᾶσαν διπλῆν κατὰ μῆκος σχίσας, μέσσην πρὸς μέσσην ἑκατέραν ἀλλήλαις οἶον χί (χ) προσβαλὼν κατέκαμψεν εἰς κύκλον... Justin's quotation of the passage is characteristic: Ἐχίασεν αὐτὸν [sc. τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ] ἐν τῷ παντί.

beasts encountered them, vipers, and asps, and serpents of all kinds, which killed the people; and that by inspiration and impulse of God Moses took brass and made an image of a cross, and set this on (*ἐπι*) the holy tabernacle, and said to the people: Should you look on this image and believe in it, you shall be saved. And he has recorded that when this was done the serpents died, and so the people escaped death<sup>1</sup>. (Numb. xxi. 8, 9, sqq.) The details of the fabrication of a cross rather than of a serpent, of the erection of the life-giving symbol on the tabernacle—that type of the outward world, of the address of Moses to the people, are due entirely to Justin's interpretation of the narrative. He gave what seemed to him the spirit and meaning of the passage, and in so doing has not preserved one significant word of the original text.

In many cases it is possible to explain these peculiarities of Justin's quotations by supposing that he intentionally deviated from the common text in order to bring out its meaning more

These variations in many cases must be errors of memory.

<sup>1</sup> Apol. i. 60. From the comparison of John iii. 15, I prefer to put the stop after *ἐν αὐτῷ*. Credner (p. 28) omits *ἐν* apparently by mistake. It will be observed that in the quotation each chief word is changed: *προσβλέπειν* is substituted for *εἰσβλέπειν*; *σώζεσθαι* for *ζῆν*; and *πιστεύειν* is introduced as the condition of healing. These changes are also preserved in the second allusion to the passage, Dial. c. 94, which otherwise approaches more nearly to the LXX.

clearly: in others he may have followed a traditional rendering or accommodation of scriptural language, such as are current at all times; but after every allowance has been made, a large residue of passages remains from which it is evident that the variations often spring from errors of memory. He quotes, for instance, the same passage in various forms; and that not only in different books, but even in the same book, and at short intervals. He ascribes texts to wrong authors; and that in the *Dialogue* as well as in the *Apology*, even when he shows in other places that he is not ignorant of their true source<sup>1</sup>. And once more: the variations are most remarkable and frequent in short passages: that is exactly in those for which it would seem superfluous to unroll the MS. and refer to the original text<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> In the *Apology*: Zephaniah for Zechariah (c. 35); Jeremiah for Daniel (c. 51); Isaiah for Jeremiah (c. 53). In the *Dialogue*: Jeremiah for Isaiah (c. 12); Hosea for Zechariah (c. 14); Zechariah for Malachi (c. 49). The first passage (Zech. ix. 9) is rightly quoted, Dial. c. 53; the next (Dan. vii. 13) in Dial. c. 76. Cf. Semisch, 240 *ann.*

<sup>2</sup> A general view of the passages which Justin quotes more than once will give a better idea of the value of this argument than anything else. The following list is, I believe, fairly complete. The sign || indicates agreement; ✕ difference; ✕ ✕, &c., difference from both, &c., the forms before given; v.l., vv.ll. marks the existence of various readings which seem of less importance:—

## THE AGE OF THE GREEK APOLOGISTS. 151

If then it be sufficiently made out that Justin CHAP. II.  
dealt in this manner with the Old Testament, Application  
to Justin's

Gen. i. 1, 2	Ap. i. 59    Ap. i. 64; v. l.
— iii. 22	Dial. 62    Dial. 159
— xv. 6	— 92. Cf. Dial. 119
— xviii. 1, 2	— 56    Dial. 126 vv. ll.
— — 13, 14 sqq.	— 56    — 126 vv. ll.
— xix. 24	— 56 & — 127. Cf. c. 129
— xxviii. 14	— 58    — 120 v. l.
— xxxii. 24	— 58. Cf. Dial. c. 126
— xlix. 10	Dial. 52    Dial. 120 & Ap. i. 32 (αὐτολεγεῖ) & & Ap. i. 54. Cf. Credner, ii. pp. 51 sqq.
— — 11	Dial. 54. Cf. c. 76
Numb. xxiv. 17	Ap. i. 32 & Dial. 106
Prov. viii. 21—25	Dial. 61    Dial. 129 vv. ll.
Psa. i. 3	Ap. i. 40    Dial. 86
— ii. 7, 8	— —    — 122
— iii. 5	— 38 & — 96
— xix. 2—5	— 40    Dial. 64; 42 (v. 4)
— xxii. 7, 18, 16	— 35 & c. 38 & & Dial. 98
— xxiv. 7	— 51    Dial. 127 & c. 38 & & c. 85
— xlv. 6—17	Dial. 38    Dial. 63 v. l.; 56 (vv. 6, 7); 86 (v. 7)
— lxxii. 1-5, 17-19	Dial. 34 & Dial. 64 & & c. 121
— xcvi. 1—4	— 73. Cf. Ap. i. 41 (1 Chro. xvi.)
— xcix. 1—7	— 37    Dial. 64 vv. ll.
— cx. 1—3	— 32    Ap. i. 45
Isai. i. 3	Ap. i. 37    Ap. i. 63 v. l.
— — 9	— 53 & Dial. 140. Cf. Dial. c. 55
— — 16—20	— 44    Ap. i. 61 (= v. 19)
— — 23	Dial. 82. Cf. c. 27
— ii. 5, 6	— 135. Cf. c. 24
— iii. 9, 10	— 17    Dial. 133 v. l.; c. 136 v. l.
— v. 18—20	— —    — — v. l.; & Ap. i. 49 (v. 20)

which was sanctioned in each 'jot and tittle' by the authority of Christ Himself, which was already inwrought into the Christian dialect by long and habitual use, which was familiarized to the Christian disputant by continual and minute controversy:—can it be expected that he should use the text of the Gospels with more scrupulous care? that he should in every case refer to

Isai. vi. 10	Dial. 12 ✕ Dial. 33
— vii. 10—17	— 43    Dial. 66 vv. ll.
— viii. 4	
— xi. 1	Apol. i. 32 ✕ Dial. 87
— xxix. 13	Dial. 78 ✕ Dial. 27 ✕ ✕ c. 140 ( <i>διαρρήδην.</i> )
— — 14	Dial. 32 ✕ Dial. 78 ✕ ✕ c. 38 ✕ ✕ ✕ c. 123
— xxxv. 4—6	Apol. i. 48 ✕ Dial. 69
— xlii. 1—4	Dial. 123 ✕ Dial. 135
— Lii. 15—Liii. 1 sqq.	Ap. i. 50    Dial. 13 vv. ll.
— lv. 3—5	Dial. 12 ✕ — 14
— lvii. 1, 2	Ap. i. 48    Dial. 16 vv. ll.
— lxiv. 10—12	— 47 ✕ — 25 ✕ ✕ Ap. i. 52 (v. 11)
— lxv. 1—3	Ap. i. 49 ✕ Dial. 24
— lxvi. 1	— 37. Cf. Dial. 22
Ezech. xiv. 20	Dial. 45 ✕ Dial. 44 ✕ ✕ c. 140
Dan. vii. 13	Ap. i. 51 ✕ Dial. 31
Micah v. 1, 2	— 34    Dial. 78
Zech. ii. 11	Dial. 115 ✕ Dial. 119
Mal. i. 10—12	Dial. 28    Dial. 41 vv. ll.

The only passage of any considerable length which exhibits continuous and important variations is Isai. xlii. 1—4. Cf. Credner, ii. 210 sqq.

It will be noticed that the number of texts repeated with verbal accuracy is very small.

his manuscript to ascertain the exact words of the record? that he should preserve them free from traditional details? that he should keep distinctly separate cognate accounts of the same event, complementary narratives of the same discourse? If he combined the words of Prophets to convey to the heathen a fuller notion of their divine wisdom, and often contented himself with the sense of Scripture even when he argued with a Jew; can it be a matter of surprise, that to heathen and to Jews alike he sets forth rather the substance than the letter of those Christian writings, which had for them no individual authority? In proportion as the idea of a New Testament Canon was less clear in his time, or at least less familiarly realized by ancient usage, than that of the Old Testament—as the Apostolic writings were invested with less objective worth for those whom he addressed—we may expect to find his quotations from the Evangelists more vague, and imperfect, and inaccurate, than those from the Prophets. So far as it is not so, the fact implies that personal study had supplied the place of traditional knowledge, that what was wanting to the Christian Scriptures in the clearness of defined authority was made up by the sense of their individual value.

To examine in detail the whole of Justin's How far  
Justin's quo-

## CHAP. II.

tations from  
the gospel-  
narrative are  
to be ex-  
amined.

quotations would be tedious and unnecessary. It will be enough to examine, (1) those which are alleged by him as quotations, and (2) those also which, though anonymous, are yet found repeated with the same variations, either in Justin's own writings, or (3) in heretical books. It is evidently on these quotations that the decision hangs. If they be naturally reconcilable with Justin's use of the Canonical Gospels, the partial inaccuracy of the remainder can be of little moment. But if they be clearly derived from uncanonical sources, the general coincidence of the mass with our Gospels only shows that there was a wide uniformity in the Evangelic tradition.

(a) Express  
quotations  
from the  
Memoirs.

Their agree-  
ment.

Seven passages only, as far as I can discover<sup>1</sup>, are alleged by Justin as giving words recorded in the Memoirs ; and in these, if there be no reason to the contrary, it is natural to expect that he will preserve the exact language of the Gospels which he used, just as in anonymous quotations we may conclude that he is trusting to memory. The result of a first view of these passages is striking. Of the seven five agree verbally with the text of St Matthew, or St Luke, exhibiting,

<sup>1</sup> Ap. i. 66 (Luke xx. 19, 20), and Dial. c. 103 (Luke xxii. 42—44) are not merely quotations of words, but concise narratives.

Differences in detail supposed to be derived from Justin's Memoirs will be examined in the next division (3).

indeed, three slight various readings, not elsewhere found, but such as are easily explicable<sup>1</sup>: CHAP. II.

<sup>1</sup> The passages are these:

1. Dial. c. 103: οὗτος ὁ διάβολος . . . ἐν τοῖς ἀπομνημονεύμασι τῶν ἀποστόλων γέγραπται προσελθὼν αὐτῷ καὶ πειράζων μέχρι τοῦ εἰπεῖν αὐτῷ· Προσκύνησόν μοι· καὶ ἀποκρίνασθαι αὐτῷ τὸν Χριστόν· Ὑπαγε ὀπίσω μου, σατανᾶ· κύριον τὸν θεόν σου προσκυνήσεις καὶ αὐτῷ μόνῳ λατρεύσεις = Matt. iv. [9], 10. The addition ὀπίσω μου is supported by good authority. The form of the quotation explains the omission of γέγραπται γάρ, which Justin, indeed, elsewhere recognizes, c. 125: ἀποκρίνεται γὰρ αὐτῷ· Γέγραπται· κύριον τὸν θεόν, κ. τ. λ.

In the Clementine Homilies the answer assumes an entirely different complexion (Hom. viii. 21): ἀποκρινάμενος οὖν ἔφη· Γέγραπται· Κύριον τὸν Θεόν σου φοβηθήσῃ καὶ αὐτῷ λατρεύσεις μόνον.

2. c. 105: ταῦτα εἰρηκῆναι ἐν τοῖς ἀπομνημονεύμασι γέγραπται· Ἐὰν μὴ περισσεύσῃ ὑμῶν ἡ δικαιοσύνη πλεῖον τῶν γραμματέων καὶ Φαρισαίων, οὐ μὴ εἰσέλθητε εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν = Matt. v. 20. The transposition ὑμῶν ἡ δικ. is probably correct. For Clement's variations in quoting this verse see Griesbach, *Symb. Crit.* ii. 251.

3. c. 107: γέγραπται ἐν τοῖς ἀπομνημονεύμασι ὅτι οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ γένους ὑμῶν συζητοῦντες αὐτῷ ἔλεγον, ὅτι Δείξον ἡμῖν σημεῖον. Καὶ ἀπεκρίνατο αὐτοῖς· Γενεὰ πονηρὰ καὶ μοιχαλὶς σημεῖον ἐπιζητεῖ, καὶ σημεῖον οὐ δοθήσεται αὐτοῖς εἰ μὴ τὸ σημεῖον Ἰωνᾶ = Matt. xii. [38], 39. The first part, as its form shows, is quoted freely; our Lord's answer differs from the text of St Matthew only in reading αὐτοῖς for αὐτῇ. Such a confusion of relatives with an antecedent like γενεὰ is very common. Cf. Luke x. 13 (καθήμενοι -αι); Acts ii. 3 (ἐκάθισεν -αν). Winer, *N. T. Gramm.*, § 47.

4. c. 49: ὁ ἡμέτερος Χριστὸς εἰρήκει . . . Ἡλίας μὲν ἐλεύσεται καὶ ἀποκαταστήσει πάντα· λέγω δὲ ὑμῖν, ὅτι Ἡλίας ἤδη ἦλθε, καὶ οὐκ ἐπέγνωσαν αὐτόν, ἀλλ' ἐποίησαν αὐτῷ ὅσα ἠθέλησαν. καὶ γέγραπται ὅτι τότε συνῆκαν οἱ μαθηταί, ὅτι περὶ Ἰωάννου τοῦ βαπτίστου εἶπεν



CHAP. II. the sixth is a compressed summary of words related by St Matthew: the seventh alone presents an important variation in the text of a verse, which is, however, otherwise very uncertain. Our inquiry is thus confined to the two last instances; and it must be seen whether their disagreement from the Synoptic Gospels is such as to outweigh the agreement of the remaining five.

Their disagreement.  
[Matt. xxvii.  
39, sqq.;  
Luke xxiii.  
35.]

The first passage occurs in the account which Justin gives of the Crucifixion, as illustrating the prophecy in Psalm xxi.: 'Those who saw Christ crucified shook their heads, and distorted their lips, and sneering said in mockery these things which are also written in the Memoirs of His Apostles: "He called Himself the Son of God; let Him come down *and walk*," "Let God

*αὐτοῖς* = Matt. xvii. 11—13. The express quotation (v. 13) agrees exactly with the text of St Matthew, and Credner admits that it must have been taken from his Gospel (p. 237). In the other part the text of St Matthew has *ἔρχεται* (*πρῶτον* is, at least, very suspicious), and *ἐν αὐτῷ*, but the preposition is omitted by D, F, it. cop., &c. Credner insists (p. 219) on the variation *ἐλεύσεσθαι* (repeated again in the same chapter); with how much justice the various readings in Luke xxiii. 29 may show. See also Gen. xviii. 17. *ἀναστρέψω* (Dial. 56); *ἀποστρέψω* (Dial. 126); *ἀναστρέψω* (LXX.) Cf. p. 170, and the next note.

5. c. 105: *καὶ ἀποδιδούς τὸ πνεῦμα ἐπὶ τῷ σταυρῷ εἶπε· Πάτερ, εἰς χεῖράς σου παρατίθεμαι τὸ πνεῦμά μου· ὡς καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀπομνημονευμάτων καὶ τοῦτο ἔμαθον* = Luke xxiii. 46. The quotation is verbally correct: *παρατίθεμαι*, and not *παραθήσομαι*, is certainly the right reading.

save Him<sup>1</sup>.”” These exact words do not occur CHAP. II.  
in our Gospels, but others so closely connected  
with them, that few, perhaps, would feel the dif-  
ference. In St Matthew the taunts are: ‘If thou  
art the Son of God come down from the cross.’  
‘He trusted on God: let Him now deliver Him  
if He will have Him.’ No Manuscript or Father  
has preserved any reading of the passage more  
closely resembling Justin’s quotation; and if it  
appear not to be deducible from our Gospels,  
considering the object which he had in view, its  
source must remain concealed.

The remaining passage is more remarkable. [Matt. xi. 27;  
Luke x. 22.]  
While interpreting the same Psalm (xxi.) Justin  
speaks of Christ as ‘dwelling in the holy place,  
and the praise of Israel’—to whom the myste-  
rious blessings pronounced in old times to the  
patriarchs belonged—and then he adds: ‘And  
it is written in the Gospel that he said: All  
things have been delivered to me by the Father;

<sup>1</sup> Dial. c. 101: Οἱ θεωροῦντες αὐτὸν ἐσταυρωμένον καὶ  
κεφαλὰς ἕκαστος ἐκίνουν καὶ τὰ χεῖλη διέστρεφον καὶ τοῖς  
μυξωτῆρσιν ἐν ἀλλήλοις † διερινούντες † ἔλεγον εἰρωνευόμενοι  
ταῦτα ἃ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀπομνημονεύμασι τῶν ἀποστόλων αὐτοῦ  
γέγραπται. Υἱὸν θεοῦ ἑαυτὸν ἔλεγε, καταβὰς περιπατεῖτω· σωσάτω  
αὐτὸν ὁ Θεός. The account in the Apology (i. 38) appears to  
prove that Justin gives only the substance of the Evangelic  
account: Σταυρωθέντος γὰρ αὐτοῦ ἐξέστρεφον τὰ χεῖλη καὶ  
ἐκίνουν τὰς κεφαλὰς λέγοντες· Ὁ νεκροῦς ἀναγείρας ῥυσάσθω  
ἑαυτόν. It is strange that in the quotation from the Psalm  
(Dial. i. c.) the words σωσάτω αὐτὸν are omitted, though  
they are given in c. 98.

CHAP. II. and no man knoweth the Father except the Son, nor the Son except the Father, and those to whomsoever the Son reveal [the Father and Himself]<sup>1</sup>. The last clause occurs again twice in the Apology, with the single variation that the verb is an aorist (ἔγνω) and not a present (γινώσκει)<sup>2</sup>.

There are here three various readings to be noticed. 'All things *have been delivered* to me (παραδέδοται)' for 'all things *were* (aor.) *delivered* to me (παρεδόθη)'—the transposition of the words 'Father' and 'Son'—the phrase, 'those to whomsoever the Son reveal [Him],' for 'he to whomsoever the Son will (βούληται) reveal [Him].' Of these the first is not found in any other authority, but is a common variation<sup>3</sup>; and the last is supported by Clement, Origen, and other Fathers,

<sup>1</sup> Dial. c. 100: καὶ ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ δὲ γέγραπται εἰπὼν [ὁ Χριστός] Πάντα μοι παραδέδοται ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς· καὶ οὐδεὶς γινώσκει τὸν πατέρα εἰ μὴ ὁ υἱός· οὐδὲ τὸν υἱὸν εἰ μὴ ὁ πατήρ· καὶ οἷς ἂν ὁ υἱὸς ἀποκαλύψῃ. The last word ἀποκαλύψῃ having no immediate subject, is, I believe, equivalent to 'makes a revelation,' i. e. of His own nature and of the nature of the Father. So, I find, Augustine takes the passage: *Quæst. Evv. i. 1.*

<sup>2</sup> Ap. i. 81 (bis.) Credner (i. 248 ff.) insists on the appearance of this reading ἔγνω, as if it were a mark of the influence of Gnostic documents on Justin's narrative. It is a sufficient answer that the reading is not only found in Marcion and the Clementines, but also repeatedly in Clement of Alexandria and Origen (Griesb. *Symb. Crit. ii. 271*). Cf. Semisch, p. 367.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. John vii. 39: δεδομένον, δοθέν.

so that it cannot prove anything against Justin's CHAP. II.  
use of the Canonical Gospels<sup>1</sup>.

The transposition of the words still remains ; and how little weight can be attached to that will appear upon an examination of the various forms in which the text is quoted by Fathers like Origen, Irenæus and Epiphanius, who admitted our Gospels exclusively. It occurs in them, as will be seen from the table of readings, with almost every possible variation<sup>2</sup>. Irenæus in the course of one chapter quotes the verse first as it stands in the Canonical text ; then in the same order, but with the last clause like Justin's ; and once again altogether as he has given it<sup>3</sup>. Epiphanius

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Griesbach, *Symb. Crit.* l. c.

<sup>2</sup> The extent of the varieties of reading, found in orthodox authorities independent of Justin, may be shown by the following scheme :

$$\text{οὐδεις} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ἔγνω} \\ \text{γινώσκει} \\ \text{ἐπιγινώσκει} \\ \text{οἶδε} \end{array} \right\} \text{ τὸν } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{υἰὸν} \\ \text{πατέρα} \end{array} \right\} \text{ εἰ μὴ ὁ } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{πατήρ} \\ \text{υἱὸς} \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{οὐδὲ} \\ \text{καὶ οὐδεις} \end{array} \right\}$$

$$\text{τὸν } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{πατέρα} \\ \text{υἰὸν} \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{τις} \\ \text{=} \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ἔγνω} \\ \text{γινώσκει} \\ \text{ἐπιγινώσκει} \\ \text{οἶδε} \\ \text{=} \end{array} \right\} \text{ εἰ μὴ ὁ } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{υἱὸς} \\ \text{πατήρ} \end{array} \right\} \text{ καὶ } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{φ} \\ \text{οἶς} \end{array} \right\}$$

$$\text{ἐὰν (ἂν) ὁ υἱὸς } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{βούληται ἀποκαλύψαι} \\ \text{ἀποκαλύψῃ} \end{array} \right\}.$$

Credner (i. p. 249) quotes from Irenæus (iv. 6, 1) 'et cui revelare *Pater* voluerit,' but I can find no authority for such a reading. The mistake shows at least how easy it is to misquote such a text.

<sup>3</sup> Iren. iv. 6, §§ 1, 7, 3: Nemo cognoscit  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Filiū} \\ \text{Patrem} \end{array} \right\}$  nisi

CHAP. II. likewise quotes the text seven times in the same order as Justin, and four times as it stands in the Gospels<sup>1</sup>. If, indeed, Justin's quotations were made from memory no transposition could be more natural; and if we suppose that he copied the passage directly from a manuscript, there is no difficulty in believing that he may have found it so written in a manuscript of the Canonical St Matthew, since the variation is excluded by no internal improbability, while it is found elsewhere, and its origin is easily explainable<sup>2</sup>.

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{Pater} \\ \text{Filius} \end{array} \right\} \text{ neque } \left. \begin{array}{l} \text{Patrem} \\ \text{Filium} \end{array} \right\} \text{ nisi } \left. \begin{array}{l} \text{Filius} \\ \text{Pater} \end{array} \right\} \text{ et } \left. \begin{array}{l} \text{cui voluerit} \\ \text{quibuscunque} \end{array} \right\} \\ \text{Filius.} \left. \begin{array}{l} \text{revelare} \\ \text{revelaverit} \end{array} \right\} .$$

<sup>1</sup> Semisch, p. 369. E. g. Adv. Hær. ii. 2, 43 (p. 766 c.); ii. 1, 4 (p. 466 B.)

<sup>2</sup> Semisch has well remarked (p. 366) that the word *πατρός* immediately preceding may have led to the transposition.

To avoid repetition it may be well to give the passage as it stands in various heretical books, that Justin's independence of them may be at once evident.

(a) *Marcion* (Dial. ap. Orig. § 1, p. 283): οὐδεὶς ἔγνω τὸν πατέρα εἰ μὴ ὁ υἱός, οὐδὲ τὸν υἱὸν τις γινώσκει, εἰ μὴ ὁ πατήρ. The reading of the Marcionite interlocutor is apparently accepted in the argument. Directly afterwards, however, the words are given: οὐδεὶς γινώσκει τὸν υἱὸν εἰ μὴ ὁ πατήρ, and οὐδεὶς οἶδε τὸν υἱόν. These variations are found, it is to be remembered, in an argument between *Christians*.

(β) *Clementines*. Hom. xvii. 4: οὐδεὶς ἔγνω τὸν πατέρα εἰ μὴ ὁ υἱός, ὡς οὐδὲ τὸν υἱὸν τις οἶδεν [εἶδεν Cred.?] εἰ μὴ ὁ πατήρ καὶ οἷς ἂν βούληται [βούλεται Cred., Cotel.] ὁ υἱὸς ἀποκαλύψαι.

If the direct quotations which Justin makes from the Apostolic Memoirs supply no adequate proof that he used any books different from our Canonical Gospels, it remains to be seen whether there be anything in the character of his indefinite references to the substance of the Gospels which leads to such a conclusion: whether there be any stereotyped variations in his narrative which point to a written source; and any crucial coincidences with other documents which show in what direction we must look for it.

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(β) Repe-  
titions of the  
same varia-  
tions from  
the canoni-  
cal text.

It has been remarked already that a false quotation may become a tradition. Much more is it likely to reappear by association in a writer to whom it has once occurred by accident, or been suggested by peculiar influences. It must be shown that there is something in the variation in the first instance, which excludes the belief that it is merely a natural error, before any stress can be laid upon the fact of its repetition, which within certain limits is even to be expected. Erroneous readings continually recur in the works of Fathers who have preserved the true text, when, perhaps, there was especial need for accuracy<sup>1</sup>. Justin himself has reproduced pas-

When a repe-  
tition of a  
reading be-  
comes im-  
portant.

The text is repeated in the same words, Hom. xviii. 4, 13, 20 (part). The difference of Justin's reading from this is clear and striking. Cf. Recogn. ii. 47.

<sup>1</sup> See Semisch, pp. 330 sqq. Any critical commentary

**CHAP. II** sages of the LXX. with constant variations, of which no traces can be elsewhere found<sup>1</sup>. Unless then it can be made out that the recurrent readings in which he differs from the text of the Evangelists, whom he did not profess to quote, are more striking or more numerous than those found in the other Fathers, and in his own quotations from the Old Testament, the fact that there are corresponding variations in both cases serves only to show that he treated the Gospels as they did, or as he himself treated the Prophets, and not that he was either unacquainted with their existence or ignorant of their peculiar claims.

The chief classes of various readings in MSS.

The real nature of the various readings of Justin's quotations will appear more clearly by a comparison with those found at present in Manuscripts of the New Testament. Errors of quotation are often paralleled by errors of copying; and even where they differ in extent they frequently coincide in principle. If we exclude mistakes in writing, differences in inflexion and orthography, adaptations for ecclesiastical reading, and intentional corrections, the remaining various readings in the Gospels may be divided

to the New Testament will furnish a crowd of instances. I intended to give a collection from Griesbach's *Symbolæ Criticæ*—only from Clement and Origen—but it proved too bulky.

<sup>1</sup> E. g. Isai. xlii. 6 sqq. Credner, ii. pp. 165, 213 sqq.

generally into synonymous words and phrases, transpositions, marginal glosses, and combinations of parallel passages<sup>1</sup>. This classification will serve exactly for the recurrent variations in Justin; and as it was made for an independent purpose it cannot seem to have been suggested by them, however closely it explains their origin.

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Justin's readings to be examined according to this classification.

In the first group of passages which Justin quotes in his Apology from the 'precepts of Christ,' he says: 'Now concerning our affection (*στέργειν*) for all men He taught this: If ye love them which love you *what strange thing do ye?* for the *fornicators* do this... And to the end that we should communicate to those who need, he said: Give to every one that asketh thee, and from him that would borrow of thee turn ye not away; for if ye lend to them of whom ye hope to receive, *what strange thing do ye? this even the publicans do*.' The whole form of the quo-

1. Synonymous phrases.

First instance. (Luke vi. 32.)

<sup>1</sup> This classification is given by Schulz in his third edition of the first volume of Griesbach's New Testament, pp. xxxviii., sqq. He has illustrated each class by a series of examples, which may be well compared with Justin's quotations.

<sup>2</sup> Ap. i. 15: Περὶ δὲ τοῦ στέργειν ἅπαντας ταῦτα ἐδίδαξεν· Εἰ ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας ὑμᾶς, τί καινὸν ποιεῖτε; (Mt.: τίνα μισθὸν ἔχετε; Lc.: ποία ὑμῖν χάρις ἐστὶ;) Καὶ γὰρ οἱ πόρνοι (Mt.: οἱ τελῶναι. Lc.: οἱ ἁμαρτωλοὶ) τοῦτο ποιούσιν (Luke vi. 32; Matt. v. 46)... Εἰς δὲ τὸ κοινωνεῖν τοῖς δεομένοις καὶ μηδὲν πρὸς δόξαν ποιεῖν ταῦτα ἔφη· Παντὶ τῷ αἰτοῦντι δίδοτε (δίδου all. δός) καὶ τὸν βουλόμενον (θέλοντα Mt.) δανείσασθαι μὴ ἀποστραφῆτε (-ῆς Mt.) Εἰ γὰρ δανείζετε



CHAP. II. tation, the context, the intertexture of the words of St Matthew and St Luke, show that the quotation is made from memory. How then are we to regard the repetition of the phrase '*what strange thing do ye?*' The corresponding words in St Luke in both cases are 'what thank have ye?' in St Matthew, who has only the first passage, 'what reward have ye?' This very diversity might occasion the new turn which Justin gives to the sentence; and the last words point to its source in the text of St Matthew: 'If ye love them which love you, what reward have ye? *Do not even the publicans the same?* And if ye salute your brethren only, *what remarkable thing do ye?* Do not even the heathen so<sup>1</sup>?' The change of the word (καινός for περισσός) which alone re-

παρ' ὧν ἐλπίζετε λαβεῖν, τί καινὸν ποιεῖτε; (*Lc. ut supra*)  
 Τοῦτο καὶ οἱ τελῶναι ποιοῦσιν (*Matt. v. 42; Luke vi. 30*).  
 In all the quotations from Justin I have marked the *variations* from the text of the Gospels by *italics* in the translation, and in the original by *spaced* letters. If there appear to be any fair MS. authority for a reading which Justin gives I have not noticed it, unless it be of grave importance. For instance, in the second passage, λαβεῖν is read for ἀπολαβεῖν by 'B, L;' and in the first τοῦτο for τὸ αὐτὸ by 'I Cant. It.'

<sup>1</sup> Matt. v. 47: τί περισσὸν ποιεῖτε; In this verse we must read ἐθνικοὶ for τελῶναι; but τελῶναι is undoubtedly the right reading in the corresponding clause in v. 46; and thus the connexion of the words is scarcely less striking than before. At the same time Justin *may* have read τελῶναι: the verse is not quoted by Clement, Origen, or Irenæus.

mains to be explained—if it were not suggested by the common idiom<sup>1</sup>—falls in with the peculiar object of Justin's argument, who wished to show the *reformation* wrought in men by Christ's teaching. The repetition of the phrase in two passages closely connected was almost inevitable.

The recurrent readings in Justin offer another instance of the substitution of a synonymous phrase for the true text. He quotes our Lord as saying: 'Many shall come in my name *clothed without in sheep-skins*, but inwardly they are ravening wolves<sup>2</sup>.' This quotation, again, is evidently a combination of two passages of St Matthew, and made from memory. The longer expression in Justin reads like a paraphrase of the words in the Gospel, and is illus-

Second instance.  
(Matt. vii. 15.)

<sup>1</sup> The phrase *καιὸν ποιεῖν* occurs in Plato, *Resp.* iii. 399 E. It is possible that *περισσὸν ποιεῖν* may be found elsewhere, but I doubt whether it would be used in the same sense; *περισσὰ πράσσειν* has a meaning altogether different.

<sup>2</sup> *Dial.* c. 35; (*Apol.* i. 16): Πολλοὶ ελεύσονται (ἔξουσι *Ap.*) ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματί μου ἔξωθεν (+ μὲν *Ap.*) ἐνδεδυμένοι δέρματα προβάτων, ἔσωθεν δὲ εἰσι (ὄντες *Ap.*) λύκοι ἄρπαγες (*Matt.* xxiv. 5; vii. 15). Immediately below Justin quotes: Προσέχετε ἀπὸ τῶν ψευδοπροφητῶν, οἵτινες ελεύσονται (ἔρχονται *Mt.*) πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἔξωθεν, κ. τ. λ. (*Matt.* vii. 15: ἐν ἐνδύμασι προβάτων). The phrase *ἐνδύματα προβάτων* is very strange, and though there is no variation apparently in the MSS. *δέρμασι* has been conjectured. Cf. Schulz. *in l.* Semisch has remarked that *ἐνδεδυμένοι δέρματα* shows traces of the text of St Matthew (p. 340).

CHAP. II. trated by the single reference made to the verse by Clement, who speaks of the Prophetic Word as describing some men under the image of 'wolves arrayed in sheep's fleeces'<sup>1</sup>. If Clement allowed himself this license in quoting the passages, surely it cannot be denied to Justin.

Another instance.

In close connexion with these various readings is another passage in which Justin substitutes a special for a general word, and replaces a longer and more unusual enumeration of persons by a short and common one. 'Christ cried aloud before He was crucified, The Son of Man must suffer many things, and be rejected *by* (ὑπό) *the scribes and Pharisees*, and be *crucified*, and rise again on the third day<sup>2</sup>.' In another place the same words occur with the transposition of the titles '...by the *Pharisees and scribes*.' Once again the text is given obliquely: 'Christ said that He must suffer many things of (ἀπό) *the scribes and Pharisees*, and be *crucified*...' In this last instance the same preposition is used as in St Luke, and the two variations only remain constant—'scribes and Pharisees' for 'elders and

<sup>1</sup> Clem. Al. Protr. § 4: λύκοι κωδίοις προβάτων ἠμφιεσμένοι.

<sup>2</sup> Dial. c. 76: 'Ἐβόα γὰρ πρὸ τοῦ σταυρωθῆναι· Δεῖ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου πολλὰ παθεῖν καὶ ἀποδοκιμασθῆναι ὑπὸ (ἀπὸ Lc.) τῶν γραμματέων καὶ Φαρισαίων (πρεσβυτέρων καὶ ἀρχιερέων καὶ γραμματέων Lc.) καὶ σταυρωθῆναι (ἀποκτανθῆναι Lc.) καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀναστῆναι. Cf. cc. 100; 51.

chief priests and scribes,' and 'crucified' for 'put to death<sup>1</sup>.' Though these readings are not supported by any manuscript authority, they are sufficiently explained by other Patristic quotations. The example of Origen shows the natural difficulty of recalling the exact words of such a passage. At one time he writes 'The Son of Man must be rejected of (*ἀπὸ*) the chief priests and elders...;' again '...of the chief priests and *Pharisees* and scribes...;' again '...of the elders and chief priests and scribes *of the people*<sup>2</sup>.' In corresponding texts a similar confusion occurs both in manuscripts and quotations<sup>3</sup>. The second variation is still less remarkable. Even in a later <sup>Luke xxiv. 7.</sup> passage of St Luke the word 'crucified' is substituted for 'put to death,' and Irenæus twice repeats the same reading. 'From that time He began to show unto his disciples that He must go unto Jerusalem, and suffer many things from *the chief priests, and be rejected, and crucified, and rise again on the third day*<sup>4</sup>.' 'The Son of Man

<sup>1</sup> In Matt. xvi. 21 *ἔπὸ* is read by Cod. D; in Mark viii. 31 it is supported by B, C, D, &c., and must be received into the text; in Luke ix. 22 *ἀπὸ* appears to be the reading of all the MSS. From this note it will appear how little weight could be rested on the reading *ἔπὸ* in Justin, even if it were constant.

<sup>2</sup> Griesbach, *Symb. Crit.* p. 291.

<sup>3</sup> See the various readings to Matt. xxvi. 3, 59; xxvii. 41.

<sup>4</sup> Iren. iii. 18, 4: Ex eo enim, inquit, cœpit demonstrare discentibus (*to his disciples*), quoniam oportet illum Hieroso-

CHAP. II. must suffer many things, and be rejected, and *crucified*, and rise again the third day<sup>1</sup>. It is scarcely too much to say that both these passages differ more from the original text than Justin's quotations, and have more important common variations; and yet no one will maintain that Irenæus was unacquainted with our Gospels, or used any other records of Christ's life.

A last instance showing how the change was fixed.

Another quotation of Justin's, which may be classed under this same division, is more instructive, as showing the process by which these various readings were stereotyped. Prayer for enemies might well seem the most noble characteristic of Christian morality. 'Christ taught us to pray even for our enemies, saying: Be ye kind and merciful, even as your Heavenly Father<sup>2</sup>.' 'We who used to hate one another...now pray for our enemies<sup>3</sup>...' The phrase as well as the idea was fixed in Justin's mind; and is it then strange that he quotes our Lord's teaching on the love of enemies elsewhere in this form: '*Pray for your enemies, and love them that hate you, and bless them that curse you, and pray for*

*lymam ire et multa pati a sacerdotibus, et reprobari et crucifigi et tertia die resurgere* (Matt. xvi. 21; Luke ix. 22). The words *et reprobari* form no part of the text of St Matthew.

<sup>1</sup> *Id.* iii. 16, 5: Oportet enim, inquit, Filium hominis multa pati et reprobari et *crucifigi* et die tertio resurgere (Luke ix. 22).

<sup>2</sup> Dial. c. 96.

<sup>3</sup> Ap. i. 14.

them that despitefully use you<sup>1</sup>?' The repetition of the key-word (*pray*) points to the origin of the change; and the form and context of the quotation shows that it was not made directly from any written source. But, here again there are considerable variations in the readings of the passage. In St Matthew it should stand thus: 'Love your enemies, and pray for them that persecute you.' The remaining clauses appear to have been interpolated from St Luke. Origen quotes the text in this form five times; and in the two remaining quotations he only substitutes 'them that despitefully use you' from St Luke, for the last clause<sup>2</sup>. Irenæus gives the precept in another shape: 'Love your enemies, and *pray for them that hate you*<sup>3</sup>.' Still more in accordance with Justin, Tertullian says, 'It is enjoined on us to *pray to God for our enemies*, and to bless our persecutors<sup>4</sup>.' It would be useless to extend the inquiry further.

<sup>1</sup> Ap. i. 15: Εδχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὑμῶν καὶ ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς μισοῦντας ὑμᾶς (ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμῶν, καλῶς ποιεῖτε τοῖς μισοῦσιν ὑμᾶς Lc.) καὶ (= Lc.) εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς καταρωμένους ὑμῖν καὶ ἐδχεσθε (προσεύχεσθε Mt. Lc.) ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐπηραζόντων ὑμᾶς (Luke vi. 27, 28. Cf. Matt. v. 44).

<sup>2</sup> Griesbach, *Symb. Crit.* pp. 253 sq.

<sup>3</sup> *Adv. Hæc.* iii. 18, 5: Diligite inimicos vestros et orate pro eis qui vos oderunt.

<sup>4</sup> Ap. 31: Præceptum est nobis ad redundantiam benignitatis etiam pro inimicis Deum orare, et persecutoribus nostris bona precari.

## CHAP. II.

## 2. Transpositions.

## 3. Glosses.

The prophetic use of the present tense.

Transpositions are, perhaps, less likely to recur than new forms of expression; at least I have not noticed any repeated in Justin. One or two examples, however, show the nature of a large class of glosses. Every scholar is familiar with what may be called the *prophetic* use of the present tense. In the intuition of the seer the future is already realized, not completely but inceptively: the action is already begun in the working of the causes which lead to its accomplishment. This is the deepest view of futurity, as the outgrowth of the present. But more frequently we break the connexion: future things are merely things separated by years or ages from ourselves; and this simple notion has a tendency to destroy the truer one. It is not then surprising that both in manuscripts and quotations the clearly defined future is confounded with the subtler present. Even in parallel passages of the Synoptic Gospels the change is sometimes found, from a slight alteration of the point of sight<sup>1</sup>. The most important instance in Justin occurs in his account of the testimony of John the Baptist: 'I indeed baptize you with water unto repentance; but he that is mightier than I *shall come*, whose shoes I am not worthy

Instance of the interpretation of it in Justin.

<sup>1</sup> Matt. xxiv. 40; Luke xvii. 34 (where, however, παραλαμβάνεται is read by 'D, K,' &c. See John xxi. 18, *varr. lectt.*) Cf. Winer, *N. T. Grammatik*, § 41, 42.

to bear; he shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost and with fire<sup>1</sup>....' The whole quotation, except the clause in question and the repetition of a pronoun, agrees verbally with the text of St Matthew. This is the more remarkable because Clement gives the passage in a form differing from all the Evangelists<sup>2</sup>, and Origen has quoted it with repeated variations, even after expressly comparing the words of the four Evangelists<sup>3</sup>. The series of changes involved in the reading of Justin can be traced exactly. In place of the phrase of St Matthew, 'but he that is coming is mightier than I...', St Mark and St Luke read, 'but he that is mightier than I is coming....' Now elsewhere Justin has represented this very verb—'is coming'—by two

<sup>1</sup> Dial. c. 49. (Cf. c. 88): 'Εγὼ μὲν ὑμᾶς βαπτίζω ἐν ὕδατι εἰς μετάνοιαν' ἤξει δὲ (γὰρ, c. 88) ὁ ἰσχυρότερός μου (ὁ δὲ ὀπίσω μου ἐρχόμενος ἰσχυρότερός μου ἐστὶ Mt. ἔρχεται δὲ ὁ ἰσχυρότερος Lc.) οὐ οὐκ εἰμι ἰκανός . . . πυρί. Οὐ τὸ πτύον αὐτοῦ (= Mt.) ἐν τῇ χ. . . . ἀσβέστω (Matt. iii. 11, 12; Luke iii. 16, 17). For the insertion of αὐτοῦ see Mark vii. 25; Apoc. vii. 2; and *varr. lectt.* Winer, § 22, 4.

<sup>2</sup> Fragm. § 25: ἐγὼ μὲν ὑμᾶς ὕδατι βαπτίζω, ἔρχεται δὲ μου ὀπίσω ὁ βαπτίζων ὑμᾶς ἐν πνεύματι καὶ πυρί . . . τὸ γὰρ πτύον ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ διακαθᾶραι τὴν ἄλω καὶ συναΐξει τὸν σῖτον εἰς τὴν ἀποθήκην (ἐπιθήκην, Griesb.) τὸ δέ . . . ἀσβέστω.

<sup>3</sup> Comm. in Joan. vi. 16. Id. vi. 26: ἐγὼ βαπτίζω ἐν ὕδατι, ὁ δὲ ἐρχόμενος μετ' ἐμὲ ἰσχυρότερός μου ἐστὶ, αὐτὸς ὑμᾶς βαπτίσει ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ. Cf. Griesb. *Symb. Crit.* ii. 244, who seems to have confounded the Evangelist and the Baptist.



CHAP. II. futures in different quotations of the same verse<sup>1</sup>.

The fact that he uses two words shows that he intended in each case to give the sense of the original; and since one of them is the same as appears in the words of St John, its true relation to the text of the Gospels is established.

4. Combina-  
tion.

Combination  
of words.

The remaining instances of repeated variations occur in the combination of parallel texts. In the first the coincidence is only partial: the differences of the two quotations from one another are at least as great as their common difference from the text of the Gospels. 'Many shall say to me in that day,'—so Justin quotes our Lord's words,—'Lord, Lord, *did we not in Thy name eat, and drink, and prophesy, and cast out devils?* And I will say to them, Depart from Me.' In the Apology the passage runs thus: 'Many shall say to me, Lord, Lord, *did we not in Thy name eat, and drink, and do mighty works?* And then will I say to them, Depart from Me, ye workers of iniquity<sup>2</sup>.' It so

<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 165, n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Dial. c. 76; Ap. i. 16: πολλοὶ ἐροῦσί μοι τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ (= Ap. ἐν ἐ. τῇ ἡ. Mt.) Κύριε, Κύριε, οὐ τῷ σῷ ὀνόματι ἐφάγομεν καὶ ἐπίομεν καὶ (= Mt.) προεφητεύσαμεν (δυνάμεις ἐποιήσαμεν Ap.) καὶ (+ τῷ σῷ ὀνόματι Mt.) δαιμόνια ἐξεβάλομεν; (+ καὶ τῷ σῷ ὀν. δυνάμεις πολλὰς ἐποιήσαμεν; Mt.) Καὶ (+ τότε Ap. Mt.) ἐρῶ (ὁμολογήσω Mt.) αὐτοῖς ἀποχωρεῖτε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ (προαετ. Mt. Ὅτι οὐδέποτε ἔγνω ὑμᾶς . . . + οἱ ἐργαζόμενοι τὴν ἀνομίαν. + ἐργάται τῆς ἀνομίας Ap.) Matt. vii. 22, 23. Cf. Luke xiii. 16, 17, from which each new word in Justin is borrowed.

happens that Origen has quoted the same passage several times with considerable variations, but four times he combines the words of St Matthew and St Luke as Justin has done. 'Many shall say to me in that day, Lord, Lord, *did we not in Thy name eat and drink, and in Thy name cast out devils, and do mighty works? And I will say to them, Depart from Me, because ye are workers of unrighteousness*<sup>1</sup>.' The parallel is as complete as can be required, and proves that Justin need not have had recourse to any apocryphal book for the text which he has preserved.

Sometimes the combination of texts consists more in the intermixture of forms than of words. Combina-  
tion of  
forms. Of this Justin offers one good example. He twice quotes the woe pronounced against the false sanctity of the scribes and Pharisees with considerable variations, but in both cases preserves one remarkable difference from St Matthew, whose words he uses. When exclaiming against the frivolous criticism of the Jewish doctors he asks, 'Shall they not rightly be called that which our Lord Jesus Christ said to them: "*Whited sepulchres, appearing beautiful without, but within full of dead men's bones, paying tithe of mint, and swallowing the camel, blind* Matt. xxiii.  
27.

<sup>1</sup> Griesb. *Symb. Crit.* ii. p. 262.

guides<sup>1</sup>?"' 'Christ seemed no friend to you... when he cried, "Woe to you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites, for ye pay tithe of mint and rue, but regard not the love of God and judgment; *whited sepulchres, appearing* beautiful without, but within full of dead men's bones<sup>2</sup>."

False teachers are no longer '*like unto whited sepulchres*;' they *are* very sepulchres. The change is striking. If this be explained the participial form of the sentence creates no new difficulty, but follows as a natural sequence. The text of St Matthew, however, offers no trace of its origin. Three words, indeed, occur in different authorities to express the comparison, but none omit it. Clement and Irenæus give the passage with a very remarkable variation<sup>3</sup>, but they agree with the MSS. in preserving the connexion. The clue to the solution of the difficulty must be sought for in St Luke. He has

<sup>1</sup> Dial. cc. 112; 17. The common passage runs thus: τάφοι κεκονιμένοι, ἔξωθεν φαινόμενοι ὡραῖοι καὶ ἔσωθεν (ἐσ. δὲ, c. 17) γέμοντες ὀστέων νεκρῶν. The corresponding clause in St Matthew is (c. xxiii. 27): ὅτι παρομοιάζετε τάφοις κεκονιμένοις, οἵτινες ἔξωθεν μὲν φαίνονται ὡραῖοι ἔσωθεν δὲ γέμουσιν ὀστέων νεκρῶν καὶ πάσης ἀκαθαρσίας. For παρομοιάζετε Lachmann reads ὁμοιάζετε with B. Clement (Griesb. *Symb. Crit.* ii. 327) has ὁμοιοὶ ἐστέ (*Pæd.* iii. 9, § 47).

<sup>2</sup> Dial. c. 17.

<sup>3</sup> Clem. l. c.: ἔξωθεν ὁ τάφος φαίνεται ὡραῖος, ἔσωθεν δὲ γέμει... Iren. iv. 18, 3: Foris enim sepulcrum apparet formosum; intus autem plenum est.... The passage stands so also in D and d.

not, indeed, one word in common with Justin, CHAP. II.  
 but he has expressed the thought—at least according to very weighty evidence—in the same manner<sup>1</sup>: ‘Woe to you, for *ye are unseen tombs*,  
 and men know not when they walk on them.’ Luke xi. 44.  
 Justin has thus clothed the living image of St Luke in the language of St Matthew.

These are all the quotations in Justin which exhibit any constant variation from the text of the Gospels<sup>2</sup>. In the few other cases of recurrent quotations the differences between the several texts are at least as important as their common divergence from the words of the Evangelist<sup>3</sup>. This fact alone is sufficient to show that Justin did not exactly reproduce the narrative which he read, but made his references generally by memory, and that inaccurately. Under such circumstances the authority of the earliest of the Fathers, who are admitted on all sides

General view of these quotations.

Supposing that they were given from memory.

<sup>1</sup> Luke xi. 44: Οὐαὶ ὑμῖν ὅτι ἔστε [= ὡς τὰ] μνημεῖα [= τὰ] ἄδηλα καὶ οἱ ἄνθρωποι περιπατοῦντες ἐπάνω οὐκ οἶδασιν. So D a b c, Lucif.; Griesbach marks the reading as worthy of notice.

<sup>2</sup> I have not noticed the variation in the reference to Luke x. 16: ὁ ἐμοῦ ἀκούων ἀκούει τοῦ ἀποστελλαντός με (Apol. i. 62. Cf. 16), because it is contained in several MSS. and translations: Dd., Syrr., Arm., Æth., &c.

<sup>3</sup> The following passages may be compared: Dial. c. 97; Apol. i. 15 = Luke vi. 36; Matt. v. 45. For the repetition of χρηστοὶ καὶ οἰκτίρμονες compare Clem. Strom. ii. 59. § 100: εὐεχόμενοι καὶ οἰκτίρμονες. Dial. c. 101; Apol. i. 16 = Matt. xix. 16, 17; Luke xviii. 18, 19.

## 176 THE AGE OF THE GREEK APOLOGISTS.

CHAP. II. to have made constant and special use of the Gospels, has been brought forward to justify the existence and recurrence of variations from the canonical text; and though it would have been easy to have chosen more striking instances of their various readings, still, by taking those only which occur in the same places as Justin's, the parallel gains in direct force as much at least as it loses in point. But even if it were not so: if it had seemed that recurrent variations could be naturally explained only by supposing that they were derived from an original written source, that written source might still have been a MS. of our Gospels. One very remarkable type of a class of early MSS. has been preserved in the *Codex Bezae* (D)—the gift of the Reformer to the University of Cambridge—which contains verbal differences from the common text, and apocryphal additions to it, no less remarkable than those which we have to explain<sup>1</sup>. The frequent coincidences of the

or even if  
taken from  
a MS.

Example of  
*Codex  
Bezae.*

<sup>1</sup> Though I am by no means inclined to assent without reserve to the judgment of Bornemann on D, yet it seems to me to represent in important features a text of the Gospels, if not the most pure, yet the most widely current in the middle, or at least towards the close of the second century. This is not the place to enter into a discussion of the extent of its agreement with the earliest Versions and Fathers. It is sufficient to have indicated the result which seems to follow from it. The MS. was probably written about A. C. 500—550, but it was copied from an older sticho-

readings of this MS. with those of Justin must CHAP. II.  
 have been noticed already; and if it had perished,  
 as well it might have done, in the civil wars  
 of France<sup>1</sup>, many texts in Clement and Irenæus  
 would have seemed as strange as his peculiarities<sup>2</sup>.

metrical MS., which in turn was based upon another still  
 older. (Cf. Credner, i. 465).

In Luke xv., to take a single chapter as an illustration  
 of the statement in the text, the following readings are found  
 only in D and d (the accompanying Latin Version),

- v. 13. *ἑαυτοῦ τὸν βίον* for *τὴν οὐσίαν αὐτοῦ*.
- 21. *ὁ δὲ υἱὸς εἶπεν αὐτῷ* (transp.)
- 23. *ἐνέγκατε . . . [καὶ θύσατε]* for *ἐνέγκαντες . . . θύσατε*.
- 24. *εὐρέθη + ἄρτι*.
- 27. *σιευτὸν + αὐτῷ*.
- [28. *ἤρξατο* (? *παρακαλεῖν*) *cœpit rogare*, Vulg.]
- 29. *ἐξ αἰγῶν* for *ἔριφον* (*hædum de capris. d.*)
- 30. *τῷ δὲ υἱῷ σου τῷ καταφαγόντι πάντα μετὰ τῶν  
 πορνῶν καὶ ἐλθόντι, ἔθυσας σιευτὸν μόσχον*.

These readings, it is to be remembered, are found in a  
 MS. of the four Gospels. Is it then incredible that Justin's  
 quotations were drawn directly from another, which need  
 not have differed more from the common text? For other  
 reasons it seems to me highly improbable that it was so,  
 but not from the character of the constant variations which  
 they exhibit.

The greater interpolations of D are well known. Ex-  
 amples may be found in Matt. xx. 28; Luke iii. 24; vi. 5;  
 xvi. 8; Acts v. 22; xv. 2; xviii. 27, &c. Credner has exa-  
 mined many of the readings of D (*Beiträge*, i. 452 ff.), but  
 he has by no means exhausted the subject.

<sup>1</sup> *Initio belli civilis apud Gallos, an. MDLXII., ex  
 cœnobio S. Irenæi, Lugduni, postquam ibi diu in pulvere  
 jacuisset, nactus est Beza . . . Mill, Proleg. N. T. 1268.*

<sup>2</sup> The following examples will serve to confirm the  
 statement:

## CHAP. II.

We are arguing on false premises, but it is not the less important to notice that up to this point there is nothing in Justin's quotations, supposing them to have been drawn immediately from a written source, which is inexplicable by what we know of the history of the text of our Gospels.

(γ) Coincidences with heretical gospels.

But it is said that some of Justin's quotations exhibit coincidences with fragments of heretical Gospels, which prove that he must have made use of them, if not exclusively, at least in addition to the writings of the Evangelists.

Matt. xi. 27.

One such passage has been already considered incidentally<sup>1</sup>, and it has been shewn that the reading which Justin gives appears elsewhere in Catholic writers; and that in fact it may exhibit the original text. The remaining instances are neither many nor of great weight. The most important of them is the reference to our Lord's discourse with Nicodemus<sup>2</sup>: 'For

John iii. 3,  
δ.

Matt. xxiii. 26. ἔξωθεν . . . Clem. *Pæd.* iii. 9, § 48; Iren. iv. 18, 3.

Luke xii. 27. οὐτε νήθει οὐτε ὑφαίνει. Clem. *Pæd.* ii.

— xix. 26. προστίθεται. Clem. *Strom.* vii. 10. προστιθήσεται.

Luke xii. 11. φέρωσιν. Clem. *Or.* (Griesb. ii. 377).

— xii. 38. τῇ ἐσπερινῇ φυλακῇ. Iren. v. 34, 2.

Cf. Hug, Introduction, i. § 22. It is needless to multiply instances.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 159, n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Semisch, § 25, pp. 189 ff.

Christ said, Except *ye be born again* (ἀναγεννηθῆτε) *ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven.* But that it is impossible for those who have been once born to enter into their mother's womb, is clear to all<sup>1</sup>. In the Clementines the passage reads: 'Thus sware our Prophet to us, saying: Verily I say unto you, except *ye be born again* (ἀναγεννηθῆτε) *with living water into the name of the Father, Son, [and] Holy Spirit, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven*<sup>2</sup>.' Both quotations differ from St John in the use of the plural, in the word descriptive of the new birth, and in the phrase, 'ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven,' for 'he cannot enter into the kingdom of God'; but their mutual variations are not less striking.

<sup>1</sup> Ap. i. 61: καὶ γὰρ ὁ Χριστὸς εἶπεν· Ἄν μὴ ἀναγεννηθῆτε, οὐ μὴ εἰσέλθητε εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν. Ὅτι δὲ καὶ ἀδύνατον εἰς τὰς μήτρας τῶν τεκουσῶν τοὺς ἀπαξ † γενομένους ἐμβῆναι, φανερὸν πᾶσιν ἐστί.

<sup>2</sup> Hom. xi. 26: οὕτως γὰρ ἡμῖν ὄμοσεν ὁ προφήτης εἰπών. Ἀμήν (+ ἀμήν Joh.) ὑμῖν λέγω (λ. ὑ. Joh.) εἰ μὴ ἀναγεννηθῆτε (τις γεννηθῆ, Joh.) ὕδατι ζῶντι, εἰς ὄνομα πατρὸς, υἱοῦ, ἀγίου πνεύματος, οὐ μὴ εἰσέλθητε (οὐ δύναται εἰσ. Joh.) εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν (τοῦ Θεοῦ, Joh.) Cf. Matt. xviii. 3 (Schwegler, i. p. 218). Cf. Recog. vi. 9. Sic enim nobis cum sacramento verus propheta testatus est, dicens: Amen dico vobis, nisi quis *denuo renatus fuerit* (ἀναγεννηθῆ ἄνωθεν) ex aqua = non introibit in regna caelorum.

<sup>3</sup> Mill quotes the *Lectiones Valesianae*. (Cf. *Prolegg.* 1311, 1507) as giving the reading ἀναγεννηθῆναι: Verc. and Ver. (ap. Lachm.) have *renatus fuerit*. He cites also two MSS.



If the familiar use of one phrase were in all cases a sufficient explanation of its substitution for another which is more strange, there would be little difficulty here. The whole class of words relative to the New Birth (*ἀναγεννᾶσθαι*, *ἀναγέννησις*) formed a part of the common technical language of Christians, and occur repeatedly both in Justin and in the Clementines<sup>1</sup>. The phrase in the Gospel (*γεννηθῆναι ἄνωθεν*), on the other hand, is not only peculiar, but ambiguous. Nor is this all: the passage, as quoted in both cases, is put in the form of a general address. If then it were thus adapted from the Evangelist this change might furnish occasion for the others. And it is not to be overlooked that Ephraem Syrus has given the words in a form which combines, in equal proportions, the peculiarities of St John and Justin<sup>2</sup>: ‘Except a man be *born again from above* (*ἀναγεννηθῆ ἄνωθεν*) he *shall not see the kingdom of heaven.*’ So also in the Apostolical Constitutions the words are quoted thus: ‘The Lord says, Except a man be born

as reading *εἰσελθεῖν* in v. 3. The later editors have not marked the variation.

<sup>1</sup> The earliest examples of this Christian use of the words are 1 Pet. i. 3, 23. Clem. Hom. vii. 8; xi. 26 (immediately before the quotation); xi. 35. Justin, Ap. i. 61. Cf. Credner, i. p. 301 f.

<sup>2</sup> De Pœnit. T. iii. p. 183 (Semisch, p. 196): *ἐὰν μὴ τις ἀναγεννηθῆ ἄνωθεν, οὐ μὴ ἴδῃ τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν.*

(γεννηθῆ) of water and Spirit, he shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven<sup>1</sup>.’ If these parallels are insufficient to show that the quotation of Justin is merely a reminiscence of St John, at least, they indicate that it was not derived from any apocryphal Gospel, but rather from some such tradition of our Lord’s words as has preserved peculiar types of other texts<sup>2</sup>. Apocryphal Gospels were, in fact, only unauthorized collections of such traditional materials; and it should be no matter of surprise if that which was recorded in them elsewhere survived as a current story or saying. The marvel is that early writers so constantly confined themselves within the circle of the canonical narratives.

CHAP. II.

Coincidences with Apocryphal Gospels no proof of their use.

The next instance which is quoted, as showing a coincidence between Justin and the Clementine Gospel, illustrates yet more clearly the existence of a traditional as well as of an

Matt. v. 34, 37.

<sup>1</sup> Const. Apost. vi. 15 (Semisch, *l. c.*): λέγει ὁ κύριος· ἐὰν μὴ τις γεννηθῆ ἐξ ὕδατος καὶ πνεύματος, οὐ μὴ εἰσέλθῃ εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν. For γεννηθῆ the common reading is βαπτισθῆ, which is probably a gloss on γενν. ἐξ ὑ. καὶ πν. No instance of βαπτίζω ἐκ τινός occurs to me.

<sup>2</sup> Schwegler (i. 218) has pointed out a passage in the Shepherd of Hermas which alludes to the same traditional saying: *Necesse est, inquit, ut per aquam habeant ascendere, ut requiescant. Non poterant aliter in regnum Dei intrare, quam ut deponerent mortalitatem prioris vitæ* (iii. 9, 16). The coincidence of the latter clause with St John, and not with Justin, is to be remarked.

CHAP. II. evangelic form of Christ's words. 'That we should not swear at all, but speak the truth always,' Justin says, Christ thus exhorted us: 'Swear not at all; but *let* (ἔστω) *your yea be yea, and your nay, nay*; but whatsoever is more than these is of the evil one<sup>1</sup>.' In the text of St Matthew the corresponding words are: 'I say unto you, Swear not at all...but *let your communication be, Yea, yea: Nay, nay*; but whatsoever is more than these is of the evil one.' It so happens, however, that St James has referred to the same precept: 'Before all things, my brethren, swear not, neither by the heaven, neither by the earth, neither by any other (ἄλλος) oath: but let (ἦτω) *your yea be yea, and your nay nay*<sup>2</sup>...' Clement quotes the latter clause in this form as 'a maxim of the Lord<sup>3</sup>;' and Epiphanius says that the Lord in the Gospel bids us 'not to swear, neither by the heaven, neither by the earth,

<sup>1</sup> Apol. i. 16 (Clem. Hom. xix. 2; Matt. v. 34, 37): *περὶ δὲ τοῦ μὴ ὀμνύναι ὄλωσ, τᾶληθῆ δὲ λέγειν αἰεὶ, οὕτως παρεκελεύσατο· μὴ ὀμόσητε ὄλωσ· ἔστω δὲ (+ ὁ λόγος, Mt.) ὑμῶν τὸ (= Mt.) ναὶ ναὶ καὶ τὸ (= Mt.) οὐ οὐ· τὸ δὲ περισσὸν τούτων ἐκ τοῦ πονηροῦ (ἔστιν + Mt., Clem.)*

In Clem. Hom. iii. 55 the passage stands: *ἔστω ὑμῶν τὸ ναὶ ναί, τὸ οὐ οὐ· τὸ γὰρ, κ.τ.λ.*

<sup>2</sup> James v. 12: *Πρὸ πάντων δέ, ἀδελφοί μου, μὴ ὀμνύετε, μήτε τὸν οὐρανὸν μήτε τὴν γῆν μήτε ἄλλον τινα ὄρκον ἦτω δὲ ὑμῶν τὸ ναὶ ναὶ καὶ τὸ οὐ οὐ, ἵνα μὴ ὑπὸ κρίσιν πέσητε.*

<sup>3</sup> Strom. v. 14, § 100: *τὸ κυρίου ῥητόν· ἔστω (not ἦτω) ὑμῶν, κ.τ.λ.* Cf. Lib. vii. 11, § 67, where the sentence is again quoted in the same form.

neither by any other (ἕτερος) oath : but let (ἦτω) *your yea be yea, and your nay nay ; for that which is more (περισσότερον) than these is in its origin (ὑπάρχει) of the evil one<sup>1</sup>.* In the Clementine Homilies the words are: ‘[Our master] counselling us said: *Let (ἔστω) your yea be yea, and your nay nay ; but that which is more than these is of the evil one<sup>2</sup>.*’ The differences of Epiphanius from the text of St Matthew are thus greater than those of Justin ; and the coincidence of Justin with the Clementines is confined to words found in St James, and quoted expressly, by some Fathers as Christ’s words.

The many various readings of the reply of our Lord, when he limited the true application of the word ‘good’ to God only, are well known. It is recorded in different forms by the three Evangelists. Justin himself has quoted the passage twice, varying almost every word. It is brought forward repeatedly by other Fathers, with constant variations from the text of the Gospels. In the presence of these facts it would

Matt. xix. 17.  
Mark x. 18.  
Luke xviii.  
19.

<sup>1</sup> Epiph. adv. Hæer. i. 20, 6 ; (i. p. 44) : [τοῦ κυρίου] ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ λέγοντος· μὴ ὀμνῆσαι μήτε τὸν οὐρανὸν μήτε τὴν γῆν μήτε ἕτερον τινὰ ὄρκον· ἀλλ’ ἦτω ὑμῶν τὸ ναὶ ναὶ καὶ τὸ οὐ οὐ· τὸ περισσότερον γὰρ τούτων ἐκ τοῦ πονηροῦ ὑπάρχει.

<sup>2</sup> Hom. xix. 2 : συμβουλεύων [ὁ διδάσκαλος] εἶρηκεν· ἔστω ὑμῶν τὸ ναὶ ναὶ καὶ τὸ οὐ οὐ· τὸ δὲ περισσὸν τούτων ἐκ τοῦ πονηροῦ ἐστίν.

CHAP. II. be impossible, under any circumstances, to lay great stress upon the coincidence of a few words in one of Justin's quotations with a reading recognized by the Marcosians<sup>1</sup> and the Ebionites. Yet the case is made still simpler when it is shown that Catholic authority can be adduced for each word in which he agrees with those widely different sects. In the Apology the answer is given: 'No one is good save God *alone, who made all things*<sup>2</sup>.' In the Dialogue: 'Why callest thou me good? One is good, *my Father which is in heaven*<sup>3</sup>.' The Marcosians read in their text: 'Why callest thou me good? One is good, *my Father in heaven.*' In the Clementines the

<sup>1</sup> We shall consider in another place (Ch. IV.) whether the passages quoted by Irenæus were corrupted by the Marcosians or simply misinterpreted.

<sup>2</sup> Ap. i. 16 (Mark x. 18; Luke xviii. 19): οὐδεις αγαθος ει μη μονος (εις, Mk., Lc.) ο θεος, ο ποιησας τα παντα (= Mc., Lc.) In St Mark Dd combine the former words, reading μονος εις θεος. Several other old Latin MSS. give *solus* (Griesb. l. c.).

The concluding words occur just before, and are to be considered as 'an addition of Justin's suggested by the circumstances of the time, and his late controversy with Marcion' (Credner, i. 243). Such a concession takes away much of the force of Credner's other arguments. If Justin might add a clause to guard against a heresy, surely he might adapt the language of the Evangelists to meet best the wants of his readers.

<sup>3</sup> Dial. c. 101; Marcos. ap. Iren. i. 20, 2: τι με λεγεις αγαθον (Lc. xviii. 19); εις εστω αγαθος (Mt. xix. 17), ο πατηρ μου, ο (= Marcos.) εν τοις ουρανοις.

words are: ‘*Call me not good. The Good is One, my Father which is in heaven*<sup>1</sup>.’ As to these quotations it is to be noticed, that Epiphanius has connected the words of St Matthew and St Luke exactly as they are found in the Marcian Gospel and in Justin<sup>2</sup>. The last clause which is common to the three is the only remaining difference. Now, not only are there traces of some addition to the text of St Matthew in several versions: not only did Marcion and Clement and Origen recognize the words ‘my Father<sup>3</sup>’; but in one place Clement gives the whole sentence, ‘no one is good except *my Father which is in heaven*<sup>4</sup>.’ He has attached the last clause of Justin to the words of St Luke, exactly as Epiphanius has added the last words of St Luke to the opening clauses of Justin.

The last instance which is quoted is not more Matt. xxv. 41.

<sup>1</sup> Hom. xviii. 3: μή με λέγε αγαθόν· ὁ γὰρ αγαθὸς εἰς ἐστίν, ὁ πατήρ ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς.

<sup>2</sup> Epiph. Adv. Hær. Lxix. 19 (i. p. 742); 57 (p. 780) as quoted by the Arians; and in Lxix. 57 (p. 781) he accepts the reading as his own. Semisch, p. 373.

<sup>3</sup> Marcion read (Epiph. Adv. Hær. xlii. p. 315): μή με λέγετε αγαθόν· εἰς ἐστίν αγαθός, ὁ πατήρ. In the refutation (p. 339) his text is given: μή με λέγε αγαθόν· εἰς ἐστίν αγαθός, ὁ Θεὸς ὁ Πατήρ. For the passages of Clement (ὁ πατήρ) and Origen (ὁ Θεὸς ὁ πατήρ) see Griesb. Symb. Crit. pp. 305, 388.

<sup>4</sup> Pæd. i. 8, § 72: διαρρήδην λέγει· οὐδεὶς αγαθὸς εἰ μὴ ὁ πατήρ μου ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς. Semisch, p. 372. The passage has been overlooked by Griesbach.

CHAP. II. important than those which have been examined<sup>1</sup>. After speaking of those 'sons of the kingdom who shall be cast into the outer darkness, Justin quotes the condemnation of the wicked to be pronounced by Christ in these words: '*Go ye into the outer darkness, which my Father prepared for Satan and his angels*?' It occurs again in the same form in the Clementine Homilies. There are here two variations to be noticed—a change in the verb (*ὑπάγειν* for *πορεύεσθαι*), and the substitution of the 'outer darkness' for 'the eternal fire.' The first variation occurs elsewhere<sup>3</sup>: the naturalness of the second is shown by the fact that in one MS. the original reading was 'the *outer*

<sup>1</sup> The connexion of Dial. c. 97 with Hom. iii. 57 (Matt. v. 45) has been noticed already: p. 175, note 3. The reference to Luke xi. 52 in Dial. c. 17, where τὰς κλεῖς ἔχετε stands for ἤρατε τὴν κλεῖδα τῆς γνώσεως, is very different from that in Clem. Hom. iii. 18, where the phrase is κρατοῦσι τὴν κλεῖν.

<sup>2</sup> Dial. c. 76; Clem. Hom. xix. 2; Matt. xiv. 41: ὑπάγετε (*Mt.* πορεύεσθε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ) εἰς τὸ σκότος (*Mt.* πῦρ) τὸ ἐξώτερον (*Mt.* αἰώνιον) ὃ ἠτοίμασεν ὁ πατήρ (+ μου, *Mt.*) τῷ σατανᾷ (διαβόλῳ, *Mt.*, *Clem.*) καὶ τοῖς ἀγγέλοις αὐτοῦ.

The reading, ὃ ἠτοίμασεν ὁ πατήρ μου, is supported by D, and by many Fathers; so that we may suppose that it was early current in the canonical Gospel. Irenæus, again, once omits ἀπ' ἐμοῦ (iii. 23, 3); in two other places it is omitted by some MSS. (iv. 33, 11; 40, 2); in the remaining place it appears to be read by all (iv. 28, 2).

<sup>3</sup> The old Latin version of Irenæus has in the two first quotations *abite*, and in the two last *discedite* (Vulg.). The variation is not noticed by Lachmann. The words are confounded, Luke viii. 42.

fire.' And more than this: Clement of Alexandria has coupled the two images of the 'fire' and 'the outer darkness' in a distinct reference to the passage of St Matthew<sup>1</sup>. CHAP. II.

It would be easy to show that the differences of Justin's quotations from the Gospel-passages in the Clementines are both numerous and striking<sup>2</sup>. Their coincidences, however, are so few, and of such a character as to lend no support to the belief that they belong to a common type. A comparison of all the passages which

Differences between Justin's quotations and those in the Clementines.

<sup>1</sup> Quis Div. Salv. § 13 (Semisch, p. 377).

How easily such a passage might be altered may be seen from Epiphanius's quotation of the sentence of the just: δεῦτε ἐκ δεξιῶν μου οἱ εὐλογημένοι = οἷς ὁ πατήρ μου ὁ οὐράνιος ἔθετο τὴν βασιλείαν πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου· ἐπεινάσα γὰρ καὶ ἐδάκατέ μοι φαγεῖν· ἰδίψησα καὶ ἐποτίσατέ με· = γυμνὸς καὶ περιεβάλετέ με (Hæc. lxi. 4). The whole form of the blessing is here changed.

Justin himself has introduced the idea of 'the eternal fire' into his reference to Matt. xiii. 42, 43. Apol. i. 16.

<sup>2</sup> An examination of the following passages common to Justin and the Homilies will fully confirm this statement:

Matt. iv. 11	Hom. viii. 21	Dial. cc. 103; 125
— v. 39, 40	— xv. 5	Apol. 16
(Luke vi. 29)		
Matt. vi. 8	— iii. 55	— 15
— vii. 15	— xi. 35	— 16; Dial. c. 35
— viii. 11	— viii. 4	Dial. c. 76
— x. 28	— xviii. 3	Ap. 19
— xi. 27	— — 4	— 63; Dial. c. 100
— xix. 16	— — 3	— 16; — c. 101
Luke vi. 36	— iii. 57	— 15; — c. 96
— xi. 52	— — 18	— 17.



CHAP. II.

are found in both books places their independence beyond a doubt; but it is enough that important variations have been noticed in texts which exhibit the strongest resemblances. That the Apocryphal Gospels should exhibit points of partial resemblance to quotations made by memory from the written Gospels is most natural. They were not mere creations of the imagination, but narratives based on the original oral Gospel of which the written Gospel was the authoritative record. The same cause in both cases might lead to the introduction of a common word, a characteristic phrase, a supplementary trait. But there was this difference: in the one case these changes were limited only by the arbitrary rule of each particular sect; in the other, they were restrained by an instinctive sense of Catholic truth, varying, indeed, in strength and susceptibility, but related to the bare individualism of heresy as the fulness of Scripture itself to the partial reflections of it in the writings of a later age.

3. Coincidences of Justin's narrative with apocryphal traditions.

The relation of Justin to the Apocryphal Gospels introduces the last objection which we have to notice. It is said that his quotations differ not only in language but also in substance from our Gospels: that he attributes sayings to our Lord which they do not contain, and narrates events which are either not mentioned by the

Evangelists, or recorded by them with serious variations from his account. It is enough to answer that he never does so when he proposes to quote the Apostolic Memoirs. Like other early Fathers he was familiar by tradition with words of our Lord which are not embodied in the Gospel. Like them he may have been acquainted with details of His Life treasured up by such as the elder of Ephesus<sup>1</sup>, who might have heard St John. But whatever use he makes of this knowledge, he never refers to the Apostolic Memoirs for anything which is not substantially found in our Gospels<sup>2</sup>.

Justin's account of the Baptism, which might seem an exception to this statement, really con- firms and explains it. It is well known that there was a belief long current that the heavenly voice addressed our Lord in the words of the Psalm, which have been ever applied to Him: 'Thou art my Son; this day have I begotten Thee.' Augustine mentions the reading as current in his time<sup>3</sup>; and the words are found

His account  
of the Bap-  
tism.  
The voice.

Ps. II. 7.

<sup>1</sup> Dial. c. 3: *παλαιός τις πρεσβύτης*.

<sup>2</sup> All the passages are given above, pp. 155 f.

<sup>3</sup> August. *de Cons. Evv.* ii. 14. Illud vero quod nonnulli codices habent secundum Lucam (iii. 22), hoc illa voce sonuisse quod in Psalmo scriptum est, *Filius meus es tu, ego hodie genui te*; quanquam in antiquioribus codicibus græcis non inveniri perhibeatur, tamen si aliquibus fide dignis exemplaribus confirmari possit, quid aliud... This, it will be remembered, is in a critical work; elsewhere he quotes the

at present in the Cambridge MS. (D), and in the old Latin Version<sup>1</sup>. Justin might then have found them in the MS. of St Luke which he used; but the form of his reference is remarkable. When speaking of the temptation he says: 'For the devil, of whom I just now spoke, as soon as [Christ] went up from the river Jordan —when the voice had been addressed to Him: "Thou art my Son; this day have I begotten Thee,"—is described in the Memoirs of the Apostles as having come to Him and tempted Him, so far as to say to Him, Worship me<sup>2</sup>.' The definite quotation is of that which is confessedly a part of the Evangelic text: it is evident from the construction of the sentence,

words as uttered at the Baptism without remark: *Enchiridion*, c. XLIX. (14). Cf. *Lectt. Varr.* (T. vi. p. xxiv. ed. Paris).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Griesb. ad Luc. iii. 22. The quotation of the words by Clement of Alexandria (*Pæd.* i. § 25) is omitted in his *Symbolæ Criticæ* (ii. 363).

<sup>2</sup> Dial. c. 103: καὶ γὰρ οὗτος ὁ διάβολος ἅμα τῷ ἀναβῆναι αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ Ἰορδάνου, τῆς φωνῆς αὐτῷ λεχθείσης· Υἱός μου εἶ σύ, ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε· ἐν τοῖς ἀπομνημονεύμασι τῶν ἀποστόλων γέγραπται προσελθὼν αὐτῷ καὶ πειράζων μεχρὶ τοῦ εἰπεῖν αὐτῷ· Προσκύνησόν μοι. The same words are quoted again (c. 88) without any reference to the Memoirs.

The words occurred in the Ebionite Gospel: *Epiph. Hæer.* xxx. 13. It is evident, however, that the narrative of the Baptism there given is made up from several traditions. That which it has in common with Justin must have been borrowed by both from some third source. Cf. *Strauss, Leben Jesu*, i. 378, (Ed. 2, quoted by Semisch, p. 407, n.)

that Justin gives no authority for the disputed clause. CHAP. II.

This apparent mixture of two narratives is still more remarkable in the mode in which Justin introduces the famous legend of the fire kindled in Jordan when Christ descended into the water. 'When Jesus came to the Jordan, where John was baptizing, when he descended to the water, both a fire was kindled in the Jordan, and the Apostles of Christ Himself recorded that the Holy Spirit as a Dove lighted upon Him<sup>1</sup>.' Here the contrast is complete. The witness of the Apostles is claimed for that which our Gospels relate; but Justin affirms on his own authority a fact which, however beautiful and significant in the symbolism of the East, is yet without any support from the Canonical history<sup>2</sup>.

The fire  
kindled in  
the Jordan.

<sup>1</sup> Dial. c. 88: καὶ τότε ἐλθόντος τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰορδάνην ποταμόν, ἔνθα ὁ Ἰωάννης ἐβάπτιζε, κατελθόντος τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ πῦρ ἀνήφθη ἐν τῷ Ἰορδάνη καὶ ἀναδύντος αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος ὡς περιστερὰν τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα ἐπιπτῆναι ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἔγραψαν οἱ ἀπόστολοι αὐτοῦ τούτου τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἡμῶν.

In the Ebionite Gospel (Epiph. l. c.) the legend is given differently: ὡς ἀνῆλθεν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος, ἠνοίγησαν οἱ οὐρανοί... καὶ εὐθὺς περιέλαμψε τὸν τόπον φῶς μέγα. Otto (ad l.) quotes a passage from 'a Syriac liturgy' which may indicate the origin of the tradition: 'Quo tempore adscendit ab aquis, sol inclinavit radios suos.' Justin appears to be the only Catholic writer who alludes to the appearance: and I can add no new reference to those given by Otto.

<sup>2</sup> The details of the Transfiguration furnish an illus-

## CHAP. II.

The remain-  
ing 'Apo-  
cryphal' refe-  
rences in  
Justin.

The remaining uncanonical details in Justin are either such facts and words as are known to have been current in tradition, or natural exaggerations, or glosses on the received text generally suggested by some prophecy of the Old Testament.

Traditional  
facts.

Matt. xii. 24;  
xxvii. 63;  
John vii. 12.

Mark vi. 3.

He tells us that 'those who saw Christ's works said that they were a magic show; for they dared to call Him a magician and a deceiver of the people<sup>1</sup>.' The Gospels have preserved the simplest form of this blasphemy; and it survived even to the time of Augustine<sup>2</sup>. In St Mark our Lord is called 'the Carpenter.' The reading, indeed, was obliterated in Origen's MSS., who denied that our Lord 'was ever Himself called a carpenter in the Gospels current in the churches<sup>3</sup>;' but it is supported by almost all the authorities at present existing. The same pride or mistaken reverence which removed the word suppressed the tradition which it favoured;

tration of the passage. Light is the symbol of God's dwelling-place, (Exod. xiv. 20; 1 Kings viii. 11; 1 Tim. vi. 16). Light is the outward mark of special converse with Him; Ex. xxxiv. 30.

<sup>1</sup> Dial. c. 69: οἱ δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ὁρῶντες γινόμενα φαντασίαν μαγικὴν γίνεσθαι ἔλεγον· καὶ γὰρ μάγον εἶναι αὐτὸν ἐτόλμων λέγειν καὶ λαοπλάνον. Cf. Apol. i. 30, and Otto's notes.

<sup>2</sup> August. *de Cons. Evn.* i. 9: Christum propterea sapientissimum putant fuisse quia nescio quæ illicita noverat....

<sup>3</sup> C. Cels. vi. 36: οὐδαμοῦ τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις φερομένων εὐαγγελίων τέκτων αὐτὸς ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἀναγράφεται.

but it is characteristic of the earliest age that Justin speaks of the 'Carpenter's works which Christ wrought, when among men, ploughs and yokes, by these both teaching the emblems of righteousness, and [enforcing] an active life<sup>1</sup>.'

In addition to these details Justin has re-  
 corded two sayings of our Lord not found in  
 the Gospels. 'Our Lord Jesus Christ said: In  
 whatsoever I may find you, in this will I also  
 judge you<sup>2</sup>.' Clement of Alexandria has quoted  
 the same sentence with slight variations, but  
 without any distinct reference to its source<sup>3</sup>. In  
 later times it was attributed to Ezekiel, or some  
 prophet of the Old Testament<sup>4</sup>; and though it  
 was widely current, there is no evidence to show  
 that it was contained in any apocryphal Gospel.  
 It may have been contained in the 'Gospel  
 according to the Hebrews<sup>5</sup>;' but even if it were  
 so, the tradition must have existed before the

Traditional  
 words.

<sup>1</sup> Dial. c. 88: ταῦτα γὰρ τὰ τεκτονικὰ ἔργα εἰργάζετο ἐν ἀνθρώποις ὄν, ἄροτρα καὶ ζυγά, διὰ τούτων καὶ τὰ τῆς δικαιοσύνης σύμβολα διδάσκων καὶ φέρεργῆ βίον. Otto refers to the Arabic Gospel of the Infancy (c. 38), and to the Gospel of Thomas (c. 13), for similar traditions. The latter narrative (ἄροτρα καὶ ζυγούς ἐποίει, said of Joseph,) shows a remarkable coincidence of language with Justin.

<sup>2</sup> Dial. c. 47: ὁ ἡμέτερος κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς εἶπεν· Ἐν οἷς ἂν ὑμᾶς καταλάβω, ἐν τούτοις καὶ κρινῶ. Cf. Otto, *ad l.*

<sup>3</sup> Clem. *De Div. Serv.* § 40.

<sup>4</sup> Semisch, p. 394.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Credner, i. 247.

CHAP. II. record, and may have survived independently of it. The same holds true of the other phrase, 'Christ said: There shall be schisms and heresies<sup>1</sup>.' If it were not for the mode in which Justin quotes them, the words might seem a short summary of our Lord's warnings against the false teachers who should deceive many. In the Clementines the two prophecies are intermixed: 'There shall be, as the Lord said, false apostles, false prophets, heresies, lusts of rule<sup>2</sup>.' Lactantius also affirms that 'both Christ Himself and His ambassadors foretold that many sects and heresies would arise...<sup>3</sup>.'

Exaggerations.

Elsewhere Justin generalizes the statements of the Gospels with what may seem natural exaggerations. 'Herod,' he says, 'commanded

<sup>1</sup> Dial. c. 35: *εἶπε γάρ... ἔσονται σχίσματα καὶ αἵρέσεις*. Cf. 1 Cor. xi. 18, 19. The passage is quoted by Justin between Matt. xxiv. 5 (vii. 15) and Matt. xxiv. 11, 24; and distinguished from them.

<sup>2</sup> Hom. xvi. 21: *ἔσονται γάρ, ὡς ὁ κύριος εἶπεν, ψευδαπόστολοι, ψευδεῖς προφήται, αἵρέσεις, φιλαρχίαι*. The word *ψευδαπόστολοι* occurs likewise in St Paul (2 Cor. xi. 13), in Hegesippus (Euseb. H. E. iv. 22), in Justin (*l. c.*), in Tertullian (*Præscr. hæret.* c. iv. quoted by Otto,) and in other authors; so that it may point to some traditional version of our Lord's words. Cf. Semisch, p. 391, *anm.*

<sup>3</sup> Inst. Div. iv. 30, (Semisch, p. 393): *Ante omnia scire nos convenit, et ipsum, et legatos ejus prædixisse, quod plurimæ sectæ et hæreses haberent existere, quæ concordiam sancti corporis rumperent*. Cf. Tertull. *l. c.* where the passage is apparently referred to the text of St Paul.

all the children in Bethlehem to be slain *without exception*<sup>1</sup>; yet he states in another place with more exactness that 'Herod slew all the children who were born in Bethlehem about the time of Christ's birth<sup>2</sup>.' Again, when speaking of the calumnies of the Jews about the Resurrection, Justin not only gives the origin of the story like St Matthew, but adds 'that they chose out men whom they sent *to the whole world* to announce the rise of a godless and impious sect<sup>3</sup>;' of which, indeed, it is said in the Acts 'that it Acts xxviii. 22. is *everywhere* spoken against.'

More frequently he interprets the text; as Glosses: when he says that Joseph 'was of Bethlehem,' as though that were his native village, while Nazareth was his dwelling-place<sup>4</sup>; or when he speaks of 'the Magi from *Arabia*.' And this

<sup>1</sup> Dial. c. 78: πάντας ἀπλῶς τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς ἐν Βεθλεὲμ ἐκέλευσεν ἀναιρεθῆναι.

<sup>2</sup> Dial. c. 103: πάντας τοὺς ἐν Βεθλεὲμ ἐκείνου τοῦ καιροῦ γεννηθέντας παῖδας. Origen quotes the passage with some variations: πάντα τὰ παῖδια ἀνείλε τὰ ἐν Βηθλεὲμ, καὶ ἐν (= πᾶσι) τοῖς ὀρίοις αὐτῆς, ἀπὸ διετοῦς κ.τ.λ. Comm. in Matt. xvii. 11.

<sup>3</sup> Dial. c. 108: ἄνδρας χειροτονήσαντες ἐκλεκτοὺς εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐπέμψατε, κηρύσσοντες ὅτι αἵρεσις τις ἄθεος καὶ ἄνομος ἐγέγερται ἀπὸ Ἰησοῦ τῆς Γαλιλαίου πλάνου . . . .

<sup>4</sup> Dial. c. 78: ἀπογραφῆς οὔσης ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ τότε πρώτης ἐπὶ Κυρηνίου ἀνεληθύθει ἀπὸ Ναζαρέτ, ἔνθα ᾤκει, εἰς Βεθλεὲμ, ὅθεν ἦν, ἀναγράψασθαι.



CHAP. II. very commonly happens when the gloss is suggested by a prophecy. Thus he alludes to the cave in which our Lord was born, because Isaiah had said that 'He shall dwell in a high cave of a strong rock<sup>1</sup>.' He speaks of the Star which rose in *heaven*, not in the East<sup>2</sup>—the day-spring (*ἀνατολή*), because our Lord Himself is described as 'the Day-spring,'—'the Star of Jacob.' He tells us that the foal of the ass on which our Lord entered into Jerusalem was bound to a vine, as it was said of Judah that 'he bound his foal unto the vine<sup>3</sup>:'—that 'there was no one, not even one, at hand to help Him [when betrayed], though He was without sin,' even as David had prophesied in the Psalm<sup>4</sup>:—that the Jews when they mocked Him 'placed Him on a judgment-seat and said, "Judge for us," as Isaiah had complained, "they ask of me now judgment<sup>5</sup>:"'—that 'His disciples who were with Him were scattered till He arose<sup>6</sup>,'—that 'all His acquaintance forsook Him and denied Him<sup>7</sup>,'

in connexion  
with Prophe-  
cy.

Isai. xxxiii.  
16. (LXX.)

Zech. vi. 12.  
Numb. xxiv.  
17.

Gen. xlix. 11.

Ps. xxii. 11.

Is. lviii. 2.  
(LXX.)

<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 116, note 7. It should have been added that Epiphanius actually quotes St Luke for the statement.

<sup>2</sup> Dial. c. 106; 78.

<sup>3</sup> Apol. 32. Justin interprets the prophecy in the same way in the Dialogue (c. 53), without affirming this particular.

<sup>4</sup> Dial. c. 103.

<sup>5</sup> Apol. 35.

<sup>6</sup> Dial. c. 53.

<sup>7</sup> Apol. 50.

referring to the prophecy of Zechariah quoted by St Matthew, and the picture of Christ's sufferings and loneliness in Isaiah.

CHAP. II.

Zech. xiii. 7.  
Matt. xxvi.  
31.

Such is the analysis of Justin's quotations from the Memoirs of the Apostles, of his various readings in Evangelic phrases, of his apocryphal additions to the Gospel history. The process is long, but a full examination of all the passages in question is the best answer to objections which appear strong because isolated instances are taken as types of general laws; and the result to which it necessarily leads is full of strength and satisfaction for those who feel that the Catholic Church cannot have arisen from a mere fusion of discordant elements at the end of the second century, and who still look anxiously and candidly into every document and every fact which marks the characteristics of its form and the stages of its growth. The details of Justin's quotations show us something of the manner in which the Scriptures, and especially the Gospels, were used by the first Christian teachers, something of the variations which existed in different copies, of which other traces still remain, something of the extent and character of the oral records of Christ's life; but they afford no ground for the belief that the Memoirs were anything but the Synoptic Gospels which we have, and they exhibit no trace of the

Recapitulation.

The internal character of Justin's quotations.

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CHAP. II.

No trace in Justin of the use of any written Apocryphal Gospel.

use of any other Evangelic records. Justin lived at the period of transition from a traditional to a written Gospel, and his testimony is exactly fitted to the position which he held. He refers to books, but more frequently he appears to bring forward words which were currently circulated rather than what he had privately read. In both respects his witness to our Gospels is most important. For it has been shown, that his definite quotations from the Memoirs are so exactly accordant with the text of the Synoptists, as it stands now, or as it was read at the close of the second century, that there can be no doubt that he was familiar with their writings, as well as with the contents of them. And the wide and minute agreement of what he says of the life and teaching of our Lord, with what they record of it, proves that his knowledge of the Gospel history was derived from a tradition which they had moulded and controlled, if not from the habitual and exclusive use of the books themselves<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The relation between Justin's quotations and our Gospels is so intimate that they cannot have been independent. The only alternative—that the Synoptic Gospels embodied the oral Gospel as it was current in Justin's time—apart from historical considerations, is excluded by the fact that the Evangelists exhibit the narrative in the simplest form. At the same time it is evident that the original oral Gospel could not have been so long preserved

His coincidences with heretical or apocryphal narratives have been proved to be not peculiar to him, but fragments of a wide belief. His simpler divergences from the received text have been paralleled by examples of his quotations from the LXX. and by recognized various readings in other authorities.

On a comprehensive view, all leads to the same conclusion. The lines which seemed to cross one another at random give a result perfectly complete and symmetrical, when drawn from every point; and thus, from a mere critical analysis, it seems beyond doubt that Justin used the three first Gospels as we use them, as the canonical and authentic memoirs of Christ's life and work.

If we glance at his historical position we seem to gain the same result with equal certainty. He states that the Memoirs of the Apostles were read in the weekly services of the Church on the same footing as the writings of the Prophets; or, in other words, that they enjoyed the rank of Scripture. And since he speaks of their Ecclesiastical use without any restriction, it is natural to believe that he alludes to definite books, which were generally held in

Justin's historical position.

to a very great extent in its first purity without the counter-check of written Gospels. The tradition and the record mutually illustrate and confirm one another.

## CHAP. II.

In relation to  
the Murato-  
rian Canon  
and Irenæus.

such esteem, and had acquired a firm place in the common life of Christians. He could not, at any rate, have been ignorant of the custom of the churches of Italy and Asia ; and if his description were true of any it must have been true of those. Is it then possible to suppose, that within twenty or thirty years after his death these Gospels should have been replaced by others similar and yet distinct<sup>1</sup>? that he should speak of one set of books, as if they were permanently incorporated into the Christian services, and that those who might have been his scholars should speak exactly in the same terms of another collection, as if they had had no rivals within the orthodox pale? that the substitution should have been effected in such a manner that no record of it has been preserved, while smaller analogous reforms have been duly chronicled<sup>2</sup>? The complication of historical difficulties is overwhelming ; and the alternative is that which has already been justified on critical grounds, the belief that when Justin spoke of Apostolic Memoirs or Gospels, he meant the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. pp. 81, 82.

<sup>2</sup> As, for example, when Serapion reprovèd certain in the church at Rhossus for the use of 'the Gospel of St Peter,' (Euseb. H. E. vi. 12); or when Theodoret substituted the canonical Gospels for the Harmony of Tatian, of which he found 'above two hundred in the churches.'

Gospels which were enumerated in the early anonymous Canon, and whose mutual relations were eloquently expounded by Irenæus. CHAP. II.

This then appears to be established, both by external and internal evidence, that Justin's 'Gospels' can be identified with those of St Matthew, St Mark, and St Luke. His references to St John are uncertain; but this, as has been already remarked, follows from the character of the fourth Gospel. It was unlikely that he should quote its peculiar teaching in apologetic writings addressed to Jews and heathen; and at the same time he exhibits types of language and doctrine, which, if not immediately drawn from St John, yet mark the presence of his influence and the recognition of his authority<sup>1</sup>.

In addition to the Gospels the Apocalypse is the only book of the New Testament to which Justin alludes by name. Even that is not quoted,

How far Justin witnesses to St John's Gospel,

and to the other works of the New Testament.

The APOCALYPSE.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. pp. 121, 123 (note 3), and Credner, i. 253, ff. Justin's acquaintance with the Valentinians proves that the Gospel could not have been unknown to him (Dial. c. 35). The references to St John have been collected by Otto (Illgen's *Zeitschrift für Theologie*, 1841, ii. pp. 77, ff; 1843, i. 34, ff; cf. Lücke, *Comm. ü. d. Ev. Joh.* pp. 29, ff. Ed. 2.) The chief passages are John iii. 3—5, (Ap. i. 61. cf. p. 178); i. 13, (Dial. c. 63); i. 12, (Dial. c. 123); xii. 49, (Dial. c. 56); vii. 12, (Dial. c. 69); Lücke (pp. 34, ff.) has shown the connexion between Justin's doctrine of the Logos and the Preface to St John's Gospel. Otto (p. 81) also calls attention to his doctrine of the Eucharist as related to John vi.

## CHAP. II.

but appealed to generally as a proof of the existence of prophetic power in the Christian Church<sup>1</sup>. But it cannot be concluded from his silence that Justin was either unacquainted with the Acts and the Epistles, or unwilling to make use of them. His controversy against Marcion is decisive as to his knowledge of the greater part of the books, and various Pauline forms of expression and teaching show that the Apostle of the Gentiles had helped to mould his faith and words<sup>2</sup>. Thus he says, 'We were *taught* that Christ is the *first-born* (πρωτότοκος) of God : 'we have recognized Him as the first-born of God and before all creatures : 'through Him God arranged (κοσμηῆσαι) all things<sup>3</sup>.' Elsewhere, he uses the example of Abraham to show that circumcision was for a sign and not for righteousness, since he 'being in uncircumcision, for the sake of the faith, in which he believed God, was

The writings  
of St PAUL.

Colossians.

Romans.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 140. Apol. i. 28: ὁ ἀρχηγέτης τῶν κακῶν δαιμόνων ὄφεις καλεῖται καὶ σατανᾶς καὶ διάβολος coincides remarkably with Apoc. xx. 2. The other passage to which Otto refers (a. a. O. 1843, i. 42) Dial. c. 45 || Apoc. xxi. 4, seems more uncertain.

<sup>2</sup> Otto, a. a. O. 1842, ii. pp. 41, ff. The absence of all mention of the name of St Paul can create no difficulty when it is remembered how Justin speaks of St Peter (ἕνα τῶν ἀποστόλων) and of the sons of Zebedee (ἄλλους δύο ἀδελφούς. Dial. c. 106.)

<sup>3</sup> Apol. i. 46; Dial. c. 100; Apol. ii. 6; cf. Col. i. 15—17.

justified and blessed<sup>1</sup>.’ ‘By faith (πίστει) we are CHAP. II.  
cleansed through the blood of Christ and His  
death, who died for this<sup>2</sup>;’ ‘through whom we  
were called into the salvation prepared aforetime  
by our Father<sup>3</sup>.’ ‘Christ was the passover, who  
was sacrificed afterwards<sup>4</sup>;’ ‘who shall come with Corinthians.  
glory from the heavens, when also the man of  
the falling away (ὁ τῆς ἀποστασίας ἄνθρωπος)—  
the man of lawlessness (c. 32)—who speaketh ii. Thessalo-  
nians.  
strange things—blasphemous and daring (c. 32),  
even against the Most High, shall exert his law-  
less daring against us Christians<sup>5</sup>.’ Elsewhere  
he speaks of Christ as ‘the Son and *Apostle* of Hebrews.  
God<sup>6</sup>.’

<sup>1</sup> Dial. c. 23: καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς ὁ Ἀβραὰμ ἐν ἀκροβυστίᾳ ὦν  
διὰ τὴν πίστιν, ἣν ἐπίστευσε τῷ θεῷ, ἐδικαιώθη. The depar-  
ture from the Pauline point of view is to be noticed; as  
faith is here represented as the moving cause (διὰ acc.), and  
not as the instrumental (διὰ gen.) cause, or as the spring  
(ἐκ) of justification.

<sup>2</sup> Dial. c. 13.

<sup>3</sup> Dial. c. 131.

<sup>4</sup> Dial. c. 111; 1 Cor. v. 7; cf. Otto, a. a. O. 1843, i.  
38, f. who refers to several other coincidences between the  
Epistles to the Corinthians and Justin. Dial. c. 14 || 1 Cor.  
v. 8; Apol. i. 60 || 1 Cor. ii. 4, f.

<sup>5</sup> Dial. c. 110, (cf. c. 32.) 2 Thess. ii. 3, ff.

<sup>6</sup> Apol. i. 12, 63; cf. Hebr. iii. 1. The title is used no-  
where else in the New Testament than in the passage of the  
Hebrews. Otto also quotes two other parallels to the lan-  
guage of the Epistle to the Hebrews: Dial. c. 13 || Hebr.  
ix. 13, f; c. 34 || Hebr. viii. 7, f.

The references to the *Acts* are uncertain. Cf. Ap. i. 49 ||  
Acts xiii. 27, 48. Otto, a. a. O. Still more so those to the  
*Pastoral* and *Catholic Epistles*.



## CHAP. II.

Coincidences  
between Justin  
and St Paul in quotations from  
LXX.

The most remarkable coincidences between Justin and St Paul are found in their common quotations from the LXX. It is possible, indeed, that these may have been derived from some third source, or grounded on a traditional rendering of the words of the Old Testament; but in the absence of all evidence of the fact, it is more natural to believe that the arguments of St Paul, with the readings which he adopted, were at once incorporated into the mass of Christian evidences, and reproduced by Justin as far as they fell within the scope of his works. One example will explain the nature of the agreement. Speaking of the hatred which the Jews showed to Christians, Justin says to them that it is not strange; 'for Elias also making intercession about you to God speaks thus: Lord, they killed thy prophets, and threw down thy altars, and I was left alone, and they are seeking my life. And God answers him: I have still seven thousand men who have not bent their knee to Baal<sup>1</sup>.' The passage agrees almost

<sup>1</sup> Otto, a. a. O., 1843, i. pp. 36, ff. Dial. c. 39 = Rom. xi. 3. 1 Kings xix. 10, 14, 18. In the LXX. the text stands: ζηλωῶν ἐζήλωκα τῷ κυρίῳ παντοκράτορι, ὅτι ἐγκατέλιπόν σε (v. 14. τὴν διαθήκην σου, v. l. σε) οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ· (v. 14 + καὶ) τὰ θυσιαστήριά σου κατέσκαψαν καὶ τοὺς προφήτας σου ἀπέκτειναν ἐν ῥομφαίᾳ, καὶ ὑπολέλειμμαι ἐγὼ μονώτατος καὶ ζητοῦσι τὴν ψυχὴν μου λαβεῖν αὐτήν . . . . v. 18: καταλείψεις ἐν Ἰσραὴλ ἑπτὰ χιλιάδας ἀνδρῶν, πάντα γόνατα ἃ οὐκ ᾤκλασαν γόνυ τῷ Βάαλ . . . .

verbally with the quotation of St Paul in the Epistle to the Romans, and differs widely from the text of the LXX. Similar examples occur in other quotations common to Justin and the Epistles to the Galatians and the Ephesians<sup>1</sup>: and thus with the exception of the pastoral epistles, and that to the Philippians<sup>2</sup>, he appears to show traces of the influence of all St Paul's Epistles.

In the other writings besides the Apologies and Dialogue, which are commonly attributed to Justin, the references to the New Testament exhibit the same general range. In the fragment on the Resurrection there are allusions to words and actions of our Lord characteristic of each of the four Gospels<sup>3</sup>, without any trace of apocryphal traditions; and in addition to this

References to the New Testament in the *frag. de Resurrec.*

<sup>1</sup> These passages are :

Apol. i. c. 52 = Rom. xiv. 11. Isai. xlv. 23.

Dial. c. 27 = Rom. iii. 12—17. Ps. xiv. 3, 5, 10; cxxxix. 4.

— c. 95 = Gal. iii. 10. Deut. xxvii. 26.

— c. 96 = — iii. 13. — xxi. 23.

— c. 39 = — Eph. iv. 8. Ps. lxviii. 18.

Isai. lix. 7, 8. This passage was omitted in the list given, p. 144.

<sup>2</sup> The reference of Dial. c. 12 to Phil. iii. 3 is very uncertain.

<sup>3</sup> (a) St Matthew, xxii. 29 (c. ix.); 30 (c. ii.); xxviii. 17 (c. ix.)

(β) St Mark, xvi. 14, 19 (c. ix.)

(γ) St Luke, xxiv. 38, 39, 42 (c. ix.)

(δ) St John, xiv. 2, 3 (c. ix.); xx. 25, 27 (c. ix.); xi. 25 (cf. c. i.)

## CHAP. II

the *Oratio*  
and *Cohortatio*  
ad *Gentiles*.

there are coincidences of language with St Paul's Epistles to the Corinthians (i.), the Philippians, and to Timothy (i.)<sup>1</sup>. In the 'Address' and 'Exhortation to Gentiles,' there are apparent reminiscences of the Gospel of St John, of the Acts of the Apostles, and of the Epistles of St Paul to the Corinthians (i.), and the Colossians<sup>2</sup>.

General result.

A combination of these different results will give the general conclusion of the whole section. And it will be found that the Catholic Epistles and the Epistles to Titus and Philemon alone of the writings of the New Testament have left no impression on the genuine or doubtful works of Justin Martyr.

### § 8. *Dionysius of Corinth and Pinytus.*

Connexion of  
Dionysius  
with Justin  
Martyr.

In the last section it was shown that the reading of 'the books of the Apostles,' formed part of the weekly services of Christians: two fragments of Dionysius of Corinth throw light upon this usage. Dionysius appears to have been bishop of Corinth at the time of the martyrdom of Justin Martyr<sup>3</sup>; and the passages in ques-

<sup>1</sup> 1 Cor. xv. 53; c. 10. Philipp. iii. 20; c. 9 (7). 1 Tim. ii. 4; c. 8.

<sup>2</sup> John viii. 44; Cohort. c. 21. Acts vii. 22; Cohort. c. 10. 1 Cor. iv. 20; Cohort. c. 35. 1 Cor. xii. 7—10; Cohort. c. 32. Galat. iv. 12; v. 20, 21; Orat. c. 5. Coloss. i. 16; Cohort. c. 15.

<sup>3</sup> Hieron. *de Vir. Ill.* xxvii. Claruit sub Impp. L. Anto-

tion are taken from a letter to Soter, a bishop of CHAP. II.  
Rome. His testimony is thus connected both  
chronologically and locally with that of Justin.  
There is no room left for the accomplishment of  
any such change in the organization of the  
Church as should fix the application of their  
language to different customs.

‘To-day was the Lord’s-day, [and] kept holy,’  
Dionysius writes to Soter, ‘and we read your  
letter; from the reading of which from time to  
time we shall be able to derive admonition, as we  
do from the former one written to us by the hand  
of Clement<sup>1</sup>.’ There are several points to be  
noticed here: it is implied that the public read-  
ing of Christian books was customary—that this  
custom was observed even in the case of those  
which laid no claim to canonical authority—  
that it had been practised from the Apostolic  
ages. Tertullian, in a well-known passage<sup>2</sup>, ap-

His account  
of the pre-  
servation of  
Christian  
writings.

nino Vero, et L. Aurelio Commodo. Routh (i. p. 177)  
fixes his death about 176, when Commodus began to reign  
jointly with his father.

<sup>1</sup> Euseb. H. E. iv. 23 (Routh, p. 180): Τὴν σήμερον οὖν  
Κυριακὴν ἁγίαν ἡμέραν διηγάζομεν, ἐν ἣ ἀνέγνωμεν ὑμῶν τὴν  
ἐπιστολὴν ἣν ἔξομεν αἰεὶ ποτε ἀναγνώσκοντες νοουθετεῖσθαι, ὡς  
καὶ τὴν προτέραν ἡμῖν διὰ Κλήμεντος γραφεῖσαν. The plural  
pronoun (ὑμῶν) is to be noticed. Cf. p. 66, n. 1.

The first clause is somewhat obscure. If Κυριακὴν be  
not a gloss ἁγίαν ἡμέραν must be taken, I think, as a predi-  
cate, as I have translated it.

<sup>2</sup> De Præscr. Hæret. c. xxxvi.

CHAP. II.

peals to the copies of the Epistles still preserved by the Churches to which they were first written. The incidental notice of Dionysius shows that he is not using a mere rhetorical figure. If the letter of the companion of Apostles was treasured up by those whom it reproved, it is past belief that the Churches of Ephesus, or Colossæ, or Philippi, should have received as Apostolic letters addressed to themselves writings which were not found in their own archives, and which were not attested by the tradition of those who had received them. The care which was extended to the Epistle of Clement would not have been refused to the Epistles of St Paul.

How far what he says bears upon the New Testament.

Dionysius, it is true, says nothing in this passage directly bearing on the writings of the New Testament; but in referring to the ecclesiastical use of Clement's Epistle he proves that the Corinthian Church must have retained throughout the doctrine of St Paul, to whose authority it gives the clearest witness. And not only this, but so far as the Epistle of Clement was found to be marked by a peculiarly Catholic character<sup>1</sup>, the reception of that document alone is a proof of the perpetuity of the complete form of faith which it exhibits. The Catholicity of the Corinthian Church is, indeed, expressly affirmed in another fragment. Just as Clement appealed

<sup>1</sup> Cf. pp. 29, ff.

to the labours of St Peter and St Paul, placing them in clear and intimate connexion<sup>1</sup>, Dionysius describes the Churches of Rome and Corinth as their joint plantation. 'For both,' he says, 'having come to our city Corinth and planted us, taught the like doctrine; and in like manner having also gone to Italy and taught together there, they were martyred at the same time<sup>2</sup>.'

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The intercourse of Dionysius with foreign churches—his 'inspired industry' as it has been called<sup>3</sup>—gives an additional weight to his evidence. Besides writing to Rome, he addressed 'Catholic Letters' to Lacedæmon and Athens and Nicomedia, to Crete and to Pontus, for instruction in sound doctrine, for correction of discipline, for repression of heresy<sup>4</sup>. The

His testimony important from his intercourse with foreign churches.

<sup>1</sup> Clem. ad Cor. i. c. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Euseb. H. E. ii. 25 (Routh, l. c.): Ταῦτα (al. ταύτη) καὶ ὑμεῖς διὰ τῆς τοσαύτης νοουθεσίας, τὴν ἀπὸ Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου φυτεῖαν γεννηθεῖσαν Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ Κορινθίων συνεκεράσατε. καὶ γὰρ ἄμφω καὶ εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν Κόρινθον φυτεύσαντες ἡμᾶς, ὁμοίως ἐδίδαξαν ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὁμοίως διδάξαντες ἐμαρτύρησαν κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν. It is difficult to fix the exact sense of ὁμοίως and ὁμοίως in the last clause. I believe that ὁμοίως is to be taken with the whole sentence, and not with διδάξαντες: and that ὁμοίως expresses simply 'to the same place.' Bishop Pearson's interpretation (Routh, p. 192) seems to rest on false analogies.

<sup>3</sup> Euseb. H. E. iv. 23: ἐνθεος φιλοπονία.

<sup>4</sup> Euseb. l. c. The description which Eusebius gives of the Letters accords with what might have been conjectured of the characteristic faults of the churches. Ἡ μὲν πρὸς

**CHAP. II.** glimpse thus given of the communication between the churches shows their general agreement, and the character of Dionysius confirms their orthodoxy. There is no trace of any wide revolution in doctrine or government—nothing to support the notion that the Catholic Creed was the result of a convulsion in Christendom, and not the traditional embodiment of apostolic teaching.

His direct reference to the New Testament Scriptures.

There were, indeed, heresies actively at work, but their progress was watched. Some of their leaders ventured to corrupt orthodox writings, but they were detected. 'When brethren urged me to write letters,' Dionysius says, 'I wrote them; and these the apostles of the devil have filled with tares, taking away some things and adding others, for whom the woe is appointed. It is not then marvellous that some have attempted to adulterate the Scriptures of the New

- *Λακεδαιμονίους ὀρθοδοξίας κατηχητικῆς, εἰρήνης τε καὶ ἐνώσεως ὑποθετικῆς ἢ δὲ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους διεργητικῆς πίστεως καὶ τῆς κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον πολιτείας . . . ἄλλη δὲ . . . πρὸς Νικομηδείας φέρεται, ἐν ἧ τὴν Μαρκίωνος αἵρεσιν πολεμῶν, τῷ τῆς ἀληθείας παρίσταται κανόνι . . .* The Cretan churches he warns against 'the perversion of heresy,' and one of their Bishops against imposing continence. The churches of Pontus—the home of Marcion—he urges to welcome those who came back to them after falling into wrong conversation, or heretical deceit. From these casual traits we can form a picture of the early Church, real and life-like, though differing as widely from that which represents it without natural defects as from that which deprives it of all historical unity.

Testament, (τῶν Κυριακῶν γραφῶν), when they have laid hands on those which make no claims to their character (ταῖς οὐ τοιαύταις)<sup>1</sup>. It is thus evident that 'the Scriptures of the Lord'—the writings of the New Testament—were at this time collected, that they were distinguished from other books, that they were jealously guarded, that they had been corrupted for heretical purposes. The allusion in the last clause will be clear when it is remembered that Dionysius 'warred against the heresy of Marcion, and defended (παρίστασθαι) the Rule of Truth<sup>2</sup>. The Rule of Truth and the Rule of Scripture, as has been said before, mutually imply and support each other.

CHAP. II.

The language of Dionysius bears evident traces of his familiarity with the New Testament.

Coincidences of language with different books.

The short fragment just quoted contains two obvious allusions to the Gospel of St Mat-

Matt. xiii. 24, ff.

<sup>1</sup> Euseb. l. c.: Ἐπιστολὰς γὰρ ἀδελφῶν ἀξιωσάντων με γράψαι, ἔγραψα· καὶ ταύτας οἱ τοῦ διαβύλου ἀπόστολοι ζιζανίων γεγέμικαν, ἃ μὲν ἐξαιροῦντες, ἃ δὲ προστιθέντες, οἷς τὸ οὐαὶ κείται. οὐ θαυμαστὸν ἄρα εἰ καὶ τῶν Κυριακῶν ῥαδιουργῆσαι τινες [τινας, Kouth] ἐπιβέβληνται γραφῶν, ὅποτε καὶ ταῖς οὐ τοιαύταις ἐπιβεβλήκασι. It is mentioned that Bacchylides and Elpistus urged him to write to the churches of Pontus (Euseb. l. c.); it is, then, possible that he alludes to the corruption of this very letter by the Marcionites. The parallel thus becomes complete.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. note, p. 210.



## CHAP. II

Apoc. xxii.  
19.  
1 Thess. ii.  
11.

Fragment of  
PINYTUS.

Hebr. v. 12—  
14.

The value of  
these frag-  
ments.

thew and the Apocalypse; and in another passage he adopts a phrase from St Paul's first Epistle to the Thessalonians<sup>1</sup>.

One sentence only has been preserved of an answer to his letters, but that is marked by the same scriptural tone. The few words in which Pinytus asks for further instruction, tend to show that this was not a characteristic of the man but of the age. He urges Dionysius to 'impart at some time more solid food, tenderly supplying his people with the nourishment of a more perfect letter, lest by continually dwelling on milk-like instruction, they should gradually grow old in their childish training<sup>2</sup>.' The whole passage is built out of the Epistle to the Hebrews; and throughout the letter, Eusebius adds, the orthodoxy of the faith of Pinytus was most accurately reflected.

If our records be scanty, at least they have been found hitherto to be harmonious. It may seem of little importance to note passing coincidences with Scripture; and yet when it is observed that all the fragments which have been

<sup>1</sup> Euseb. l. c.: . . . τοὺς ἀνιόντας ἀδελφοὺς ὡς τέκνα πατῆρ φιλόστοργος παρακαλῶν.

<sup>2</sup> Euseb. l. c.: . . . ἀντιπαρακαλεῖ δὲ στερρότερας ἤδη ποτὲ μεταδιδόναι τροφῆς τελειότεροις γράμμασιν ἑσαῦθις τὸν παρ' αὐτῷ λαὸν ὑποθρέψαντα, ὡς μὴ διατέλους τοῖς γαλακτώδεσιν ἐνδιατρίβοντες λόγοις τῇ νηπιώδει ἀγωγῇ λάθοιεν καταγῆραςαντες.

examined in this section do not amount to more than thirty lines, they prove more clearly than anything else could do, how completely the words of the Apostles were infused into the minds of Christians. They offer an exact parallel to modern usage, and so far justify us in attributing our own views of the worth of the New Testament Scriptures to the first Fathers, as they treated them in the same manner as ourselves.

§ 9. *Hermas.*

As we draw nearer to the close of this transitional period in the history of Christianity, it becomes of the utmost importance to notice every sign of the intercourse and harmony of the different churches. In the absence of fuller records it is necessary to realize the connexion of isolated details by the help of such general laws as are discoverable upon a comparison of their relations. The task, however difficult, is not hopeless; and in proportion as the induction is more accurate and complete, the result will give a more trustworthy picture of the time. Even when a flood has covered the ordinary landmarks, an experienced eye can trace out the great features of the country in the few cliffs or currents which diversify the waters. This image will give a fair notion of the problem which must

A general view of the Christian Church necessary to the right criticism of individual writers.

## 214 THE AGE OF THE GREEK APOLOGISTS.

CHAP. IV. be solved by any real history of the Church of the second century. There is a fact here, a tendency there: and little is gained by describing the one, or following the other, without they are referred to the solid foundation which underlies and explains them.

The condition of the Church of Rome at the middle of the second century.

This is not the place to attempt to give any outline of the history of Christianity. But it is not the less necessary to regard the different elements which meet at each crisis in its course. For the moment Rome is our centre. The metropolis of the world becomes the natural meeting-place of Christians. There, at the middle of the second century<sup>1</sup>, were to be found representatives of distant churches and conflicting sects. At Rome, Justin, the Christian philosopher, opened his school, and consecrated his teaching by his martyrdom. At Rome, Polycarp, the disciple of St John, conferred with Anicetus on the celebration of Easter, and joined with him in celebrating the Eucharist<sup>2</sup>. At Rome, Hegesippus, a Hebrew Christian of Palestine, completed, if he did not commence, the first history of the Church. On the other side, it was at Rome that Valentinus and Cerdo and Marcion sought

<sup>1</sup> The space might be limited even more exactly to the Episcopate of Anicetus (157—168). Hegesippus came to Rome during that time, and Valentinus was then still alive (Euseb. H. E. iv. 22; Irenæus, ap. Euseb. H. E. iv. 11.)

<sup>2</sup> Iren. ap. Euseb. H. E. v. 24.

to propagate their errors, and met the champions of orthodoxy. Nor was this all: while the attractions of the Imperial City were powerful in bringing together Christians from different lands, the liberality of the Roman Church extended its influence abroad. 'It has been your custom,' Dionysius of Corinth writes to Soter, 'from the first to confer manifold benefits on all the brethren, and to send supplies to many churches which are in every city...supporting moreover the brethren who are in the mines;...in this always preserving as Romans a custom handed down to you by your Roman forefathers<sup>1</sup>.' Everything points to a constant intercourse between Christians, which was both the source and the fruit of union. Heresy was at once recognized as such, and convicted by apostolic tradition. The very differences of which we read are a proof of the essential agreement between the churches. The dissensions of the East and West on the celebration of Easter have left a distinct impression on the records of Christianity; and it is clear that if they had been divided by any graver differences of doctrine, much more if their faith had undergone a total revolution, some other traces of these momentous facts would have survived than can be traced in the subtle disquisitions of critics. Once invest Chris-

<sup>1</sup> Dionys. ap. Euseb. H. E. iv. 23. Routh, i. p. 179.

tianity with life—let the men, whose very personality seems to be lost in the fragments which bear their name, be regarded as busy workers in one great empire, speaking a common language, and connected by a common work, and the imaginary wars of Judaizing and Pauline factions within the Church vanish away. In each city the doctrine taught was ‘that proclaimed by the Law, the Prophets, and the Lord<sup>1</sup>.’

Different elements combined in Catholicity.

These general remarks seem necessarily called for before we examine the writings of Hermas and Hegesippus, which are commonly brought forward as unanswerable proofs of the Ebionism of the Early Church; and if so, of the impossibility of the existence of any Catholic Canon of Holy Scripture. But even if it were to be admitted that those Fathers lean towards Ebionism, the general character of their age must fix some limit to the interpretation of their teaching. The real explanation of their peculiarities, however, lies somewhat deeper. While we maintain the true unity of the Early Churches, we have no intention to represent them all as moulded in one type, or advanced according to one measure. The freedom of individual development is never destroyed by catholicity. The Roman Church, in which we have seen collected

The characteristics of the Roman Church

<sup>1</sup> Hogsippus ap. Euseb. H. E. iv. 22. Cf. p. 214, note 1.

an epitome of Christendom, had yet its own characteristic tendency towards form and order. Of this something has been said already in speaking of Clement<sup>1</sup>; but it appears in a simpler and yet maturer character in the 'Shepherd of Hermas,' the next work which remains to witness of its progress.

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represented by the Shepherd of Hermas.

This remarkable book—a threefold collection of Visions, Commandments, and Parables—is commonly published among the writings of the Apostolic Fathers, and was for some time attributed to the Hermas saluted by St Paul. Both internal and external evidence, however, is decisive against a belief in its Apostolic date; and the mode in which this belief gained currency is an instructive example of the formation of a tradition. The earliest mention of the 'Shepherd' is found in the fragment on the Canon to which we shall soon revert. The anonymous author says: 'Hermas composed the Shepherd very lately, in our times, in the city of Rome, while the Bishop Pius, his brother, occupied the chair of the Roman Church<sup>2</sup>.' This same statement is

The history of the Shepherd.

Rom. xvi. 14.

External evidence of its date.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. pp. 32, &c.

<sup>2</sup> Routh, I. p. 396: Pastorem vero nuperrime temporibus nostris in urbe Roma Herma [Hermas] conscripsit, sedente [in] cathedrâ urbis Romæ ecclesiæ Pio episcopo fratre ejus. Et ideo legi eum quidem oportet, se publicare [sed publicari] vero in ecclesiâ populo, neque inter prophetas completum [completos] numero, neque inter Apostolos, in finem temporum potest.

## CHAP. II.

repeated in an Early Latin poem against Marcion, and in a letter ascribed to Pius himself<sup>1</sup>. It comes from the place at which the book was written, and dates from the age at which it appeared. There is no interval of time or separation of country to render it uncertain, or suggest that it was a conjecture. But the character of the book, and its direct claims to inspiration, gave it an importance which soon obscured its origin. The protest of the anonymous author, whom we have just quoted, shows that this was the case even in his time. 'It should therefore, be read,' he adds; 'but it can never be publicly used in the Church, either among the Prophets... or the Apostles<sup>2</sup>.' In the next generation Irenæus quotes with marked respect a passage which is found in the first of the Commandments, but he does not allude to Hermas by name, nor specify the book from which he derived it<sup>3</sup>. Clement of Alexandria mentions Hermas three times<sup>4</sup>, but

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Routh, p. 427; Hefele, p. Lxxii, where the authorities are given at length.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. p. 217, note 2.

<sup>3</sup> Iron. (iv. 20) ap. Euseb. II. E. v. 8: *καλῶς οὖν εἶπεν ἡ γραφή ἢ λέγουσα, πρῶτον πάντων πιστευσον ὅτι εἰς ἐστὶν ὁ Θεὸς, ὁ τὰ πάντα κτίσας καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς* (Mand. I). It may be reasonably supposed that Hermas here uses words sanctioned by common usage.

<sup>4</sup> Str. I. 17. § 85; I. 29. § 29; II. 1. § 3. In three other places he quotes the book simply by the title of the 'Shepherd': Str. II. 12. § 55; IV. 9. § 76; VI. 6. § 46.

The references which Tertullian makes to the book (*de*

he does not distinguish his name by any honorary title, and is wholly silent as to his date and position. The identification of the author of the 'Shepherd' with his namesake in the Epistle to the Romans is due to Origen, and is in fact nothing more than a conjecture of his in his commentary on the passage in St Paul<sup>1</sup>. 'I fancy,' he says, 'that that Hermas is the author of the tract which is called the "Shepherd," a writing which seems to me very useful, and is, as I fancy, divinely inspired.' If there had been any historic evidence for the statement it could scarcely have escaped Origen's knowledge, and had he known any he would not have spoken as he does. When the conjecture was once made it satisfied curiosity, and supplied the place of more certain information. But though it found acceptance, it acquired no new strength. Euse-

Origen first identifies its author with the apostolic Hermas.

*Pudicitia*, cc. 10, 20) throw no direct light upon its date or authorship. He simply affirms that it was 'classed by every council of the Churches among the false and apocryphal books.' The testimony is important on other grounds: it proves that the Canonicity of books was a question debated in Christian assemblies.

<sup>1</sup> Orig. Comm. in Rom. Lib. x. § 31. Puto tamen quod Hermas iste sit scriptor libelli ejus, qui Pastor appellatur, quæ scriptura valde mihi utilis videtur, et, ut puto, divinitus inspirata. He then goes on to explain the omission of any remark upon his name, showing that he is speaking from conjecture and not from knowledge. In § 24 he raises the question whether *Apelles* be not identical with *Apollos*. Cf. Hom. in Luc. xxv.



HAP. II. bius and Jerome, the next writers who repeat 'the report,' do not confirm it by any independent authority<sup>1</sup>. It remained to the last a mere hypothesis, and now it can be confronted by the direct assertion of a contemporary.

The character of the Book.

Internal evidence alone is sufficient to prove that the 'Shepherd' could not have been written in the Apostolic age. The whole tone and bearing shows that it is of the same date as Montanism; and the view which it opens of church-discipline, government, and ordinances, can scarcely belong to an earlier period<sup>2</sup>. Theologically the book is of the highest value, as showing in what way Christianity was endangered by the influence of Jewish principles as distin-

Its theological importance.

<sup>1</sup> Euseb. H. E. III. 3 (*φασίν*). Hieron. Catal. x. (asserunt.)

<sup>2</sup> The following appear to be some of the weightiest proofs of its late date:

(α) The teaching on penitence (Vis. iii. 7; Mand. iv. 1; Sim. vii.), fasting (Sim. v.). The allusions to *stationes* (Sim. v. 1), *subintroductæ* (Sim. ix. 11).

(β) The account of the orders in the Church (Vis. iii. 5).

(γ) The teaching on Baptism (Sim. ix. 16) as necessary even for the patriarchs. The revival of this belief in Mormonism is one of many singular coincidences with early errors which that system exhibits. The direct historical data are few. The Church had endured much persecution (Vis. iii. 2), which was not yet over (Vis. iii. 6; Vis. iv). The Apostles were already dead (Sim. ix. 16). It is uncertain whether the introduction of 'Clemens' and 'Grapte' (Vis. ii. 4), is part of the fiction of the book, or spiritually symbolic. Origen (Philoc. i. 11) interprets it in the latter sense.

guished from Jewish forms. The peril arose not from the recollection of the old, but from the organization of the new: its centre was not at Jerusalem, but at Rome. At Jerusalem Christian doctrine was grafted on the Jewish ritual; but at Rome a Judaizing spirit was busy in moulding a substitute for the Mosaic system<sup>1</sup>. The one error was necessarily of short continuance; the other must continue to try the Church even to the end. This 'legal' view of Christianity is not without a Scriptural basis; but here again the contrast between the harmonious subordination of the elements of Scripture and the partial exaggerations of early patristic writings is most apparent. The 'Shepherd' bears the same relation to the Epistle of St James as the Epistle of Barnabas to that to the Hebrews<sup>2</sup>. The idea of a Christian Law lies at the bottom of them both: but according to St James, it is

CHAP. II.

Legal in tone,  
but not Ju-  
daizing.

Relation to  
the Epistle of  
St James.

<sup>1</sup> Hermas uses the number twelve to symbolize the universality of the Church—the spiritual Israel. *Hi duodecim montes, quos vides, duodecim sunt gentes, quæ totum obtinent orbem* (Lib. iii. Sim. ix. 17). This points to the true interpretation of Apoc. c. vii.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. p. 50. The Epistle of St James, as has been often noticed, is remarkable for allusions to nature; and so also Hermas: 'Honorificabam creaturam Dei,' he says at the opening of his Visions, 'cogitans quam magna et pulcra sit.' The beauty of language and conception in many parts of the 'Shepherd' seems to be greatly underrated. Much of it may be compared with the *Pilgrim's Progress*, and higher praise than this cannot be given to such a book.

a law of liberty, centering in man's deliverance from corruption within and ceremonial without; while *Hermas* rather looks for its essence in the ordinances of the outward Church. Both *St James* and *Hermas* insist on the necessity of works; but the one regards them as the practical expression of a personal faith, while the other finds in the man intrinsic value and the possibility of supererogatory virtue<sup>1</sup>. Still throughout the 'Shepherd' the Lawgiver is found in Christ, and not in Moses. It contains no allusion to the institutions of Judaism, even while insisting on ascetic observances. And so far from exhibiting the predominance of Ebionism in the Church, it is a protest against it; inasmuch as it is an attempt to satisfy the feelings, to which that appealed, by a purely legal view of the Gospel itself. It is, as it were, a system of Christian ethics based on ecclesiastical ideas.

Scriptural allusions in *Hermas*.

The 'Shepherd' contains no definite quotation from the Old or New Testament. The single reference by name is to a phrase in an obscure apocryphal book, 'Heldam and Modal,' which is found in an ironical sentence apparently

<sup>1</sup> *Sim.* v. 3: *Si autem præter ea quæ mandavit Dominus aliquid boni adjeceris, majorom dignitatem tibi conquires, et honoratior apud Dominum eris, quam eras futurus. Cf. Mand. iv. 4, in connexion with 1 Cor. vii. 39, 40.*

directed against the misuse made of it<sup>1</sup>. The scope of the writer gave no opportunity for the direct application of Scripture. He claims to receive a divine message, and to record the words of angels. His knowledge of the New Testament can then only be shown by passing coincidences of language, which do in fact occur throughout the book. The allusions to the Epistle of St James<sup>2</sup>, and to the Apocalypse<sup>3</sup>, are naturally most frequent, since the one is most closely connected with the 'Shepherd' by its tone, and the other by its form. The numerous paraphrases of our Lord's words prove that Hermas was familiar with some records of His

CHAP. II.

*St James.  
Apocalypse.*

*The Gospels.*

<sup>1</sup> Vis. ii. 3: Si tibi videtur, iterum nega [sc. Dominum]. Prope est Dominus convertentibus, sicut scriptum est in Heldam et Modal, qui vaticinati sunt in solitudine populo. The sense of the passage seems to be: You may, if you please, again deny Christ in persecution, vainly relying on general promises of repentance. Cf. Numb. xi. 26, 27.

<sup>2</sup> The coincidences of Hermas with St James are too numerous to be enumerated at length. Whole sections of the 'Shepherd' are framed with evident recollection of St James's Epistle: e. g. Vis. iii. 9; Mand. ii. ix. xi; Sim. v. 4. Of the shorter passages one or two examples will suffice: Mand. xii. 5, 6 = James iv. 7. 12; Sim. viii. 6 = James ii. 7.

<sup>3</sup> The symbolism of the Apocalypse reappears in the 'Shepherd.' The Church is represented under the figure of a woman (Apoc. xii. 1; Vis. ii. 4), a bride (Apoc. xxii. 2; Vis. iv. 2): her enemy is a great beast (Apoc. xii. 4; Vis. iv. 2). The account of the building of the tower (Vis. iii. 5), and of the array of those who entered into it (Sim. viii. 2, 3) is to be compared with Apoc. xxi. 14; vi. 11; vii. 9, 14.

CHAP. II.

The Acts.

St John.

1 St Peter.

His relation  
to St Paul.Doctrine of  
Faith.

teaching<sup>1</sup>. That these were no other than our Gospels, is at least rendered probable by the fact, that he makes no reference to any apocryphal narrative: and the opinion is confirmed by a clear allusion to the Acts<sup>2</sup>. In several places again St John's teaching on 'the Truth' lies at the ground of Hermas' words<sup>3</sup>; and the parallels with the First Epistle of St Peter are very worthy of notice<sup>4</sup>. The relation of Hermas to St Paul is interesting and important. His peculiar object, as well perhaps as his turn of mind, removed him from any close connexion with the Apostle; but their separation has been strangely exaggerated. In addition to marked coincidences of language with the first Epistle to the Corinthians, and with that to the Ephesians<sup>5</sup>, Hermas distinctly recognizes the great truth which is commonly regarded as the characteristic centre of his teaching. 'Faith,' he says, 'is the first of the seven virgins by which the Church is supported. She keeps it together by her power; and by her the elect of God shall be

<sup>1</sup> The similitudes generally deserve an accurate comparison with the Gospel-parables. Cf. Matt. xiii. 5, &c. with Sim. ix. 20, 21: Matt. xiii. 31, 32, with Sim. vii. 3; Matt. xviii. 3, with Sim. ix. 29.

<sup>2</sup> Vis. iv. 2 = Acts iv. 12.

<sup>3</sup> Mand. iii. = 1 John ii. 27; iv. 6.

<sup>4</sup> Vis. iv. 3 = 1 Pet. i. 7; Vis. iv. 2 = 1 Pet. v. 7.

<sup>5</sup> Sim. v. 7 = 1 Cor. iii. 16, 17; Sim. ix. 13 = Eph. iv. 4; Mand. iii. (cf. Mand. x. 1) = Eph. iv. 30.

saved. Abstinence, the second virgin, is her daughter, and so too are the rest. And when the Christian has observed the works of their mother, he will be able to keep the requirements of all<sup>1</sup>.’ Clement of Alexandria, paraphrasing the passage, says: ‘Faith precedes: Fear edifies: Love perfects<sup>2</sup>.’ Whatever may be Hermas’ teaching on works, this passage alone is sufficient to prove that he assigned to Faith its true position in the Christian Economy. The Law, as he understands it, is implanted only in the mind of those who have believed<sup>3</sup>.

The view which Hermas gives of Christ’s nature and work is no less harmonious with Apostolic doctrine, and it offers striking analogies to the Gospel of St John. Not only did the Son ‘appoint angels to preserve each of those whom the Father gave Him;’ but ‘He himself toiled very much, and suffered very much to do away with their offences...And so when their sins

CHAP. II.

The Christology of Hermas in connexion with St John.

<sup>1</sup> Vis. iii. 8: Prima quidem earum, quæ continet [turrim i. e. ecclesiam] manu, *Fides* vocatur; per hanc salvi fiunt electi Dei. Alia vero, quæ succincta est, et viriliter agit, *Abstinentia* vocatur; hæc filia est Fidei...Cæteræ autem quinque...filix invicem sunt...Quum ergo servaveris opera matris earum, omnia poteris custodire.

<sup>2</sup> Clem. Str. ii. 12: Προηγείται μὲν πίστις, φόβος δὲ οἰκοδομῆι, τελειοὶ δὲ ἡ ἀγάπη.

<sup>3</sup> Sim. viii. 3: In corde eorum qui crediderunt [Michael] inserit legem. Visitat igitur eos, quibus dedit legem, si eam custodierunt.

CHAP. II were blotted out, He shewed them the paths of life, by giving them the Law which He had received from His Father<sup>1</sup>. He is 'a rock higher than the mountains, able to bear up the whole world, ancient, and yet having a new gate<sup>2</sup>.' 'His name is great and infinite, and the whole world is supported by Him<sup>3</sup>.' 'He is older than all creation, so that He was with the Father at the foundation of the world<sup>4</sup>.' 'He is the sole way of access to God; and no one shall enter in unto God otherwise than by His Son<sup>5</sup>.' To Hermas, that is to the Christian of these later times, He appears 'by the Spirit in the form of the Church<sup>6</sup>.'

<sup>1</sup> Sim. v. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Sim. ix. 2: . . . *petra altior montibus illis erat, et quadrata erat, ita ut posset totum orbem sustinere. Vetus autem mihi videbatur esse, sed habebat novam portum, quæ nuper videbatur exsculpta. Et porta illa clariorem splendorem quam sol habebat . . .* Sim. ix. 12: *Petra hæc et porta Filius Dei est. . . Filius quidem Dei omni creaturâ antiquior est, ita ut in consilio Patri suo adfuerit ad condendam creaturam. Porta autem propterea nova est, quia in consummatione in novissimis diebus apparuit [all. apparebit] ut qui assecuturi sunt salutem, per eam intrent in regnum Dei.*

<sup>3</sup> Sim. ix. 14.

<sup>4</sup> Sim. ix. 12. Cf. note (5).

<sup>5</sup> Sim. ix. 12: *Porta vero Filius Dei est, qui solus est accessus ad Deum aliter ergo nemo intrabit ad Deum nisi per Filium ejus.*

<sup>6</sup> Sim. ix. 1: . . . *Spiritus. . . in effigie Ecclesiæ locutus est tecum. Ille. . . Spiritus Filius Dei est.* The conception is very worthy of notice. On the details of Hermas' doctrine

It would be difficult to find a more complete contrast to Ebionism than these passages afford. Hermas, indeed, could never have been charged with favouring such a heresy unless the manifoldness of Christian character had been forgotten. His tendency towards legalism—a tendency proper to no time and no dispensation—was first transformed into an adherence to Jewish legalism. This was next identified with Ebionism; and then it only remained to explain away such phrases as were irreconcilable with the doctrines which it was assumed that he must have held. True criticism reverses the process, and sets down every element of the problem before it attempts a solution. Then it is seen how the teaching of St Paul and St John is truly recognized in the ‘Shepherd,’ though that of St James gives the tone to the whole. The personality of its author is clearly marked, but it does not degenerate into heresy. It differs from the writings of the Apostles by the undue preponderance of one form of Christian truth—from those of heretics, by the admission of all.

CHAP. II.

False views  
of his doc-  
trine.

of the Trinity—especially of the relation of the Son to the Holy Spirit—this is not the place to enter. Cf. Dorner, i. 195 ff.



§ 10. *Hegesippus.*

The relation  
of Hegerippus to  
Ebionism.

The name of Hegesippus has become a watchword for those who find in early Church-history a fatal chasm in the unity of Christian truth, such as is implied in Holy Scripture. It has been maintained that he is the representative and witness of the Ebionism of the Apostolic teaching,—the resolute opponent of St Paul<sup>1</sup>. Many circumstances lend plausibility to the statement. Every influence of birth and education likely to predispose to Ebionism is allowed to have existed in his case. He was, as it appears, of Hebrew descent<sup>2</sup>, conversant with Jewish history, and a zealous collector of the early traditions of his Church. The well-known description which he gives of the martyrdom of St James the Just, shows how highly he regarded ritual observances in a Jew, and with what simple reverence he dwelt on every detail which marked the zeal of the ‘Bishop of the Circumcision<sup>3</sup>.’ It is probable that he felt that same devoted attachment to his nation which was characteristic of St Paul, no less than of the latest

<sup>1</sup> In this as in many other instances later critics have only revived an old controversy. Cf. Lumper, iii. 117 ff.; Bull maintained the true view in answer to Zwicker.

<sup>2</sup> Euseb. H. E. iv. 22. Cf. p. 234, n.

<sup>3</sup> Euseb. H. E. ii. 23. Routh, i. 208 ff. All the details, however, are not drawn from Nazaritic asceticism.

Hebrew convert of our own time<sup>1</sup>; but of Ebionism as distinguished from the natural feelings of a Jew, there is no trace in reference to his views either of the Old Covenant or of the Person of Christ. There is not one word in the fragments of his own writings, or in what others relate of him, which indicates that he looked upon the Law as of universal obligation, or, indeed, as binding upon any after the destruction of the Temple. There is not one word which implies that he differed from the Catholic view of 'Christ,' the 'Saviour,' and the 'Door' of access to God. The general tone of his language authorizes no such deductions; and what we know of his life excludes them.

It is not necessary, however, to determine his opinions by mere negations. Eusebius, who was acquainted with his writings, has given the fullest testimony to his Catholic doctrine by classing him, with Dionysius, Pinytus and Irenæus, among those 'champions of the truth<sup>2</sup>,'

Eusebius' testimony to his orthodoxy.

<sup>1</sup> It is strange that the conduct of St Paul is not more frequently taken as a commentary on his teaching. Apart from the testimonies in the Acts, St Paul himself says, in an epistle admitted on all sides, that he 'became as a Jew to the Jews' (1 Cor. ix. 20). The whole relation of the Church to the Synagogue in the Apostolic age requires a fresh investigation.

<sup>2</sup> Euseb. H. E. iv. 7: *παρήγεν εἰς μέσον ἡ ἀλήθεια πλείους ἑαυτῆς ὑπερμάχους. . . δι' ἐγγράφων ἀποδείξεων κατὰ τῶν ἀθέων αἱρέσεων στρατευομένους· ἐν τούτοις ἐγνωρίζετο Ἡγήσιππος. . .*

CHAP. II. whose 'orthodoxy and sound faith, conformable to the Apostolic tradition, was shown by their writings<sup>1</sup>.' Hegesippus in fact proves that the faith which we have already recognized in its essential features at Ephesus, Corinth and Rome, was the faith of Christendom.

His inquiries  
in foreign  
Churches.

c. 155, A.D. Not being content to examine only the records of his native Church, Hegesippus undertook a journey to Rome<sup>2</sup>, and visiting many bishops on his way, 'he found everywhere the same doctrine<sup>3</sup>.' Among other places he visited Corinth, where he was refreshed by the right principles (ὀρθὸς λόγος), in which the Church had continued up to the time of his visit<sup>4</sup>. What these 'right

<sup>1</sup> Euseb. H. E. iv. 21: ὧν καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς τῆς ἀποστολικῆς παραδόσεως ἢ τοῦ ὑγιοῦς πίστεως ἔγγραφος κατῆλθεν ὀρθοδοξία. On such a point the evidence of Eusebius is conclusive.

<sup>2</sup> This journey took place during the bishopric of Anicetus (151—160 A.D. Euseb. H. E. iv. 11), and Hegesippus appears to have continued at Rome till the time of Eleutherius (169—184 A.D.). The Paschal Chronicle fixes his death in the reign of Commodus (Lumper, iii. 108). Jerome speaks of him (*de Virr. Ill.* xxii.) as *vicinus Apostolicorum temporum*, so rendering, as it appears, the phrase of Eusebius ἐπὶ τῆς πρώτης τῶν ἀποστόλων γενομένης διαδοχῆς (H. E. ii. 23). This would represent him as a younger contemporary of Polycarp.

<sup>3</sup> Euseb. H. E. iv. 22: τὴν αὐτὴν παρὰ πάντων παρεῖληφε διδασκαλίαν.

<sup>4</sup> Euseb. H. E. iv. 22: καὶ ἐπέμενεν ἡ ἐκκλησία ἡ Κορινθίων ἐν τῷ ὀρθῷ λόγῳ μέχρι Πρίμου ἐπισκοπεύοντος ἐν Κορίνθῳ· οἷς συνέμιξα πλέων εἰς Ῥώμην, καὶ συνδιέτριψα τοῖς Κορινθίοις ἡμέρας ἰκανάς· ἐν αἷς συνανεπάμην τῷ ὀρθῷ λόγῳ.

principles' were, is evident from the fact that he found there the Epistle of Clement, which was still read in the public services<sup>1</sup>. The witness of Hegesippus is thus invested with new importance. He not only proves that there was one rule of faith in his time, but also that it had been preserved in unbroken succession from the first age<sup>2</sup>. His inquiries confirmed the fact which we have seen personified in the life of Polycarp, that from the time of St John to that of Irenæus the Creed of the Church was essentially unchanged.

Hegesippus embodied the results of his investigations in five books or memoirs. These, according to Jerome<sup>3</sup>, formed a complete history of the Church from the death of our Lord to the time of their composition; but this statement is probably made from a misunderstanding of Eusebius, who says that Hegesippus 'wrote memoirs in five books of the unerring tradition of the Apostolic preaching in a very simple style<sup>4</sup>,' 'leaving in these,' as he adds in another

The character of his Memoirs.

<sup>1</sup> Euseb. l. c. Cf. H. E. iii. 16; and p. 207.

<sup>2</sup> Euseb. l. c: ἐν ἐκάστη δὲ διαδοχῇ (in each episcopal succession) καὶ ἐν ἐκάστη πόλει οὕτως ἔχει ὡς ὁ νόμος κηρύττει καὶ οἱ προφῆται καὶ ὁ Κύριος.

<sup>3</sup> De Virr. Ill. l. c.: ... omnes a passione Domini usque ad suam ætatem Ecclesiasticorum Actuum texens historias...

<sup>4</sup> H. E. iv. 8: ἐν πέντε δὲ οὖν συγγράμμασιν οὗτος τὴν ἀπλανῆ παράδοσιν τοῦ ἀποστολικοῦ κηρύγματος ἀπλουστάτη συντάξει γραφῆς ὑπομνηματισάμενος...

place, 'the fullest record of his own opinion<sup>1</sup>.' It appears then that his object was theological rather than historical. He sought to make out the oneness and continuity of Apostolic doctrine; and to this end he recorded the succession of bishops in each Church, with such illustrative details as the subject required<sup>2</sup>.

Traces of  
scriptural  
language in  
his Frag-  
ments.

The compilation of such a book of Chronicles gave little opportunity for the quotation of Scripture; but in the absence of direct reference to the historical books of the New Testament, it is interesting to observe the influence of their language in the fragments of Hegesippus which remain. There are forms of expression corresponding to passages in the Gospels of St Matthew and St Luke, and in the Acts, which can scarcely be attributed to chance<sup>3</sup>; and when he

<sup>1</sup> H. E. iv. 22: *ἐν πέντε τοῖς εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐλθοῦσιν ὑπομνήμασι τῆς ἰδίας γνώμης πληρεστάτην μνήμην καταλέλοιπεν.*

<sup>2</sup> The arrangement of his memoirs cannot have been purely chronological, for the account of the martyrdom of St James the Just is taken from the *fifth* book. There is no definite quotation from any earlier book.

<sup>3</sup> The chief passages occur in the account of the martyrdom of St James (Euseb. H. E. ii. 23). [*Ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου*] *κάθηται ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ἐκ δεξιῶν τῆς μεγάλης δυνάμεως καὶ μέλλει ἔρχεσθαι ἐπὶ τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ.* Cf. Matt. xxvi. 64. For the variation *μέλλει ἔρχεσθαι* (for *ἐρχόμενον*) cf. p. 170, n. 1. *Δίκαιος εἶ καὶ πρόσωπον οὐ λαμβάνεις.* This phrase *πρ. λαμ.* only occurs Luke xx. 21; Gal. ii. 6. *Μάρτυς οὗτος ἀληθῆς Ἰουδαίοις τε καὶ Ἑλλησι γεγένηται ὅτι Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστός ἐστι.* Cf. Acts xx. 21.

It is to be noticed that he refers to Herod's fear of

speaks of the 'Door' of Jesus in his account of the death of St James, there can be little doubt that he alludes to the language of our Lord recorded by St John<sup>1</sup>.

It appears, however, that Hegesippus did not exclusively use canonical writings. As a historian he naturally sought for information from every source; and the Apocryphal Gospels were likely to contain many details suited to his purpose. It is not strange then that Eusebius says that 'he sets forth certain things from the Christ, recorded in Matt. ii., which was not found in the Ebionite Gospel (Euseb. iii. 32).

His use of  
Apocryphal  
Books.

<sup>1</sup> It has been supposed that he alludes to a passage in St Paul (1 Cor. ii. 9), as 'vainly said,' and contrary to our Lord's words (Matt. xiii. 16). It is enough to answer that the passage in question is quoted by St Paul from the Old Testament (Isa. lxiv. 4, καθὼς γέγραπται.), and that it is immediately followed by ἡμῖν δὲ ἀπεκάλυψεν κ. τ. λ. Hegesippus evidently refers to some sect (τοὺς ταῦτα φημένους) who claimed for themselves the true and sole possession of spiritual mysteries. Cf. Routh, i. pp. 281, 282. The quotation is said to have been found in the 'Ascensio Esaiæ' and the 'Apocalypsis Eliæ.' (Cf. Routh, l. c.; Dorner, i. 228).

It proves nothing that Eusebius does not state that Hegesippus recognized the Pauline Epistles. Even when giving an express account of the references to the books of the New Testament in Irenæus, he omits all mention of them, though they are quoted almost on every page (Euseb. H. E. v. 7). Elsewhere (H. E. v. 26) he himself refers to the Epistle to the Hebrews as used by him.

In one passage Eusebius (H. E. iii. 32) quoting Hegesippus freely, uses the phrase ἡ ψευδώνυμος γνώσις (1 Tim. vi. 20), but it must be uncertain whether the words so stood in the original text.

pel according to the Hebrews, and the Syriac [Gospel], and especially from the Hebrew language, showing that he was a Christian of Hebrew descent; and he mentions other facts moreover, as it was likely that he should do, from unwritten Jewish tradition<sup>1</sup>. He went beyond the range of the Scriptures both of the Old and of the New Testament. Tradition helped him in one case, and unauthoritative writings in the other. But he did not therefore disallow the Canon, or cast aside all criticism; for in immediate connexion with the last words we read that 'when determining about the so-called Apocrypha, he records that some of them were forged in his own time by certain heretics.' There is, indeed, nothing to show that this refers to the Apocryphal books of the New Testament, but there is nothing to limit his words to the Old; and when he speaks of the teaching of 'the Lord' in the same manner as 'of the Law and of the Prophets<sup>2</sup>,' he clearly implies

<sup>1</sup> Euseb. H. E. iv. 22: *ἐκ τε τοῦ καθ' Ἑβραίους εὐαγγελίου καὶ τοῦ Συριακοῦ καὶ ἰδίως ἐκ τῆς Ἑβραϊδος διαλέκτου τινὰ τίθησιν, ἐμφαίνων ἐξ Ἑβραίων ἑαυτὸν πεπιστευκέναι· καὶ ἄλλα δὲ ὡς ἂν ἐξ Ἰουδαϊκῆς ἀγράφου παραδόσεως μνημονεύει.* By τὸ Συριακὸν we must, I think, understand the Aramaic recension of the Gospel according to St Matthew. Melito, as Routh has observed, speaks of ὁ Σύρος καὶ ὁ Ἑβραῖος in reference to a reading in the LXX, where the natural meaning is the Syrian translation (translator) and the Hebrew original.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. p. 231, n. 2.

the existence of some written record of its substance. No further direct evidence, however, remains to identify this with the sum of our canonical books, unless we accept the conjecture of a distinguished scholar of our own day, who has gone so far as to assert that the anonymous fragment, which will be the subject of the next section, is in fact a translation from 'the historical work of Hegesippus<sup>1</sup>.'

§ 11. *The Muratorian Fragment on the Canon—  
Melito—Claudius Apollinaris.*

The Latin Fragment on the Canon, first published by Muratori, in his *Antiquitates Italicae*<sup>2</sup>, affords a natural close to this part of our inquiry. This precious relic was discovered in the Ambrosian Library at Milan, in a MS. of great antiquity, which purported to contain the writings of Chrysostom<sup>3</sup>. It is mutilated both

General account of the  
Fragm. de  
Canone.

<sup>1</sup> Bunsen's Hippolytus, i. p. 314.

<sup>2</sup> Antiquit. Ital. Med. Ævi, iii. 851 sqq. (Milan, 1740). The best edition of the fragment is in Routh, *Rel. Sacrae*, i. 394 sqq. (ed. 1846), who obtained a fresh collation of the MS. Credner has also examined it in his *Zur Geschichte des Canons*, 71 sqq. (1847), but he appears to have been unacquainted with the second edition of Routh. These editions supersede the earlier.

<sup>3</sup> Murat. l. c: Adservat Ambrosiana Mediolanensis Bibliotheca membranaceum codicem, e Bobiensi acceptum, cujus antiquitas pæne ad annos mille accedere mihi visa est. Scriptus enim fuit litteris majusculis et quadratis. Titulus præfixus omnia tribuit Joanni Chrysostomo, sed immerito.



CHAP. II. at the beginning and at the end; and is disfigured throughout by gross inaccuracies and barbarisms, due in part to the ignorance of the transcriber, and in part to the translator of the original text; for there can be little doubt that it is a version from the Greek. But notwithstanding these defects it is of the greatest interest and importance. Enough remains to indicate the limits which its author assigned to the Canon; and the general sense is sufficiently clear to show the authority which he claimed for it.

The date of its composition.

The date of the composition of the fragment is given by the allusion made in it to Hermas, which has been already quoted. It claims to have been written by a contemporary of Pius, and cannot on that supposition be placed much later than 170 A. C.<sup>1</sup> Internal evidence fully confirms its claim to this high antiquity; and it may be regarded on the whole as a summary of the opinion of the Western Church on the Canon shortly after the middle of the second century<sup>2</sup>.

Mutilum in principio codicem deprehendi... Ex hoc ergo codice ego decerpsi fragmentum antiquissimum ad Canonem Divinarum Scripturarum spectans.

<sup>1</sup> Pastorem vero nuperrime temporibus vestris in urbe Roma Herma conscripsit, sedente cathedra urbis Romæ ecclesiæ Pio episcopo patre ejus. The date of the episcopate of Pius is variously given 127—142 and 142—157.

<sup>2</sup> The omissions will be noticed below, p. 243.

Though it adds but little to what has been already obtained in detail from separate sources, yet, by combination and contrast, it gives a new effect to the whole result. It serves to connect the isolated facts in which we have recognized different elements of the Canon; and by its accurate coincidence with these justifies the belief that it was fixed approximately within the same limits from the first.

There is no sufficient evidence to determine the authorship of the fragment. Muratori supposed that it was written by Caius, the Roman Presbyter, and his opinion for a time found acceptance<sup>1</sup>. Another scholar confidently attributed it to Papias, and, perhaps, with as good reason<sup>2</sup>. Bunsen, again, affirms that it is a translation from Hegesippus<sup>3</sup>. But such guesses are barely ingenious; and the opinions of those who assign it to the fourth century, or doubt its authenticity altogether, scarcely deserve mention<sup>4</sup>.

Different theories as to its authorship.

The exact character of the work to which the fragment belonged is scarcely more certain than its authorship. The form of composition is apologetic rather than historical, and it is not

Probably a fragment of some Greek Apologetic work.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Routh, p. 398 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Simon de Magistris, ap. Routh, p. 400.

<sup>3</sup> Hippolytus and his Age, i. p. 314.

<sup>4</sup> Such is also the decision of Credner, a most impartial judge: p. 93.

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unlikely that it formed part of a Dialogue with some heretic<sup>1</sup>. One point alone can be made out with tolerable certainty. The recurrence of Greek idioms appears conclusive as to the fact that it is a translation<sup>2</sup>, and this agrees well with its Roman origin; for Greek continued to be, even at a later period, the common language of the Roman Church.

The testimony which it bears (a) to the Gospels.

The Fragment commences with the last words of a sentence which evidently referred to the Gospel of St Mark<sup>3</sup>. The Gospel of St Luke, it is then said, stands third in order [in the Christian Canon,] having been written by 'Luke the physician,' the companion of St Paul, who, not being himself an eye-witness, based his narrative on such information as he could obtain, beginning from the birth of John. The fourth place is given to the Gospel of St John, a disciple of our Lord, and the occasion of its writing is thus described: 'At the entreaties of his

<sup>1</sup> e. g. 'De quibus singulis necesse est a vobis disputari'—'Recipimus'—'Quidam ex nostris.'

<sup>2</sup> e. g. *juris studiosum* = τοῦ δικαίου ζηλωτήν—*Dominum tamen nec ipse vidit in carne, et idem prout assequi potuit ita et a nativitate &c.*—*Johannes ex discipulis*—*principia, principalis* = ἀρχαί, ἀρχαῖος (Iren. v. 21. 1)—*nihil differt credentium fidei*—*et Johannes enim*—*fertur* = φέρεται—*recipi non potest* = οὐ δυνατόν ἐστὶ—*ad hæresim Marcionis.*

<sup>3</sup> The fragment will be given at length in App. C, to which reference must be made for the original text of the passages here quoted.

fellow-disciples and bishops John said: "Fast with me for three days from this time, and whatever shall be revealed to each of us, whether it be favourable to my writing or not, let us relate it to one another." On the same night it was revealed to Andrew, one of the Apostles, that John should relate all things in his own name, aided by the revision of all<sup>1</sup>... 'what wonder is it then that John so constantly brings forward Gospel-phrases, even in his Epistles, saying in his own person, "*what we have seen with our eyes, and heard with our ears, and our hands have handled, these things have we written*"? For so he professes that he was not only an eye-witness, but also a hearer, and moreover a historian of all the wonderful works of our Lord.'

<sup>1</sup> John i. 1.

Though there is no trace of any reference to St Matthew, it is impossible not to believe that it occupied the first place among the four Gospels of the anonymous writer. Assuming this, it is of importance to notice that he regards our Canonical Gospels as essentially one in purpose, contents, and inspiration. He draws no distinction between those which were written from personal knowledge, and those which rested on the teaching of others. He alludes to no doubt as to their authority, no limit as to their reception, no difference as to their usefulness. 'Though

The importance of this testimony.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Routh, pp. 409 seq.

**CHAP. II.** various points are taught in each of the Gospels, it makes no difference to the faith of believers, since in all of them all things are declared by one informing spirit<sup>1</sup> concerning the Nativity, the Passion, the Resurrection, the conversation [of our Lord] with His disciples, and His double Advent, at first in humility and afterwards in royal power as He will yet appear.' This first recognition of the distinctness and unity of the Gospels, of their origin from human care and Divine guidance, is as complete as any later testimony. The Fragment lends no support to the theory which supposes that they were gradually separated from the mass of similar books. Their peculiar position is clear and marked; and there is not the slightest hint that it was gained after a doubtful struggle or only at a late date. Admit that our Gospels were regarded from the first as authoritative records of Christ's Life, and then this new testimony explains and confirms the fragmentary notices which alone witness to the earlier belief: deny it, and the language of one who had probably conversed with Polycarp at Rome becomes an unintelligible riddle. The Gospels had gained exclusive currency during

<sup>1</sup> *Uno ac principali Spiritu.* Routh, on the authority of the glossary of Philoxenus, translates *principalis* by ἡγεμονικός, but *principium* occurs twice in the fragment as the representative of ἀρχή, and it seems to me that ἀρχαῖος in a cognate sense suits the context here.

his lifetime, and yet he speaks of them as if they had always possessed it. CHAP. II.

Next to the Gospels the book of the Acts is mentioned as containing a record by St Luke of those acts of the Apostles which fell under his own notice. That this was the rule which he prescribed to himself, is shown, it is added, by 'the omission of the martyrdom of Peter, and the journey of Paul to Spain.' (β) To the Acts.

Thirteen Epistles are attributed to St Paul; of these nine were addressed to Churches, and four to individual Christians. The first class suggests an analogy with the Apocalypse. As St John when writing for all Christendom wrote specially to seven Churches, so St Paul also 'wrote by name only to seven Churches, showing thereby the unity of the Catholic Church, though he wrote twice to the Corinthians and Thessalonians for their correction<sup>1</sup>.' The order in which these Epistles are enumerated is remarkable: Corinthians (i. ii.), Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, Galatians, Thessalonians (i. ii.), Romans. In fact, this may have been determined by a particular view of their contents, since it appears that the author attributed to St Paul a special purpose in each Epistle 'writing first to the Corinthians to check heretical schism; afterwards to the (γ) To the Epistles of St Paul.

<sup>1</sup> Routh has a good note (i. pp. 416 sqq.) on the symbolism of the number seven.

CHAP. II. Galatians to forbid circumcision ; then at greater length to the Romans, according to the rule of the Old Testament Scriptures, showing at the same time that Christ was their foundation.' The second class includes all that are received now : 'an Epistle to Philemon, one to Titus, and two to Timothy,' which though written only 'from personal feeling and affection, are still hallowed in the respect of the Catholic Church, [and] in the arrangement of ecclesiastical discipline.'

(δ) To the disputed Catholic Epistles, as distinguished from certain Apocryphal Books,

At this point the Fragment diverges to spurious or disputed books, and the exact words are of importance. 'Moreover,' it is said, 'there is in circulation an Epistle to the Laodiceans, [and] another to the Alexandrians, forged under the name of Paul, to bear on the heresy of Marcion<sup>1</sup>; and several others, which cannot be received into the Catholic Church. For gall ought not to be mixed with honey. The Epistle of Jude however (*sane*), and two Epistles of John, who has been mentioned above, are reckoned

<sup>1</sup> Nothing is known of the *Epistle to the Alexandrians*. The attempt to identify it with the *Epistle to the Hebrews* is unsupported by the slightest evidence. The *Epistle to the Laodiceans* is also involved in great obscurity. The *Epistle to the Ephesians* bore that name in Marcion's collection of St Paul's Epistles, and the text may contain an inaccurate allusion to it. In Jerome's time there was an 'Epistle to the Laodiceans rejected by all.' Cf. Routh, pp. 420 sqq. The cento of Pauline phrases published under the name by Fabricius is evidently a late work.

among the Catholic [Epistles]<sup>1</sup>. And the book of Wisdom, written by the friends of Solomon, in his honour [is acknowledged]. We receive, moreover, the Apocalypses of John and Peter only, which [latter] some of our body will not have read in the Church.' CHAP. II.  
(e) and to the Apoc-  
lypsee.

After this mention is made of the Shepherd, and of the writings of Valentinus, Basilides, and others : and so the Fragment ends abruptly. Other writings men-  
tioned.

It will then be noticed that there is no special enumeration of the acknowledged Catholic Epistles—i. Peter and i. John<sup>2</sup> : that the Epistle of St James, ii. Peter, and the Epistle to the Hebrews, are also omitted : that with these exceptions, every book in our New Testament Canon is acknowledged, and one book only added to it—the Apocalypse of 'St Peter—which, it is said, was not universally admitted. Its omissions.

The character of the omissions helps to ex- The true ex-  
planation of  
these.

<sup>1</sup> The MS. reading is in *Catholica*, and Routh (i. 425; iii. 44) has shown that Tertullian (*de Præscr. hæc.* 30) and later writers sometimes omit *ecclesia*. The whole context, however, seems to require the correction, and I find that it has been adopted by Bunsen (*Hippolytus*, ii. 136), who first gave what is certainly the true connexion of the passage. I do not know whether there is any earlier instance of *καθολικὴ ἐπιστολὴ* than in a fragment of Apollonius (*Euseb.* v. 18), who was a contemporary of Tertullian.

<sup>2</sup> The context, I believe, shows that the two letters of St John are the two disputed letters. Compare, however, p. 83, n. 3. Cassiodorus (6th cent.) again speaks of two Epistles of St John.



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plain them. The first Epistle of St John is quoted in an earlier part of the Fragment, though it is not mentioned in its proper place, either after the Acts of the Apostles, or after the Epistles of St Paul: there is no evidence that the first Epistle of St Peter was ever disputed, and it has been shown that it was quoted by Polycarp and Papias: the Epistle to the Hebrews and that of St James were certainly known in the Roman Church, and they could scarcely have been altogether passed over in an enumeration of books in which the Epistle of St Jude, and even apocryphal writings of heretics, found a place. The cause of the omissions cannot have been ignorance or doubt. It must be sought either in the character of the writing, or in the present condition of the text.

The great corruption of the Fragment makes the idea of a chasm in it very probable; and more than this, the want of coherence between several parts seems to show that it was not all continuous originally, but that it has been made up of three or four different passages from some unknown author, collected on the same principle as the quotations in Eusebius from Papias, Irenæus, Clement and Origen<sup>1</sup>. On either sup-

<sup>1</sup> The connexion appears broken in at least two places; but as the general sense of the text is not affected by this view, the details of it can be reserved for the Appendix.

position it is easy to explain the omissions; and even as the Fragment stands now it is not difficult to find traces of the books which it does not notice. Thus the Epistle of St Jude, and the two Epistles of St John, are evidently alluded to as having been doubted and yet received. They are indeed held, it is said, among the Catholic Epistles; and some then there must have been to form a centre of the group. In like manner the allusion to the book of Wisdom (Proverbs) is unintelligible without we suppose that it was introduced as an illustration of some similar case in the New Testament. Bunsen has very ingeniously connected it with the ancient belief that the Epistle to the Hebrews was attributed to the pen of a companion of St Paul, and not to the Apostle himself<sup>1</sup>. Thus that which was 'written by friends of Solomon' would be parallel with that which was written by the friend of St Paul. If the one was received as canonical, it justified the claims of the other.

A fragment of Melito, who was Bishop of Sardis, in the time of Marcus Antoninus, adds a trait which is wanting in the fragment on the Canon<sup>2</sup>. In that the books of the New Testa-

MELITO witnesses to the existence of a Canon.

<sup>1</sup> Hippolytus and his Age, ii. p. 138.

<sup>2</sup> Melito presented an Apology to Marcus Antoninus after the death of Aurelius Verus (169 A.C.); and, as appears

CHAP. II. ment are spoken of as having individual authority, and being distinguished by ecclesiastical use; but nothing is said of them in their collected form, or in relation to the Jewish Scriptures. The words of Melito are simple and casual, and yet their meaning can scarcely be mistaken. He writes to Onesimus, a fellow Christian who had urged him 'to make selections for him from the Law and the Prophets concerning the Saviour, and the Faith generally; and furthermore desired to learn the accurate account of the Old (*παλαιῶν*) Books;' 'having gone therefore to the East,' Melito says, 'and reached the spot where [each thing] was preached and done, and having learned accurately the Books of the Old Testament, I have sent a list of them.' The mention of 'the Old Books'—'the Books of the Old Testament,'—naturally implies a definite New Testament, a written antitype to the Old; and the form of language implies a familiar recognition of its contents. But there is little evidence in the fragment of Melito to show what writings he included in the collection. He wrote a treatise on the Apocalypse, and the title of

from a passage quoted by Eusebius (*μετὰ τοῦ παιδός*, iv. 26), at a time when Commodus was admitted to share the imperial power (176 A.C.). His treatise on the Passover probably belongs to an earlier date. The persecution 'in which Sagaris was martyred' (Euseb. l. c.), was probably that in which Polycarp also suffered (167 A.C.).

one of his essays is evidently borrowed from St Paul—‘On the hearing of Faith<sup>1</sup>.’ The mere titles of his other works are very instructive, as showing how far Christian speculation had extended even in the earliest times. Scarcely any branch of theological inquiry was untouched. He wrote on hospitality—on Easter, and on the Lord’s day—on the Church, on [Christian] citizenship and Prophets, on Prophecy, on Truth, and on Baptism (*περὶ λουτροῦ*)—on the Creation (*κτίσις*) and Birth of Christ, on the Nature of Man, and on the Soul and Body—on the Formation of the World (*περὶ πλάσεως*), and on the Organs of Sense—on the Interpretation of Scripture (‘the Key’)—on the Devil, and on the Corporeity of God<sup>2</sup>. Such a list of subjects gives a vivid notion of the activity of thought and discussion in the Church at a time when we are told to

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Rom. i. 5;  
xvi. 26.

His writings  
also illustrate  
the extent of  
early Chris-  
tian litera-  
ture.

<sup>1</sup> Melito bears witness distinctly to the doctrine of St John: [*Χριστός*] *θεὸς ἀληθῆς προαιώνιος ὑπάρχων* (Routh, p. 122)—*τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ ὄντος Θεοῦ Λόγου πρὸ αἰώνων ἐσμὲν θρησκευταί* (Routh, p. 118). One phrase in another fragment—*ἐγένετο ζήτησις πολλή* (Routh, p. 115)—may be a recollection of his language (John iii. 25; yet cf. Acts xv. 2). I have not noticed any other coincidences with Scripture-language in the fragments of Melito. But he speaks of our Lord as having spent thirty years in privacy (Luke iii. 23), and three years in his ministry (St John): of his carrying his cross (p. 122: John xix. 17): and he calls Him the Lamb (p. 124: John i. 29).

<sup>2</sup> Euseb. H. E. iv. 26.

CHAP. II. believe that its doctrine and constitution were changed by a series of forgeries.

CLAUDIUS APOLLINARIS also shows that 'the Gospels' were a definite and recognized collection at the same time.

The testimony of Melito finds a natural confirmation in a fragment of a contemporary writer<sup>1</sup>, Claudius Apollinaris, Bishop of Hierapolis<sup>2</sup>. When discussing the time for the celebration of Easter, he writes: 'Some say that the Lord eat the lamb with his disciples on the 14th (of Nisan), and suffered himself on the great day of unleavened bread; and they state that Matthew's narrative is in accordance with their view; while it follows that their view is at variance with the Law, and, according to them, the Gospels seem to disagree<sup>3</sup>.' The Gospels are evidently quoted as books certainly known

<sup>1</sup> Claudius Apollinaris also presented an apology to Marcus Antoninus, Hieron. *de virr. ill.* xxvi. Cf. Euseb. H. E. iv. 26.

<sup>2</sup> There is not any sufficient ground for doubting the genuineness of these fragments 'On Easter,' in the fact that Eusebius mentions no such book by Apollinaris. The words of Eusebius (H. E. iv. 27) that there were many works of Apollinaris in circulation, of which he enumerates only those which had come into his own hands: τοῦ δ' Ἀπολλιναρίου πολλῶν παρὰ πολλοῖς σωζομένων τὰ εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐλθόντα ἐστὶ τὰδε... The two fragments are preserved in the *Paschal* or *Alexandrine Chronicle* (vii. Cent.). Cf. Routh, i. pp. 167 sq.

<sup>3</sup> Claud. Apoll. fr. ap. Routh, i. p. 160: καὶ διηγοῦνται Ματθαῖον οὕτω λέγειν εἰς νενοήκασιν· ὅθεν ἀσύμφωνός τε τῷ νόμῳ ἢ νόησις αὐτῶν, καὶ στασιάζειν δοκεῖ κατ' αὐτοὺς τὰ εὐαγγέλια.

and recognized; their authority is placed on the same footing as the Old Testament; and it must be remembered that this testimony comes from the same place as that of Papias, and that no such interval had elapsed between the two Bishops as to allow any organic change in the Church<sup>1</sup>.

One section of our inquiry is now finished. We have examined all the evidence bearing on the history of the New Testament Canon, which can be adduced from those who are recognized as Fathers of the Church during the period which has been marked out<sup>2</sup>. Up to this point it has

Summary of results.

<sup>1</sup> A second fragment of Apollinaris is preserved, in which he makes an evident allusion to St John's Gospel (xix. 34), and in such a way as to show that it had become the subject of careful interpretation. He speaks of Christ as *ὁ τὴν ἁγίαν πλευρὰν ἐκκεντηθεὶς, ὁ ἐκχέας ἐκ τῆς πλευρᾶς αὐτοῦ τὰ δύο πάλιν καθάρσια, ὕδωρ καὶ αἷμα, λόγον καὶ πνεῦμα.*

<sup>2</sup> ATHENAGORAS and THEOPHILUS might perhaps have been included in this period, but I have preferred to place them in the next. There is necessarily no abrupt break between the two periods. Irenæus himself connects them as intimately as his master Polycarp connects the age of the Apostles with that which immediately followed it. TATIAN will be noticed in Chap. iv.

The beautiful letter of the Church of Smyrna giving an account of the martyrdom of Polycarp, written shortly after it (168 A.C. Cf. Mart. Polyc. c. 18), contains several allusions to books of the New Testament: e. g. Matt. x. 23 = c. iv.; Matt. xxvi. 55 = c. vi.; Acts ix. 7 = c. ix.; Acts xxi. 14 = c. vi.; 1 Cor. ii. 9 = c. ii.; Rom. xiii. 1, 7 = c. x. And in addition

CHAP. II. been shown that one book alone of the New Testament remains unnoticed: one apocryphal book alone, and that doubtfully, placed within the limits of the Canon. There is not, as far as I am aware, in any Christian writer, during the period which we have examined, either direct mention or clear reference to the second Epistle of St Peter; and the Apocalypse which bore his name, if we accept the authority of a corrupt text, partially usurped a place among the New Testament Scriptures. Nor is this all: it has been shown also that the form of Christian doctrine current throughout the Church, as represented by men most widely differing in national and personal characteristics, in books of the most varied aim and composition, is measured exactly by the Apostolic Canon. It has been shown that this exact coincidence between the Scriptural rule and the traditional belief is more perfect and striking in proportion as we apprehend more clearly the differences which coexist in both. It has been shown that the New Testa-

to these several Pauline words: *ἐξαγοράζεσθαι, βραβεῖον, ὁ ἀψευδῆς Θεός*. The Doxology in c. 14 is very noteworthy. While speaking of this letter I cannot but quote the admirable emendation by which Dr Wordsworth (Hippolytus, App.) has effectually explained the famous passage about the Dove in c. 16. For *περιστερά και*, by the change of one letter, and the omission of I before a II following, he gives the true reading *περὶ στύρακα*.

ment, in its integrity, gives an adequate explanation of the progress of Christianity in its distinct types, and that there is no reason to believe that at any subsequent time such a creative power was active in the Church as could have called forth writings like those which we receive as Apostolic. They are the rule and not the fruit of its development.

But at present the argument is incomplete. It is still necessary to inquire how far a Canon was publicly recognized by national Churches as well as by individuals—how far it was accepted even by those who separated from the orthodox communion, and on what grounds they rejected any part of it. These points will form the subject of the two next chapters, in which we shall examine the most ancient versions of the East and West, and the writings of the earliest heretics.

Points still  
remaining for  
discussion.



## CHAPTER III.

### THE EARLY VERSIONS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

CHAP. III.

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**JAM totum Christi corpus loquitur omnium linguis :  
et quibus nondum loquitur, loquetur.—AUGUSTINUS.**

The difficulties which beset the enquiry into the earliest Versions.

It is not easy to overrate the difficulties which beset any inquiry into the early Versions of the New Testament. In addition to those which impede all critical investigations into the original Greek text, there are others in this case scarcely less serious, which arise from comparatively scanty materials, and vague or conflicting traditions. There is little illustrative literature; or, if the case be otherwise, it is imperfectly known. There is no long line of Fathers to witness to the completion and the use of the translations. And though it be true that these hinderances are chiefly felt when the attempt is made to settle or interpret their text, they are no less real and perplexing when we seek only to investigate their origin and first form. Versions of Scripture appear to be in the first instance almost necessarily gradual. Ideas of translation familiarized to us by long experience formed no part of the primitive system. The history of the LXX. is a memorable example of what might be expected to be the history of Versions of

the New Testament. And so far as there is any proof of unity in each of these which is wanting in that, we are led to conclude that the Canon of the New Testament was more definitely fixed, that the books of which it was composed were more equally esteemed than was the case with the Old Testament, at the time when it was translated into Greek. CHAP. III.

Two Versions only claim to be noticed in this first Period—the original Versions of the East and West—the Peshito and Old Latin, which, though variously revised, remain, after sixteen centuries, the authorized liturgical versions of the Syrian and Roman churches. At present we have only to do with their extent: the text which they show is to be considered generally as one mark of their date. And here some care must be taken lest our reasoning form a circle. The Canon which the Peshito exhibits has been used to fix the time at which it was made; and yet we shall quote the Peshito to help us in determining the Canon. The text of the Old Latin depends in many cases on individual quotations; and yet we shall use it as an independent authority. Nor is this without reason; for the age of the Peshito is indicated by numerous particulars, and if the exact form in which the Canon appears in it accords with what we learn from other fragmentary notices

How far they can be used in investigating the Canon.

CHAP. III. of the same date, the two lines of evidence mutually support and strengthen each other. And so if there be any ground for believing that the earliest Latin Fathers employed some particular Version of the books of the New Testament, then we may analyse their quotations, and endeavour to determine how many books were included in the translation, and how far the whole translation bears the marks of one hand. There is nothing of direct demonstrative force in the conclusions thus obtained, but they form part of a series, and give coherence and consistency to it.

### § 1. *The Peshito*<sup>1</sup>.

The Peshito represents the vernacular dialect of Palestine in the Apostolic age.

Almost universal opinion assigns the Peshito<sup>2</sup> or 'simple' Syriac (Aramæan) Version to the most remote Christian antiquity. The Syriac Christians of Malabar even now claim for it the right to be considered as an Eastern original of

<sup>1</sup> The chief original authorities on the Peshito which I have examined are: *Ni. Ti. Versiones Syriacæ, Simplex, Philoxeniana et Hierosolymitana, denuo examinatæ* à J. G. C. ADLER. *Hafnice*, MDCCLXXXIX. *Horæ Syriacæ*, auctore N. WISEMAN S. T. D. Tom. i. *Romæ*, MDCCCLXXVIII. WICHELHAUS (T.), *De N. T. versione Syriacâ quam Peschitho vocant Libri iv.* *Halis*, 1850.

<sup>2</sup> This title seems to be best interpreted 'simple,' as implying the absence of any allegorical interpretations. Hug, *Introd.* § LXII.

the New Testament<sup>1</sup>; and though their tradition is wholly unsupported by external evidence, it is not, to a certain extent, without all plausibility. There can be no doubt that the so-called Syro-Chaldaic (Aramæan) was the vernacular language of the Jews of Palestine in the time of our Lord, however much it may have been superseded by Greek in the common business of life<sup>2</sup>. It was in this dialect, the 'Hebrew' of the New Testament<sup>3</sup>, that the Gospel of St Matthew was originally written, if we believe the unanimous testimony of the Fathers; and it is not unnatural to look to the Peshito as likely to contain some traces of its first form<sup>4</sup>. Even in the absence

<sup>1</sup> Etheridge's *Syrian Churches*, pp. 166 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Wiseman, *Horæ Syriacæ*, pp. 69 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> John v. 2; xix. 13, 17, 20. Acts xxi. 40; xxii. 2; xxvi. 14. (Cf. Apoc. ix. 11; xvi. 16). The word 'Hebrew' is first applied to the language of the Old Testament in the Apocrypha. In Josephus it is used both of the true Hebrew and of the Aramæan. Davidson, *Biblical Criticism*, i. 9; Etheridge, *Horæ Aramaicæ*, p. 7. In the conclusion to the Book of Job in the LXX. 'Syriac' appears to be used for the true Hebrew.

<sup>4</sup> An accurate examination of the Gospel of St Matthew in the Peshito, with a view to the possibility that it may be a recension of the original *Hebrew* Gospel, is still to be desired. The copious admixture of Greek words in the Syriac, which, I believe, is found also in later writers, seems to have been one of the impurities of the Palestinian dialect of which Bar Hebræus speaks. (Cf. p. 256, note 1). Hug's proof of the derivation of the Syriac from the Greek is very unsatisfactory: e. g. he supposes that the translator

**CHAP. III.** of all direct proof some critics have maintained that the Epistle to the Hebrews must have been written in the same Aramaic language; and though little stress can be laid on such arguments, they serve to show how intimately the Peshito was connected with the wants of the early Christians of Palestine.

The Peshito compared with the *Vetus Latina*.

The dialect of the Peshito, even as it stands now, represents in part at least, that form of Aramaic which was current in Palestine<sup>1</sup>. In this respect it is like the Latin Vulgate, which, though revised, is marked by the provincialisms of Africa. Both versions appear to have had their origin in districts where their languages were spoken in impure dialects, and afterwards to have been corrected, and brought nearer to the classical standard. In the absence of an adequate supply of critical materials it is impossible to construct the history of these recensions in the Syriac; the analogy of the Latin is at present our only guide. But if a conjecture

A conjecture as to its origin.

mistook *τέκτων* for *τεχνών* in Matt. xi. 19, when really the reading *ἔργων*, given by the Peshito, is supported by considerable authority. The occurrence of *Latin* words in the Peshito may be illustrated by examples from Syrian writers. Cf. Wiseman, p. 119, n.

<sup>1</sup> Gregory Bar Hebræus says that there were three dialects of Syriac (Aramæan): the most elegant was that of Edessa: the most impure that current among the inhabitants of Palestine and Libanus. The Peshito was written in the latter. Wiseman, p. 106.

be allowed, I think that the various facts of the case are adequately explained by supposing that Versions of separate books of the New Testament were first made and used in Palestine, perhaps within the apostolic age, and that shortly afterwards these were collected, revised, and completed at Edessa<sup>1</sup>.

Many circumstances combine to give support to this belief. The early condition of the Syrian Church, its wide extent and active vigour, lead us to expect that a Version of the Holy Scriptures into the common dialect could not have been long deferred; and the existence of an Aramaic Gospel was in itself likely to suggest the work<sup>2</sup>. Differences of style, no less than the very nature of the case, point to separate translations of different books; and, at the same time, a certain general uniformity of character bespeaks some subsequent revision<sup>3</sup>. I

How this conjecture is supported.

<sup>1</sup> In the present section when speaking of the Peshito I mean the translation of the New Testament, unless it be otherwise expressed. At the same time it may be remarked that the Old Testament Peshito is probably the work of a Christian, and of the same date. Cf. Davidson, *Biblical Criticism*, i. p. 247; Wichelhaus, p. 73.

<sup>2</sup> The activity of thought in Western Syria at an early period is most remarkable. It was not only the source of ecclesiastical order, but also of apocryphal books. As a compensation for the latter it produced the first Christian commentaries (Theophilus, Serapion). Cf. Wichelhaus, p. 55.

<sup>3</sup> Hug, Introduction, § 66; Etheridge, *Horæ Aramaicæ*,

## CHAP. III.

The historical importance of Edessa.

have ventured to specify the place at which I believe that this revision was made<sup>1</sup>. Whatever may be thought of the alleged intercourse of Abgarus with our blessed Lord, Edessa itself is signalized in early church-history by many remarkable facts. It was called the 'Holy' and the 'Blessed' city<sup>2</sup>: its inhabitants were said to have been brought over by Thaddeus in a marvellous manner to the Christian faith; and 'from that time forth,' Eusebius adds<sup>3</sup>, 'the whole people of Edessa has continued to be devoted to the name of Christ (τῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ προσανάκειται προσηγορία), exhibiting no ordinary instance of the goodness of the Saviour.' In the second century it became the centre of an important Christian school, and long afterwards

p. 52. It is but fair to say that the Syrians attributed the work to one translator.

The Gospels are probably the earliest as they are the closest translation.

The Acts are more loosely translated (Wichelhaus, p. 86); but it is to be remembered that the text of the Acts is more uncertain than that of any part of the New Testament.

The Epistle to the Hebrews is probably the work of a separate translator. (Wichelhaus, pp. 86, ff.)

<sup>1</sup> That it was made at some place out of the Roman Empire is shown by the translation of *στρατιῶται* by 'Romans' in the Acts. [Cf. Acts xxviii. 15; Appian Forus.] But this is not the case in the Gospels, which, as we have conjectured, were translated earlier and in Palestine. Cf. Wichelhaus, pp. 78, ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Horæ Syriacæ*, p. 101.

<sup>3</sup> Euseb. H. E. ii. 1.

retained its preeminence among the cities of its province. CHAP. III.

As might be expected tradition fixes on Edessa as the place whence the Peshito took its rise. Gregory Bar Hebræus<sup>1</sup>, one of the most learned and accurate of Syrian writers, relates that the New Testament Peshito was 'made in the time of Thaddeus, and Abgarus, King of Edessa,' when, according to the universal opinion of ancient writers, the Apostle went to proclaim Christianity in Mesopotamia. This statement he repeats several times, and once on the authority of Jacob, a deacon of Edessa in the fifth century. He tells us, moreover, that 'messengers were sent from Edessa to Palestine to translate the Sacred Books;' and though this

Syrian traditions as to the origin of the Peshito.

Gregory Bar Hebræus.

Jacob of Edessa.

<sup>1</sup> The following testimonies from Gregory—'inter suos ferme κριτικώτατος'—are given by Wiseman: Quod vero spectat ad hanc Syriacam [Versionem V. Ti.] tres fuerunt sententiæ; prima quod tempore *Salomonis* et *Hiram* Regum conversa fuerit; secunda quod *Asa* sacerdos, quum ab *Assyriâ* missus fuit *Samariam*, eum transtulerit; tertia tandem quod, diebus *Adai* Apostoli et *Abgari* Regis *Osrhoeni* versa fuerit, quando etiam *Novum Testamentum*, eadem simplici forma traductum est. p. 90. Cf. Adler, p. 42.

Occidentales [Syri] duas habent versiones, Simplicem, quæ ex *Hebraico* in *Syriacum* translata est post adventum *Domini Christi*, tempore *Adai* Apostoli, vel, ut alii dicunt, tempore *Salomonis* filii *Davidis* et *Hiram*, et *Figuratam* . . . . p. 94.

*Jacobus Edessenus* dicit interpretes illos, qui missi sunt ab *Adai* Apostolo, et *Abgario* Rege *Osrhoeno* in *Palaestinam*, quique verterunt *Libros Sacros* . . . . p. 103.



**CHAP. III.** statement refers especially to the Old Testament, it confirms what has been said of the Palestinian authorship of the Version. And it is worthy of notice that Gregory assumes the Apostolic origin of the New Testament Peshito as certain; for, while he gives three hypotheses as to the date of the Old Testament Version, he speaks of this as a known and acknowledged fact.

Want of  
early Syrian  
literature.

*Bardesanes.*

No other direct historical evidence remains to determine the date of the Peshito; and it is impossible to supply the deficiency by the help of quotations occurring in early Syrian writers. No Syrian works of a very early period exist. The disputed letter of Abgarus and a fragment of Bardesanes alone survive in Greek translations, to represent the literature which preceded the writings of Ephrem<sup>1</sup>. Still it is known that books were soon translated from Syriac into Greek, and while such an intercourse existed it is scarcely possible that the Scriptures remained untranslated. Again: the controversial writings of Bardesanes necessarily imply the

<sup>1</sup> The fragment of Bardesanes (Euseb. Prep. Evang. vi. 10) in answer to the doctrine of Necessity is almost entirely made up of illustrations from nature and history. At the conclusion he speaks more freely, and there the reference to St Paul is unmistakable: Θεοῦ δ' ἐπινεύσαντος πάντα δυνατὰ καὶ ἀνεμπόδιστα τῇ γὰρ ἐκείνου βουλήσει τίς ἀνθέστηκεν; (Rom. ix. 19).

existence of a Syriac Version of the Bible<sup>1</sup>. CHAP. III.  
 Tertullian's example may show that he could hardly have refuted Marcion without the constant use of Scripture. And more than this, Eusebius tells us that Hegesippus 'made quotations from the Gospel according to the Hebrews, and the Syriac, and especially from [writings in] the Hebrew language, showing thereby that he was a Christian of Hebrew descent<sup>2</sup>.' This testimony is valuable as coming from the only early Greek writer likely to have been familiar with Syriac literature; and may we not see in the two Gospels thus mentioned two recensions of St Matthew—the one disfigured by apocryphal traditions, and the other written in the dialect of Eastern Syria?

Ephrem Syrus, himself a deacon of Edessa, *Ephrem Syrus.*  
 treats the Version in such a manner as to prove that it was already old in the fourth century. He quotes it as a book of established authority, calling it 'Our Version:' he speaks of the 'Translator' as one whose words were familiar<sup>3</sup>;

<sup>1</sup> Bardesanes—Valentinianæ sectæ primum discipulus . . . vir erat litterarum gnarus, qui etiam ad Antoninum epistolam scribere ausus est, multosque sermones contra Marcionitas atque simulacrorum hæreses tum composuit (Moses Choron. ap. Wichelhaus, p. 57). Cf. Euseb. H. E. iv. 30.

<sup>2</sup> Euseb. H. E. iv. 22. ἔκ τε τοῦ καθ' Ἑβραίων εὐαγγελίου καὶ τοῦ Συριακοῦ, καὶ ἰδίως ἐκ τῆς Ἑβραϊδος διαλέκτου τινὰ τίθησι, ἐμφαίνων ἐξ Ἑβραίων ἑαυτὸν πεπιστευκέναι (quoted by Hug).

<sup>3</sup> Horæ Syriacæ, pp. 116, 117.

CHAP. III. and, though the dialects of the East are proverbially permanent, his explanations show that its language even in his time had become partially obsolete<sup>1</sup>.

The Peshito  
received by  
all the Sy-  
rian sects,

Another circumstance serves to exhibit the venerable age of this Version. It was universally received by the different sects into which the Syrian Church was divided in the fourth century, and so has continued current even to the present time. All the Syrian Christians<sup>2</sup>, whether belonging to the Nestorian, Jacobite, or Roman communion, conspire to hold the Peshito authoritative, and to use it in their public services. It must consequently have been established by familiar use before the first heresies arose, or it could not have remained without a rival. Numerous versions or revisions of the New Testament, indeed, were made afterwards, for Syrian literature is peculiarly rich in this branch

<sup>1</sup> It does not seem that the difference of the Edessene and Palestinian dialects alone can account for the obscurities which Ephrem seeks to remove. The instances quoted by Dr Wiseman are, in accordance with his plan, taken from the Old Testament; but, in the absence of all indications of the contrary, it seems fair to suppose that his remarks apply equally to the New Testament. Cf. Wichelhaus, p. 91.

In reference to the phraseology of the Peshito it is worthy of remark that *Episcopus* is preserved in only one place, Acts xx. 28. Elsewhere it is *kashisho* (presbyter). The name of *deacon* is preserved. Wichelhaus, p. 89.

<sup>2</sup> *Horæ Syriacæ*, p. 103.

of theological criticism; but no one ever sup- CHAP. III.  
planted the Peshito for ecclesiastical purposes<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Dr Wiseman enumerates twelve Versions of the Old Testament. The most important for the criticism of the New Testament are the Philoxenian, the Harclean, and the Palestinian.

The Philoxenian derives its name from a Bishop of Mabug or Hierapolis, in Syria (A.D. 485—518), in whose time it was made, by one Polycarp, for the use of the Monophysites. Of this version only fragments remain; and it is uncertain whether it included all the books of the New Testament. Adler, p. 48. Wiseman, p. 178, n. Adler supposes that an early Mediceo-Florentine MS. (A.D. 757) of the Gospels exhibits this recension, but he adds that it differs little from the Harclean. pp. 53—55.

Thomas Harclensis, poor Thomas, as he calls himself, a monk of Alexandria in 616 A.D., revised the Philoxenian translation by the help of some Greek MSS., and seems to have attempted for the Syrian Version what Origen did for the Septuagint. The Oxford MS. of this Translation contains the seven catholic Epistles, but omits the Apocalypse. Adler, pp. 49 sqq.

The Palestinian Version exists in an Evangelistarium of proper lessons for the Sundays and Festivals of the year. It is remarkable that the pericope, John vii. 53—viii. 11, which is wanting in the other Syriac versions, is contained in this in a form which agrees with the text of Cod. D. The dialect in which it is written is very similar to that of the Jerusalem Talmud: and thus Adler, who first accurately examined it, gave it the name of the Jerusalem Version. Adler, pp. 140—145; 190, 191; 198—202.

In addition to these Versions there is the Karkaphensian recension of the Peshito made by an uncertain Jacobitic author (Wiseman, p. 212), chiefly remarkable for the singular order in which the books are arranged. The New Testament Canon is the same as that of the original Peshito, but the Acts and three Catholic epistles stand first as *one* book; the fourteen Epistles of St Paul follow next; and the four

**CHAP. III.** Like the Vulgate in the Western Church, the Peshito became in the East the fixed and unalterable Rule of Scripture.

and used as the basis of other translations.

The respect in which the Peshito was held was further shown by the fact that it was taken as the basis of other Versions in the East. An Arabic and a Persian Version were made from it; but it is more important to notice that at the commencement of the fifth century (before the Council of Ephesus, 431 A. C.), an Armenian Version was made from the Syriac in the absence of Greek MSS.<sup>1</sup>

The Armenian.

General result;

These indications of the antiquity of the Peshito do not, indeed, possess any conclusive authority, but they all tend in the same direction, and there is nothing on the other side to reverse or modify them. It is not improbable that fresh discoveries may throw a clearer light on early Syriac literature; and that more copious critical resources may serve to determine the date of the Peshito on philological grounds. But, meanwhile, there is no sufficient reason to desert the opinion which has obtained the sanction of the most competent scholars, that its formation is to be fixed within the first half

Gospels in the usual order come last. (Wiseman, p. 217). This recension has been accurately examined by Dr Wiseman, ll. cc.

<sup>1</sup> Etheridge, *Horæ Aramaicæ*, pp. 44, f.

of the second century. The text, even in its present corrupt state, exhibits remarkable agreement with the most ancient Greek MSS. and the earliest quotations. The very obscurity which hangs over its origin is a proof of its venerable age, because it shows that it grew up spontaneously among Christian congregations, and was not the result of any public labour. Had it been a work of late date, of the third or fourth century, it is scarcely possible that its history should have been so uncertain as it is<sup>1</sup>.

CHAP. III.  
confirmed by  
the text.

The Version exists at present in two distinct classes of MSS.<sup>2</sup> Some are written in the ancient Syrian letters, and others of Indian origin in the Nestorian character. The latter are comparatively of recent date, but remarkable for the variations from the common text which they exhibit. Still though these two families of MSS. represent different recensions they coincide as far as the Canon is concerned. Both omit the second and third Epistles of St John, the second Epistle of St Peter, the Epistle of St Jude, and the Apocalypse, but include all the other books as commonly received without any addition. This Canon seems to have been generally main-

The present  
state of the  
Version.

The Syrian  
Canon.

<sup>1</sup> J. B. Branca (1781), from a desire to raise the Vulgate above all rivalry, endeavoured to prove that the Peshito was made as late as the fourth century. Dr Wiseman has fully refuted him, pp. 110 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> Adler, p. 3.

**CHAP. III.** tained in the Syrian Churches, and in those which depended on their authority<sup>1</sup>. It is reproduced in the Arabic Version of Erpenius, which  
**535 A.D.** was taken from the Peshito<sup>2</sup>. Cosmas<sup>3</sup>, an Egyptian traveller of the sixth century, states that only three Catholic Epistles were received by the Syrians. Junilius mentions two Catholic Epistles as undoubted—i. John, i. Peter—while the remaining five were received ‘by very many<sup>4</sup>.’  
**c. 550.** Dionysius Bar Salibi<sup>5</sup>, in the twelfth century, alludes to the absence of the second Epistle of St Peter from the ancient Syrian Version. Ebedjesu<sup>6</sup>, in the fourteenth century, repeats the Canon of the Peshito; and the mutilation of the New Testament, by the omission of the disputed books, was one of the charges brought against the Christians of St Thomas at the Synod of  
**†1318 A.D.** Diamper<sup>7</sup>.  
**1599 A.D.**

<sup>1</sup> *Ephrem Syrus*, however, admitted the seven Catholic Epistles and the Apocalypse; but in this he represents the Greek rather than the Syrian Church. There is no trace of their reception by the Syrian Churches, or of their admission into MSS. of the Peshito.

<sup>2</sup> In eâ (sc. Arabicâ Erpenii) Actus App., Epp. Pauli, Jac., i. Pet., i. Jo. e Syrà Simplici fluxisse prohibentur, Apocalypsis potius e Coptâ: Evangelia vero (item ii. Petr. ii. iii. Jo., Jud.?) Originem mixtam habere videntur. Tischf. Prolegg. Lxxvii.

<sup>3</sup> Credner, Zur Gesch. d. Kanons, s. 105, n.

<sup>4</sup> Junilius ap. Reuss, § 312. Credner, Zur Gesch. d. Kanons, a. a. O.

<sup>5</sup> Hug, § 64.

<sup>6</sup> Assemani, Bibl. Or. ap. Adler, p. 34. <sup>7</sup> Adler, p. 35.

Such then is the Canon of the Syrian Churches<sup>1</sup>. Its general agreement with our own is striking and important; and its omissions admit of easy explanation. The purely historic evidence for the second Epistle of St Peter must always appear inconclusive; for it does not seem to have been generally known before the end of the third century. The Apocalypse, again, rests chiefly on the authority of the Western Churches; and it is not surprising that the two shorter and private letters of St John should have been at first unknown in Mesopotamia. The omission of the Epistle of St Jude is, perhaps, more remarkable, when it is remembered that it was written in Palestine, and appears to be necessarily connected with that of St James. But these points will come under examination in another place. Meanwhile it is necessary to insist on the absence of all uncanonical books from this earliest Version. Many writings we know were current in the East under Apostolic titles, but no one received the sanction of the Church; and this fact alone

CHAP. III.

The relation  
of the Canon  
to our own.

<sup>1</sup> The order of the Books is the same as that in the best Greek MSS.: The four Gospels—the Acts—the Catholic Epistles—the Epistles of St Paul. In the Karkaphensian recension, as we have seen, the order is in part inverted; and Jacob of Edessa follows the same arrangement, placing the Gospels last. Wichelhaus, p. 84.



**CHAP. III.** is sufficient to show that the Canon was not fixed without painful criticism.

The Peshito is the first monument of Catholic Christianity.

There is still another aspect in which the Peshito claims our notice. Proceeding from a Church which in character and language seems to represent most truly the Palestinian element of the Apostolic age, it witnesses to something more than the authenticity of the New Testament Scriptures. It is in fact the first monument of Catholic Christianity. Here for the first time we see the different forms of teaching, which still served as the watchwords of heresy, recognized by the East as constituent parts of a common faith. The closing words of St Peter had witnessed to the same truth; and though the Syrian Churches refused to acknowledge the testimony, they confirmed its substance in this collection of their sacred books. The contest between the Jewish and Gentile Churches had passed away. The 'enemy' and 'deceiver,' as St Paul was still called by the Ebionites, is now acknowledged to have independent power and authority as an Apostle of Christ. Henceforth the great Father of the Western Church stands side by side with St James, St Peter, and St John, the pillars of the Church of Jerusalem.

2 Pet. iii. 15.

§ 2. *The Old Latin Version*<sup>1</sup>.

CHAP. III.

At first it is natural to look to Italy as the centre of the Latin literature of Christianity, and the original source of that Latin Version of the Holy Scriptures, which in a later form has become identified with the Church of Rome. Yet, however natural such a belief may be, it finds no support in history. Rome itself under the emperors was well described as a 'Greek city;' and Greek was its second language<sup>2</sup>. As far as we can learn, the mass of the poorer population—everywhere the great bulk of the early Christians—was Greek either in descent or in speech. Among the names of the fifteen bishops of Rome up to the close of the second century, four only are Latin<sup>3</sup>; but in the next century the proportion is nearly reversed. When St Paul first wrote to the Roman Church he wrote in Greek; and in the long list of saluta-

The early Christian literature of Rome was Greek, and not Latin.

<sup>1</sup> The best original investigation into the Old Latin Version is Wiseman's *Remarks on some parts of the controversy concerning 1 John v. 7*, originally printed in the *Catholic Magazine*, ii., iii., 1832, f., and republished at Rome, 1835.

Lachmann has reproduced his arguments, with some new illustrations: *Nov. Test.* v. i., pref. ix. ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Wiseman, iii. pp. 306—7. Bunsen's *Hippolytus*, ii. 123, sqq.

<sup>3</sup> Bunsen, l. c. says 'two, Clement and Victor.' But I cannot see on what ground Sixtus (Xystus, *Euseb. H. E.* iv. 4; cf. vii. 5) and Pius are not included in the number.

**CHAP. III.** tions to its members, with which the epistle is concluded, only four Latin names occur. Shortly afterwards Clement wrote to the Corinthians in Greek in the name of the Church of Rome; and at a later date we find the Bishop of Corinth writing in Greek to Soter the ninth in succession from Clement. Justin, Hermas, and Tatian published their Greek treatises at Rome. The Apologies to the Roman emperors were in Greek. Modestus, Caius, and Asterius Urbanus bear Latin names, and yet their writings were Greek. Even further west Greek was the common language of Christians. The churches of Vienne and Lyons used it in the history of their persecutions; and Irenæus, though he lived among barbarians, and confessed that he had grown unfamiliar with his native idiom, made it the vehicle of his treatise against heresies. The first sermons which were preached at Rome were in Greek; and it has been conjectured with good reason that Greek was at first the liturgical language of the Church of Rome.

Greek was also used in Gaul.

Africa is the true spring of the Latin literature of Christianity.

Meanwhile, however, though Greek continued to be the natural, if not the sole language of the Roman Church<sup>1</sup>, the seeds of Latin Chris-

<sup>1</sup> Jerome speaks of Tertullian as the first Latin writer after Victor and Apollonius. Victor was an African by birth; and he appears to have used Greek in the Paschal controversy. Polycrates at least addressed him in Greek: Euseb. H. E. v. 24. It is disputed whether Apollonius'

tianity were rapidly developing in Africa. Nothing is known in detail of the origin of the African churches. The Donatists classed them among 'those last which should be first;' and Augustine in his reply merely affirms that 'some barbarian nations embraced Christianity after Africa; so that it is certain that Africa was not the last to believe<sup>1</sup>.' The concession implies that Africa was converted late, and after the Apostolic times: Tertullian adds that it received the Gospel from Rome. But the rapidity of the spread of Christianity compensated for the lateness of its introduction. At the close of the second century Christians were found in every place and of every rank. They who were but of yesterday, Tertullian says<sup>2</sup>, already fill the palace, the senate, the forum, and the camp, and leave their temples only to the heathen. To persecute the Christians was even then to decimate Carthage<sup>3</sup>. These fresh conquests of

defence was in Greek or in Latin. If it were in Latin, as seems likely, the place of its delivery—the Senate—sufficiently explains the fact. Cf. Lumper, iv. 3.

<sup>1</sup> August. c. Donat. ep. [de Unit. Eccles.] c. 37. De nobis, inquiunt [Donatistæ], dictum est, *Erunt primi qui erant novissimi*. Ad Africam enim Evangelium postmodum venit; et ideo nusquam litterarum apostolicarum scriptum est Africam credidisse... Augustine answers:... nonnullæ barbaræ nationes etiam post Africam crediderunt; unde certum sit Africam in ordine credendi non esse novissimam.

<sup>2</sup> Apol. i. 37. c. 200 A. D.

<sup>3</sup> Ad. Scap. c. 5.

CHAP. III. the Roman Church preserved their distinct nationality in their language. Carthage—the second Rome—escaped the Græcism of the first. In Africa Greek was no longer a current dialect. A peculiar form of Latin, vigorous, elastic and copious, however far removed from the grace and elegance of a classical standard, fitly expressed the spirit of Tertullian. But though we speak of Tertullian as the first Latin Father, it must be noticed that he speaks of Latin as the language of his Church, and that his writings abound with Latin quotations of Scripture. He inherited an ecclesiastical dialect, if not an ecclesiastical literature. It is then to Africa that we must look for the first traces of the Latin ‘Peshito,’ the ‘simple’ Version of the West. And here a new difficulty arises. The Syrian Peshito has been preserved without material change in the keeping of the churches for whose use it was made. But no image of their former life, however faint, lingers at Carthage or Hippo. No church of N. Africa, however corrupt, remains to testify to its ancient Bible. The Version was revised by a foreign scholar, adopted by a foreign Church, and in the end its independent existence has been denied. Before any attempt is made to fix the date of its formation and the extent of its Canon, it will be necessary to show that we are dealing

*The Vetus Latina is the oldest specimen of it.*

with a reality, and not with a mere 'creation of a critic's fancy.' CHAP. III.

The language of Tertullian, if candidly examined, is conclusive on the point. A few quotations will prove that he distinctly recognized a current Latin Version, marked by a peculiar character, and in some cases unsatisfactory to one conversant with the original text.

Tertullian affirms the existence of a Latin Version of the New Testament in his time.

'Reason,' he says, 'is called by the Greeks *Logos*, a word equivalent to *Sermo* in Latin. And so it is already customary for our countrymen to say, through a rude and literal translation (*per simplicitatem interpretationis*), that the conversational Word (*sermo*) was in the beginning with God, while it is more correct to regard the rational Word (*ratio*) as antecedent to it, because God in the beginning was not manifested in intercourse with man (*sermonalis*), but existed in self-contemplation (*rationalis*)<sup>1</sup>.' From John 1. 1.

<sup>1</sup> Adv. Prax. c. 5: [Rationem] Græci λόγον dicunt, quo vocabulo etiam sermonem appellamus. Ideoque jam in usu est nostrorum, per simplicitatem interpretationis, *sermonem* dicere in *primordio apud Deum fuisse*, cum magis *rationem* competat antiquiorem haberi: quia non *sermonalis* a principio, sed *rationalis* Deus, etiam ante principium, et quia ipse quoque sermo, ratione consistens, priorem eam ut substantiam suam ostendat: tamen et sic nihil interest. It will be noticed that Tertullian uses the word *principium* (so Vulg.) and not *primordium*. He quotes the passage with that reading: adv. Hermog. 20; adv. Prax. 13, 21. This is another mark of the independence of the current translation

CHAP. III. this it appears that the Latin translation of St John's Gospel was already so generally circulated as to mould the popular dialect; and invested with sufficient authority to support a rendering capable of improvement. If there had been many rival translations in use, it is scarcely probable that they would have all exhibited the same 'rudeness of style;' or that a writer like Tertullian would have apologized for an inaccuracy found in some one of them.

Again, when arguing to prove that a second marriage is only allowed to a woman who had lost her first husband before her conversion to the Christian faith, inasmuch as this second husband is indeed her first, he adds in reference to the passage of St Paul, which he has quoted before: 'We must know that the phrase in the original Greek is not exactly the same as that which has gained currency [among us] through a clever or rude perversion of two syllables: *If however her husband shall fall asleep, as if it were said of the future...*<sup>1</sup>' The connexion of

The Latin authorities used by Lachmann all (e sil.) translate λόγος by *verbum*.

<sup>1</sup> De Monog. c. 11: Sciamus plane non sic esse in Græco authentico, quomodo in usum exiit per duarum syllabarum aut callidam aut simplicem eversionem: *si autem dormierit* (?dormiet) *vir ejus*, quasi de futuro sonet.... The general meaning of Tertullian is clear, but I cannot see the force of his argument as applied to *dormierit*: that

this passage with the last is evident. An ambiguous translation had passed into common use, and must therefore have been supported by some recognized claim. That this was grounded on the general reception of the version in which it was found is implied in the language of Tertullian. The 'simple rendering,' and the 'simple perversion,' naturally refer to some literal Latin translation already circulated in Africa.

It is then beyond doubt that a Latin translation of some of the books of the New Testament was current in Africa in Tertullian's time, and sufficiently authorized by popular use to form the theological dialect of the country. It appears from another passage that this translation embraced a collection of the Christian Scriptures. 'We lay down,' he says, 'in the first place that the evangelical instrument—[the collection of the authoritative documents of the Gospel]—rests on apostolic authority<sup>1</sup>.' The very name by which the collection was called witnessed to the 'simplicity' of the version.

This translation included a collection of Apostolic books.

tense is commonly used to translate *ἐὰν* with the aor. (yet cf. Tert. ii. 393 (*edamus*) with Vulg. (*manducaverimus*)). In an earlier part of the chapter he quotes: *si autem mortuus fuerit*. For *κοιμηθῆ* A &c. read *ἀποθύνῃ*. Is it possible that the reading of G is a confusion of *κοιμηθῆ* and *κεκοιμηται* (cf. 1 John v. 15, &c.), and that Tertullian read the latter? If so, the 'eversio duarum syllabarum' would be intelligible; otherwise we must, I think, read *dormiet*.

<sup>1</sup> Adv. Marc. iv. 2.



CHAP. III. 'Marcion,' Tertullian writes just before, 'supposed that different gods were the authors of the two *Instruments*, or, as it is usual to speak, of the two *Testaments*<sup>1</sup>.' The word *Testament* (*διαθήκη*) would naturally find a place in a 'simple' version; otherwise it is not easy to see how it could have supplanted the commoner term<sup>2</sup>.

The statements of Augustine relative to the Latin Version.

Thus far then the evidence of Tertullian decidedly favours the belief that one Latin Version of the Holy Scriptures was popularly used in Africa. It has, however, been argued from the language of Augustine about two centuries later, in reference to the origin and multiplicity of the Latin Versions in his time, that this view of the unity and authority of the African Version is untenable. 'Every one,' he says, 'in the first times of the faith who gained possession of a Greek MS. and fancied that he had any little

<sup>1</sup> Adv. Marc. iv. 1: . . . duos deos dividens, proinde diversos, alterum alterius *instrumenti*, vel, quod magis usui est dicere, *testamenti* . . .

<sup>2</sup> The phrase *Novum Testamentum* was used both of the Christian dispensation and of the records of it: adv. Marc. iv. 22; adv. Prax. 31.

*Instrumentum* is used in late Latin of public or official documents: e. g. *Instrumenta litis*—*Instrumentum imperii* (Suet. Vesp. 8)—*Instrumenti publici auctoritas* (Suet. Cal. 8). It is a favourite word with Tertullian: Apol. i. 18, *Instrumentum litteraturæ*; adv. Marc. v. 2, *Instrumentum actorum*; de Resurrec. Carnis, 39, *Apostolus per totum pens instrumentum*; de Spectac. 5, *Instrumenta ethnicarum litterarum*.

acquaintance with both Greek and Latin, ventured to translate it<sup>1</sup>. But while we admit that this may be a true account of the manner in which the first version was undertaken, yet the analogy of later times is sufficient to prove that the freedom of individual translation must have been soon limited by ecclesiastical use. The translations of separate books would be combined into a volume. Some recension of the popular text would be adopted in the public services of each Church, and this would naturally become the standard text of the district over which its influence extended<sup>2</sup>. Even if it be proved that new Latin Versions<sup>3</sup>, which agree

CHAP. III.

His true meaning.

<sup>1</sup> De Doctr. Christ. ii. 16 (11): Ut enim cuique primis fidei temporibus in manus venit codex græcus, et aliquantum facultatis sibi utriusque linguæ habere videbatur, ausus est interpretari. This can only refer, I believe, to translation, and not to the interpolation of a translation already made. Lachmann's explanation of the passage (pref. xiv.) is quite arbitrary, if I understand him. The Old Version arose out of private efforts, and was afterwards corrupted by private interpolations; but the two facts are to be kept distinct.

<sup>2</sup> There is a clear trace of such an ecclesiastical recension in Aug. de Con. Evv. ii. 128 (66): Non autem ita se habet vel quod Joannes interponit, vel *codices Ecclesiastici interpretationis usitatae*. He is speaking of the quotation (Zech. ix. 9) in Matt. xxi. 7, compared with John xii. 14, 15.

<sup>3</sup> The history of the English Versions may offer a parallel. The Version of Tyndale is related to those that followed it in the same way, perhaps, as the *Vetus Latina* to such recensions (or 'new versions,' as they may be called) as the *Itala*.

CHAP. III. more or less exactly with the African Version, were made in Italy, Spain and Gaul, as the congregations of Latin Christians increased in number and importance; that fact proves nothing against the existence of an African original. For if we call these various versions 'new,' we must limit the force of the word to a fresh revision and not to an independent translation of the whole. There is not the slightest trace of the existence of *independent* Latin Versions; and the statements of Augustine are fully satisfied by supposing a series of ecclesiastical recensions of one fundamental text, which were in turn reproduced with variations and corrections in private MSS. In this way there might well be said to be an 'infinite variety of Latin interpreters<sup>1</sup>,' while a particular recension like the 'Itala' could be selected for general commendation<sup>2</sup>.

His evidence confirmed by existing documents.

The outline which we have roughly drawn is fully justified by the documents which exhibit

<sup>1</sup> Aug. de Doctr. Christ. ii. 16 (11). This was no less true of the Old than of the New Testament. Cf. Aug. Epp. LXXI. 6 (4); LXXXII. 35 (5).

<sup>2</sup> Aug. de Doctr. Christ. ii. 22 (15): In ipsis autem interpretationibus, Itala cæteris præferatur; nam est verborum tenacior cum perspicuitate sententiæ. The last clause probably points to the character by which the *Itala* was distinguished from the *Africana*. If, as I believe, Tertullian's quotations exhibit the earliest form of the latter, 'clearness of expression' was certainly not one of its merits. The connexion of Augustine with Ambrose naturally explains his preference for the *Itala*.

the various forms of the Latin Version before the time of Jerome. They are all united by a certain generic character, and again subdivided by specific differences, capable, I believe, of clear and accurate distinction as soon as the quotations of the early Latin Fathers shall have been carefully collated with existing MSS. The writings of Tertullian offer the true starting point in the history of the old Latin text<sup>1</sup>. His manner of citation is often loose, and he frequently exhibits various renderings of the same text, but even in such cases it is not difficult to determine the reading which he found in the

<sup>1</sup> It will be evident, I think, that Tertullian has preserved the original text of the African version from a comparison of his readings in the following passages, taken from two books only, with those of the other authorities:

Acts iii. 19—21; de Resurr. Carn. 23 (iv. p. 255).

— xiii. 46; de Fuga, 6 (iii. p. 183).

— xv. 28; de Pudic. 12 (iv. p. 394).

Rom. v. 3, 4; c. Gnost. 13 (ii. p. 383).

— vi. 1—13; de Pudic. 17 (iv. p. 414).

— vi. 20—23; de Resurr. Carn. 47 (iii. p. 303).

— vii. 2—6; de Monog. 13 (iii. p. 163).

— viii. 35—39; c. Gnost. 13 (ii. p. 383).

— xi. 33; adv. Hermog. 45 (ii. p. 141).

— xii. 1; de Resurr. Carn. 47 (iii. p. 306).

— xii. 10; adv. Marc. v. 14 (i. p. 439).

The list of remarkable readings in the other books is equally striking. The Version which Tertullian used was marked by the use of Greek words, as *machæra* (adv. Marc. iv. 29; c. Gnost. 13); *sophia* (adv. Hermog. 45); *choicus* (de Resurr. Carn. 49). Some peculiar words are of frequent occurrence, e. g. *tingo* (βαπτίζω)—*delinquentia* (ἀμαρτία).

CHAP. III. current Version from that which he was himself inclined to substitute for it<sup>1</sup>.

The history of the *Vetus Latina* cannot be traced beyond the time of Tertullian.

We have no means of tracing the history of the Version before the time of Tertullian; but its existence then is attested by other contemporary evidence. The Latin translation of Irenæus was known to Tertullian<sup>2</sup>; and the scriptural quotations which occur in it were evidently taken from some foreign source, and not made by the translator<sup>3</sup>. That this source was no other than a recension of the *Vetus Latina* ap-

<sup>1</sup> As a specimen of the text which Tertullian's quotations exhibit I have given his various readings in two chapters. The references are to the marginal pages of Semler's edition.

Matt. i. 1. *genituræ* (iii. 392) *generationis*.

— — 16. *generavit* (*genuit*) Joseph, virum Mariæ, *ex* (de) *qua nascitur* (*natus est*) Christus (iii. 387).

Matt. i. 20. *nam quod* (*quod enim*) . . . (l. c.)

— — 23. *ecce virgo concipiet* (so a. b. c.) *in utero et pariet filium* (iii. 381) *cujus et vocabitur* (Iren. i. *vocabunt*) *nomen Emmanuel* . . . (iii. 257).

Rom. i. 8. *gratias agit Deo per dominum nostrum* (=) *Jesum Christum*. (ii. 261).

Rom. i. 16, 17. *non enim me pudet Evangelii* (*erubesco Evangelium*) . . . . *Judæo* (= primum c. BG, &c.) *et Græco; quia justitia* (*justitia enim*) . . . (i. 431).

Rom. i. 18. = *omnem, eorum*. (l. c.)

— — 20. *invisibilia enim ejus* (*ipsius*) *a conditione* (*creatura*) *mundi de factitamentis* (*per ea quæ facta sunt*) *intellecta visuntur* (*conspiciuntur*) (iv. 250). Cf. ii. 141. *Invisibilia ejus ab institutione mundi factis ejus* (so Hil.) *conspiciuntur*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Grabe, *Proleg. ad Iren.* ii. § 3 (ii. p. 36, ed. Stieren).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Lachmann, *N. T.* i., pref. x. f.

pears from the coincidence of readings which it exhibits with the most trustworthy MSS. of the Version<sup>1</sup>. In other words the *Vetus Latina* is recognized in the first Latin literature of the Church. It can be traced back as far as the earliest records of Latin Christianity. Every circumstance connected with it indicates the most remote antiquity. But in the absence of further evidence we cannot attempt to fix more than the inferior limit of its date; and even that

<sup>1</sup> The relation of the text of Tertullian's quotations to that of the Latin Translation of Irenæus is very interesting, as may be seen from the following examples. The variations from the Vulgate (V) (Lachmann) are given in Italics:

Matt. i. 1. generationis Iren. 471, 505 (ed. Stieren): *genituræ* Tert.

— — 20. quod enim *habet in utero* (*ventre*) Iren. 505, 638: quod in ea natum est. Tert.

Matt. iii. 7, 8. Cf. Luke iii. 7: Progenies—fructum, Iren. 457: *genimina*—fructum (*fructus*, iv. 393). Tert. ii. 95.

Matt. iii. 11. *Palam habens* in manu ejus *ad emundandam* aream suam, Iren. 569: *Palam* (all. *ventilabrum*) in manu *portat ad purgandam* aream suam. Tert. ii. 4. Cf. iii. 172.

Matt. iv. 3. Si *tu es* filius Dei. Iren. 576. Tert. ii. 189. (As Vulg.) Iren. 774; Tert. ii. 199.

Matt. iv. 4. non in pane *tantum* (*c. tr.*) *vivit*. Iren. 774; non in solo pane (*so a; tr. V.*) *vivit* Tert. ii. 313.

Matt. iv. 6. Iren. p. 775 = V; Si *tu es* filius Dei, *de jice te hinc*: Scriptum est enim, quod mandavit angelis suis (*tr.*) *super te, ut te manibus suis tollant, necubi ad lapidem pedem tuum offendas* (*tr.*) Tert. ii. 189.

Tertullian and the Translator of Irenæus represent respectively, I believe, African and Gallic recensions of the *Vetus Latina*.

CHAP. III. cannot be done with certainty, owing to the doubtful chronology of Tertullian's life. Briefly, however, the case may be stated thus. If the Version was, as has been seen, generally in use in Africa in his time, and had been in circulation sufficiently long to stereotype the meaning of particular phrases, we cannot allow less than twenty years for its publication and spread: and if we take into account its extension into Gaul and its reception there, the period will seem too short. Now the beginning of Tertullian's literary activity cannot be placed later than c. 190 A.C., and we shall thus find the date 170 A.C. as that before which the Version must have been made. How much more ancient it really is cannot yet be discovered. Not only is the character of the Version itself a proof of its extreme age; but the mutual relations of different parts of it show that it was made originally by different hands; and if so, it is natural to conjecture that it was coeval with the introduction of Christianity into Africa, and the result of the spontaneous efforts of African Christians.

The inferior limit of its date.

The Canon of the *Vetus Latina* coincided with that of the *Muratorian Fragment*.

The Canon of the Old Latin Version coincided, I believe, exactly with that of the Muratorian fragment. It contained the four Gospels, the Acts, thirteen Epistles of St Paul, the three Catholic Epistles of St John, the first Epistle of St Peter, the Epistle of St Jude and the Apo-

calypse. To these the Epistle to the Hebrews CHAP. III. was added subsequently, but before the time of Tertullian, and without the author's name. There is no external evidence to show that the Epistle of St James or the second Epistle of St Peter was included in the *Vetus Latina*. The earliest Latin testimonies to both of them, as far as I am aware are those of Hilary, Jerome, and Rufinus (in his Latin Version of Origen<sup>1</sup>).

The MSS. in which the Old Latin Version is found are few, but some of them are of great antiquity. In the Gospels Lachmann made use of four, of which one belongs to the fourth, and another to the fourth or fifth century<sup>2</sup>. To these Tischendorf has since added the Palatine MS. of the same date, but inclining to the Italian rather than to the African text; and besides these he enumerates nine others, more or less perfect, ranging from the fifth to the eleventh century, of which two give African readings. The version of the Acts is contained in two MSS. of the sixth century, which, however, clearly represent an original of much earlier

On the MSS.  
of the Ver-  
sion of

The Gospels,

The Acts,

<sup>1</sup> It is impossible to lay any stress on the passage in Firmilian, *ap. Cypr. Epp.* LXXV. Even if Ironæus himself was acquainted with the Epistle of St James (*adv. Hær.* v. i. 1), no argument can be built on the reference to prove the existence of the Epistle in a Latin Version.

<sup>2</sup> The MSS. are described by Tischendorf, *N. T. Proleg.* pp. lxxxiv, sqq. Lachmann, *N. T.* i, *Proleg.* xii, sq.



## CHAP. III.

The Epistles  
of St Paul,The Catholic  
Epistles.

date. The Pauline Epistles are represented by two MSS. of the sixth and ninth centuries. But there is no MS. which gives the original form of the text of the Catholic Epistles. The *Codex Bezae* has alone preserved a fragment of the third Epistle of St John which is found immediately before the Acts; and as it is expressly stated that the Acts follows, it appears that the Epistle of St Jude was either omitted or transposed. Two other early MSS. which contain respectively the Epistle of St James, and fragments of the Epistles of St James and of St Peter (i), give the text of the Italian recension and not of the *Vetus Latina*. There is no ante-Hieronymian MS. of the second Epistle of St Peter, of the Epistle of St Jude, or of the Apocalypse.

The evidence  
of Tertullian  
as to the  
Canonicity of  
the Epistle of  
St Jude.

The evidence of Tertullian as to the Old Latin Canon may be taken to complete that derived directly from MSS. His language leaves little doubt as to the position which the Epistle of St Jude, and that to the Hebrews occupied in the African Church. The former he assigns directly to the Apostle Jude; and if so, its canonicity in the strictest sense was assured<sup>1</sup>. And since the reference is made without any limitation or expression of doubt—since it is, indeed, made to prove the authority of the Book

<sup>1</sup> Tertull. *de Cult. Faem.* c. III.

of Enoch, as if the quotation by St Jude were CHAP. III.  
 decisive, it may be assumed that Tertullian  
 found the book in the 'New Testament' of his  
 Church.

On the other hand his single direct reference The Epistle  
to the He-  
brews.  
 to the Epistle to the Hebrews leads to the  
 opposite conclusion. After appealing to the  
 testimony of the Apostles in support of his  
 Montanist views of Christian discipline, and  
 bringing forward passages from most of the  
 Epistles of St Paul, and from the Apocalypse  
 and first Epistle of St John, he says<sup>1</sup>, The disci-  
 pline of the Apostles is thus clear and decisive.  
 '... I wish, however, though it be superfluous, to  
 bring forward also the testimony of a companion  
 of the Apostles, well fitted to confirm the  
 discipline of his teachers on the point before us.  
 For there is extant an Epistle to the Hebrews  
 which bears the name of Barnabas. The writer  
 has consequently adequate authority, as being  
 one whom St Paul placed beside himself in the 1 Cor. ix. 6.  
 point of continence; and certainly the Epistle  
 of Barnabas is more commonly received among  
 the Churches than the apocryphal Shepherd of  
 adulterers.' He then quotes, with very remark-  
 able various readings<sup>2</sup>, Hebr. vi. 4—8, and

<sup>1</sup> Tertull. *de Pudic.* c. xx.

<sup>2</sup> Tertull. l. c. : *Impossibile est enim eos qui semel illu-  
 minati sunt (V. tr.) et donum celesto gustaverunt (V. tr.*

## CHAP. III.

concludes by saying : ' One who had learnt from the Apostles, and had taught with the Apostles, knew this, that a second repentance was never promised by the Apostles to an adulterer or fornicator.' If the Epistle had formed part of the African Canon, it is impossible that Tertullian should have spoken thus : for the passage bore more directly on his argument than any other, and yet he introduces it only as a secondary testimony. The book was certainly received with respect ; but still it could be compared with the Shepherd, which at least made no claim to Apostolicity. And it is by this mark that Tertullian distinguishes between the Epistle of St Jude and the Epistle [of Barnabas] to the

*gustav. etiam d. c.), et participaverunt spiritum sanctum (V. participes sunt facti sp. s.), et verbum dei dulce gustaverunt (V. tr. gustav. nihilominus bonum d. v.), occidente jam ævo cum exciderint (V. virtutesque sæculi venturi et prolapsi sunt) rursus revocari in poenitentiam (V. renovari r. ad poen.), refigentes cruci (V. rursus cruci figentes) in semetipsos (V. sibimet ipsis) filium dei et dedecorantes (V. ostentui habentes). Terra enim quæ bibit sæpius devenientem in se humorem (V. sæpe ven. super se bibens imbrem) et peperit herbam aptam his propter quos et colitur, (V. generans h. opportunam illis a quibus c.), benedictionem dei consequitur (V. accipit b. a Deo); proferens autem spinas (V. + et tribulos) reproba (V. + est) et maledictioni (V. maledicto) proxima, cujus finis in exustionem (V. c. consummatio in combustionem).*

The number and character of the various readings perhaps justify the belief that the translation given was made by Tertullian himself. It is certainly independent of that preserved in the Vulgate and in the Claromontane MS.

Hebrews. The one was the mark of the Apostle: CHAP. III. the other was not, nor yet stamped by direct Apostolic sanction.

Tertullian quotes the Apocalypse very frequently, and ascribes it positively to St John, though he notices the objections of Marcion. The text of his quotations exhibits a general agreement with that of the Vulgate; and it is evident that the version of which he made use was not essentially different from that current in later times<sup>1</sup>. There is then every reason to believe that when he wrote the book was generally circulated in Africa; and as the translation then received retained its hold on the Church, it is probable that it was supported by ecclesiastical use. In other words, everything tends to show that the Apocalypse was admitted in Africa from the earliest time as Canonical Scripture.

<sup>1</sup> The following are some of the most important various readings:—

Apoc. i. 6: *Regnum quoque nos et sacerdotes . . . de ex. cast. c. 7.*

— ii. 20—23: *Jezebel quæ se prophætæ dicit et docet atque seducit servos meos ad fornicandum et edendum de idolothytis. Et largitus sum illi spatium temporis ut pœnitentiam iniret, nec vult eam inire nomine fornicationis. Ecce dabo eam in lectum, et mæchos ejus cum ipsa in maximam pressuram, nisi pœnitentiam egerint operum ejus.*

— vii. 14: *Hi sunt qui veniunt ex illa pressura magna, et laverunt vestimentum suam et candidaverunt ipsum in sanguine agni. c. Gnost. c. xii.*

## CHAP. III.

The language  
of the Vul-  
gate gene-  
rally.

Internal evidence is not wanting to confirm the results drawn from other sources. The peculiarities of language in different parts of the Vulgate offer a most interesting field for inquiry. Jerome's revision may have done much to assimilate the style of the whole, yet sufficient traces of the original text remain to distinguish the hand of various translators. But however tempting it might be to prosecute the inquiry at length, it would be superfluous at present to do more than point out how far it bears on those books which we suppose not to have formed part of the original African Canon<sup>1</sup>.

The language  
of 2 Peter.

The second Epistle of St Peter offers the best opportunity for testing the worth of the investigation. If we suppose that it was at once received into the Canon, like the first Epistle, it would in all probability have been translated by the same person, as seems to have been the case with the Gospel of St Luke and the Acts, though their connexion is less obvious; and while every allowance is made for the difference in style in the original Epistles, we must look for the same rendering of the same phrases. But when, on the contrary, it appears that the

<sup>1</sup> Dutripon's (F. P.) *Concordantiæ Bibliorum Sacrorum Vulgatæ Editionis*, Parisiis, MDCCCLIII, appear to be complete and satisfactory as far as the Sixtine text is concerned, but it is impossible not to regret the absence of all reference to important various readings.

Latin text of the Epistle not only exhibits constant and remarkable differences from the text of other parts of the Vulgate, but also differs from the first Epistle in the renderings of words common to both: when it further appears that it differs no less clearly from the Epistle of St Jude in those parts which are almost identical in the Greek: then the supposition that it was received into the Canon at the same time with them at once becomes unnatural<sup>1</sup>. It is, indeed,

<sup>1</sup> The following examples will confirm the statements in the text:—

(a) Differences from the general renderings of the Vulgate:

κοινωνός, †*consors* (i. 4); ἐγκράτεια, †*abstinentia* (i. 6); πλεονάζειν, *superare* (i. 8); ἀργός, *vacuus* (*id.*); σπουδάζειν, *satagere* (i. 10; iii. 14; iii. 15, *dare operam*); παρουσία, *præsentia* (of Christ) (i. 16); ἐπίγνωσις, *cognitio* (i. 2, 3, 8; ii. 20; cf. Rom. iii. 20?); ἀρχαῖος, ††*originalis* (ii. 5).

(β) Differences from the renderings in 1 Peter:

πληθύνεσθαι, *adimpleri* (i. 2); *multiplicari* (1 Pet. i. 2).  
ἐπιθυμία, *concupiscentia* (i. 4; ii. 10; iii. 3); *desiderium* (1 Pet. i. 14; ii. 11; iv. 2, 3); so also 2 Pet. ii. 18.  
τηρεῖν, *reservare* (ii. 4, 9, 17; iii. 7); *conservare* (1 Pet. iv. 3).

(γ) Differences from the translation of St Jude:

ἄλογος, ††*irrationabilis* (ii. 12); *mutus* (ver. 10).  
φθείρεσθαι, *perire* (*id.*); *corrumpi* (*id.*)  
συνευωχεῖσθαι, *luxuriare vobiscum* (13); *convivari* (ver. 12).  
δόξαι, *sectæ* (10); *majestates* (9).  
ὁ ζόφος τοῦ σκότους, *caligo tenebrarum* (17); *procella tenebrarum* (13).

Words marked † occur nowhere else in the New Testament Vulgate: those marked †† occur nowhere else in the whole Vulgate.

CHAP. III. possible that the two Epistles may have been received at the same time, and yet have found different translators. The Epistle of St Jude and the second Epistle of St Peter may have been translated independently, and yet both have been admitted at once into the Canon. But when the silence of Tertullian is viewed in connexion with the character of the version of the latter Epistle, the natural conclusion is, that in his time it was as yet untranslated. The two lines of evidence mutually support each other.

St James.

The translation of St James's Epistle has several peculiar renderings; but in this case it can only be said with confidence that it was the work of a special translator. One or two words, indeed, appear to me to indicate that it was made later than the translations of the acknowledged books, but they cannot be urged as conclusive<sup>1</sup>.

The Epistle to the Hebrews.

The Latin text of the Epistle to the Hebrews exhibits the most remarkable phenomena. As it

<sup>1</sup> The following peculiarities may be noticed in the version of St James :

ἀπλῶς, ††*affluenter* (i. 5); ἀπλότης, *simplicitas* (2 Cor. viii. 2; xx. 11, &c.)

οἶσθαι, *æstimare* (i. 7); *existimare* (Phil. i. 17).

ἀγαπητοί, *dilecti, dilectissimi* (i. 16, 19; ii. 5; so Hebr. vi. 9; 1 Cor. xv. 58); elsewhere *carissimi* (twenty times).

ἀτιμάζειν, †*exhonorare* (ii. 6); elsewhere *inhonorare, contumelia afficere*.

σώζειν, *salvare* (i. 21; v. 15, 20); generally *salvum facere, salvus esse* and *fieri*.

stands in the Vulgate it is marked by numerous singularities of language, and inaccuracies of translation; but the readings of the Claromontane MS. are most interesting and important. Sometimes the translator, in his anxiety to preserve the letter of the original, employs words of no authority: sometimes he adapts the Latin to the Greek form: sometimes he paraphrases a participial sentence to avoid the ambiguity of a literal rendering: and again, sometimes he entirely perverts the meaning of the author by neglecting the secondary meanings of Greek words<sup>1</sup>. The translation was evidently made at a very early period; but it was not made by any of those whose work can be traced in other parts of the New Testament, and apparently it was not submitted to that revision which necessarily attended the habitual use of Scripture in the services of the Church. The Claromontane text of the Epistle to the Hebrews represents, I believe,

*πληροῦν*, *supplere* (ii. 23); elsewhere *implere*, *adimplere*.

*ἀγνός*, *rudicus* (iii. 17); elsewhere *sanctus*, *custus*.

*ἀποτίθεισθαι*, *abjicere* (i. 21); elsewhere (five times) *deponere*.

*μακαρίζω*, †*beatifico* (v. 11); *πολεμεῖν*, †*belligero* (iv. 2); *οἰκτιρῶν*, †*miserator* (v. 11).

<sup>1</sup> The Latin text of the MS. is almost incredibly corrupt, from the ignorance of the transcriber, who accommodated the terminations of the words, and often the words themselves, to his elementary conceptions of grammar. Still a reference to the readings in the following passages will justify the statement I have made: i. 6, 10, 14; ii. 1—3, 15, 18; iii. 1; iv. 1, 3, 13; v. 11; vi. 8, 16; vii. 18; x. 33



**CHAP. III** more completely than any other MS. the simplest form of the *Vetus Latina*; but from the very fact that the text of this Epistle exhibits more marked peculiarities than are found in any other of the Pauline Epistles, it follows that it occupies a peculiar position. In other words, internal evidence, as far as it reaches, confirms the belief that the Epistle to the Hebrews, though known in Africa as early perhaps as any other book of the New Testament, was not admitted at first into the African Canon. 'The custom of the Latins,' as Jerome said even in his time, 'received it not.'

The importance of the evidence of the Early Versions.

Only a few words are needed to sum up the testimony of these most ancient Versions to our Canon of the New Testament. Their voice is one to which we cannot refuse to listen. They give the testimony of Churches, and not of individuals. They are sanctioned by public use, and not only supported by private criticism. Combined with the original Greek they represent the New Testament Scriptures as they were read throughout the whole of Christendom towards the close of the second century. Even to the present day they have maintained their place in the services of a vast majority of Christians, though the languages in which they were written only live now so far as they have supplied the materials for the construction of later dia-

lects. They furnish a proof of the authority of the books which they contain, wide-spread, continuous, reaching to the utmost verge of our historic records. Their real weight is even greater than this; for when history first speaks of them, it is of what was recognized as a heritage from an earlier period, which cannot have been long after the days of the Apostles.

Both Canons, however, are imperfect; but their very imperfection is not without its lesson. The Western Church has, indeed, as we believe, under the guidance of Providence completed the sum of her treasures; but the East has clung hitherto to its earliest decision. Individual writers have accepted the full Canon of the West; but Ephrem Syrus failed to influence the judgment of his Church. And can this element of fixity be without its influence on our estimate of the basis of the Syrian Canon? Can that which was guarded so jealously have been made without care? Can that which was received without hesitation by Churches which differed on grave doctrines have been formed originally without the sanction of some power from which it was felt that there was no appeal? The Canon fails in completeness, but that is its single error. Succeeding ages registered their belief in the exclusive originative power of the first age, when they refused to change what

The results of the imperfection of the Syrian Canon.

**CHAP. III.** that had determined. So far they witnessed to a great truth; but in practice that truth can only be realized by a perfect induction. And their error arose not from the principle of conservatism on which it rested, but from the imperfect data by which the sum of Apostolic teaching was determined.

The combined testimony of the two Versions.

To obtain a complete idea of the judgment of the Church we must combine the two Canons; and then it will be found that of the books which we receive one only—the second Epistle of St Peter—wants the earliest public sanction of ecclesiastical use as an Apostolic work. In other words, by enlarging our view so as to comprehend the whole of Christendom, and to unite the different lines of Apostolic tradition, we obtain, with one exception, a perfect New Testament, without the admixture of any foreign element. The testimony of Churches confirms and illustrates the testimony of Christians. There is but one difference. Individual writers vary in the degree of respect which they show to Apocryphal writings, and the same is true also in a less degree of single Churches; but the voice of the Catholic Church definitely and unhesitatingly excluded them from the Canon. And in this decision, in the narrow limits which they fixed to the Canon, it appears that they were guided by local and direct knowledge. The

Epistle to the Hebrews and the Epistle of St James were at once received in the Churches to which they were specially addressed; and external circumstances help us to explain more exactly the facts of their history. The Epistle of St James was not only distinctly addressed to Jews, but, as it seems, was also written in Palestine. It cannot therefore be surprising that the Latin Churches were for some time ignorant of its existence. The Epistle to the Hebrews, on the contrary, was written from Italy, though it was destined especially for Hebrew converts. And thus the letter was known in the Latin Churches, though they hesitated to admit it into the Canon, believing that it was not written by the hand of St Paul. The Apocalypse, again, was acknowledged from the earliest time in the scene of St John's labours. And the very indefiniteness of the address of the Epistle of St Jude and of the second Epistle of St Peter may have tended to retard and limit their spread.

CHAP. III.

An explanation of their incompleteness.

These considerations, however, belong to another place; but it is in this way, by combination with collateral evidence, internal and external, that the earliest Versions are proved to occupy an important position in the history of the Canon. A fuller investigation would, I believe, establish many interesting results, especially if pursued with a constant reference to the

CHAP. III. present state of the Greek text; but for our immediate purpose the general outline which has been given is sufficiently accurate and comprehensive. It is enough to show that the Versions exhibit a Canon practically—that they sanction no apocryphal book—that they speak with the voice of early Christendom—that they go back to a period so remote as to precede all historic records of the Churches in which they were used.

## CHAPTER IV.

### THE EARLY HERETICS.

**NON periclitor dicere, ipsas quoque Scripturas sic esse ex Dei voluntate dispositas ut hæreticis materias subministrarent.—TERTULLIANUS.**

**THE New Testament recognizes the existence of parties and heresies in the Christian society from its first origin ; and conversely, the earliest false teachers witness more or less clearly to the existence and reception of our Canonical Books. The authority of the collection of the Christian Scriptures rests necessarily on other proof, but still the acknowledgment of their authenticity in detail by conflicting sects confirms with independent weight the results which we have already obtained. It cannot be supposed that those who cast aside the teaching of the Church on other points, would have been willing to uphold its judgment on Holy Scripture unless it had been supported by competent evidence. Custom and reverence might mould the belief of those within the Catholic communion, but separatists left themselves no positive ground but history.**

**Still further : even negatively the history of the Ante-Nicene heresies establishes our general conclusions. The first three centuries were**

**CHAP. IV.**

**The importance of the testimony of heretics to the Canon.**

**No attacks were made on the Canon of the New Testament on historical grounds by early heretics.**

**CHAP. IV.** marked by long and resolute struggles within and without the Church. Almost every point in the Christian Creed was canvassed and denied in turn. The power of Judaism, strong in widespread influence and sensuous attractions, first sought to confine Christianity within its own sphere, and then to embody itself in the new faith. The spirit of Gnosticism, keen, restless, and self-confident, seems to have exhausted every combination of Christianity and philosophy. Mani announced himself as divinely commissioned to reform and reinstate the whole fabric of 'the faith once ( $\acute{\alpha}\pi\alpha\zeta$ ) delivered to the saints.' And still it cannot be shown that the Canon of 'acknowledged' books was ever assailed on historic grounds up to the period of its final recognition. Different books, or classes of books, were rejected from time to time, but no attempt was made to justify the measure by outward testimony. A partial view of Christianity was substituted for its complete form, and the Scriptures were judged by an arbitrary standard of doctrine. The new systems were not based on any historical reconstruction of the Canon, but the contents of the Canon were limited by subjective systems of Christianity.

The Fathers  
insist on this  
fact.

This important fact did not escape the notice of the champions of Catholic truth. Irenæus, Tertullian, Origen, and later writers, insist

much and earnestly on the fact that heretics CHAP. IV. sought to maintain their own doctrines from the canonical books, fulfilling the very prophecy 1 Cor. xi. 19. which they contained, that heresies must needs be. 'So great is the surety of the Gospels, that the very heretics bear witness to them; so that each one of them, taking the Gospels as his starting-point, endeavours thereby to maintain his own teaching<sup>1</sup>.' 'They profess to appeal to the Scriptures: they urge arguments from the Scriptures:—as if they could draw arguments about matters of faith from any other source than the records of faith,' Tertullian adds indignantly<sup>2</sup>.

It has, however, been already noticed that they did not all accept the whole Canon. How far they really used our Scriptures as authoritative will appear in the course of our inquiry; at present we only call attention to the general truth, that they recognized an authoritative written word, which either wholly or in part coincided with our own. And the very fact that they did make choice of certain books whereon to rest their teaching, shows that the use of Scripture was not a mere concession to

The testimony of heretics, however, partial, and

<sup>1</sup> Iren. Adv. Hær. iii. 12, 7.

<sup>2</sup> De Præscr. Hær. c. 14. Sed ipsi de scripturis agunt, et de scripturis suadent! Aliunde scilicet suadere [non] possent de rebus fidei, nisi ex litteris fidei. Cf. Lardner's *History of Heretics*, Bk. i. § 10.



CHAP. IV. their opponents, but the expression of their own belief.

progressive.

The character of the testimony of heretical writers to the books of the New Testament is strictly analogous to that of the Fathers in its progressive development. In the first age, an oral Gospel, so to speak, was everywhere current; and all who assumed the name of Christ sought to establish their doctrine by His traditional teaching. Controversies were conducted by arguments from the Old Testament Scriptures, or by appeals to general principles and known facts. It has been seen how little can be found in the scanty writings of the first age to prove the peculiar authority of the Gospels and the Epistles; and those who seceded from the company of the Apostles necessarily refused to be ruled by their opinions.

§ 1. *The Heretical Teachers of the Apostolic Age.*  
*Simon Magus, Menander, Cerinthus.*

The fundamental antagonism of heresy from the first.

The first group of heretical teachers exhibits in striking contrast the two conflicting principles of religious error. Mysticism on the one hand, and Legalism on the other, appear in clear antagonism. By both, the Work and Person of Christ are disparaged and set aside. In Simon Magus and Menander we may see the

embodiment of the antichristian element of the Gentile world<sup>1</sup>: in Cerinthus, the embodiment of the antichristian element of Judaism. Catholic truth seems to be the only explanation of their simultaneous appearance.

It has been shown that among the Apostolic Fathers, one, Clement of Rome, was invested by tradition with representative attributes, analogous in a certain degree to his real character, by which he was raised to heroic proportions. In like manner, among the false teachers of the age, Simon Magus, a Samaritan of Gittæ, is invested by the common consent of all early writers with mysterious importance as the great hæresiarch, the open enemy of the Apostles, inspired, as it were, by the spirit of evil to countermine the work of the Saviour, and to found a school of error in opposition to the Church of God. The story of his life has undoubtedly received many apocryphal embellishments; but, as in the case of Clement, it cannot but be that his acts and teaching offered some salient points to which they could fitly be attached. Till the recent discovery of the work 'against Heresies<sup>2</sup>,' the history and doctrine of

*Simon Magus*  
invested with  
a representa-  
tive charac-  
ter.

<sup>1</sup> It would be interesting to inquire how far the magical arts universally attributed to Simon and his followers admit of a physical explanation. In his school, if anywhere, we should look for an advanced knowledge of Nature.

<sup>2</sup> [Origenis] *Philosophumena, sive omnium hæresium*

CHAP. IV. Simon Magus were commonly disregarded as inextricably involved in fable; but there at length some surer ground is gained. While giving a general outline of his principles, Hippolytus has preserved several quotations from 'the Great Announcement<sup>1</sup>,' which was published under his name, and contained an account of the revelation with which he professed to be entrusted. The work itself cannot have been written by him, but it was probably compiled from his oral teaching by one of his immediate followers<sup>2</sup>: at any rate the language of Hippolytus shows that in his time it was acknowledged as an authentic summary of the Simonian doctrine<sup>3</sup>. In the fragments which remain there are coincidences with words recorded in the

The witness to the books of the New Testament in 'the great Announcement.'

refutatio, e Cod. Par. ed. E. Miller. Oxon. MDCCLXI. The work cannot be Origen's; and scholars generally agree to assign it to Hippolytus, Bishop of Portus, near Rome. I shall therefore quote it under his name; for though I think that the question of its authorship is not yet raised above all doubt, internal evidence proves that it must have been written by a contemporary of Hippolytus at Rome, if not by Hippolytus himself. Döllinger has presented the arguments in support of Hippolytus' claims in the most satisfactory form.

<sup>1</sup> Ἀπόφασις—Ἀπόφασις μεγάλη. Hipp. adv. Hær. vi. 9, sqq. 'Announcement' hardly conveys the force of the original word, which implies an official or authoritative declaration.

<sup>2</sup> Bunsen suggests Menander (i. 54), apparently without any authority.

<sup>3</sup> He quotes it constantly with the words λέγει δὲ ὁ Σίμων, φησί.

Gospel of St Matthew<sup>1</sup>, and probably with a CHAP. IV.  
 passage in the Gospel of St John<sup>2</sup>. Reference  
 is also made to the first Epistle to the Corin-  
 thians, in terms which prove that it was placed  
 by the author on the same footing as the books  
 of the Old Testament<sup>3</sup>.

Not only did the Simonians make use of the  
 Canonical books, but they ascribed the forgeries  
 current among them to 'Christ and his disci-  
 ples, in order to deceive those who loved Christ  
 and his servants<sup>4</sup>.' They recognized not only  
 some of the elements of the New Testament,

The Simon-  
 ians recog-  
 nized the au-  
 thority of the  
 Apostles.

<sup>1</sup> Hipp. adv. Hær. vi. 16 = Matt. iii. 10. The various  
 readings are singular: *ἐγγύς γάρ σου, φησίν, ἡ ἀξίνη παρὰ  
 τὰς ρίζας τοῦ δένδρου κ.τ.λ.*

Simon's description of Helen (Hipp. vi. 19), as 'the  
 strayed sheep,' (*τὸ πρόβατον τὸ πεπλανημένον*) is an evident  
 allusion to the parable (Luke xv.) The substitution of  
*πεπλανημένον* for *ἀπολωλός* is to be noticed. Cf. Matt. xviii.  
 12, 13, (*τὸ πλανώμενον*); Iren. i. 8, 4. Bunsen supposes that he  
 combined the parable with the healing of the Syro-Phœni-  
 cian's daughter. Cf. Uhlhorn, *Die Homilien*, u. s. w. 296.

<sup>2</sup> Id. vi. 9. *Οἰκητήριον δὲ λέγει εἶναι τὸν ἄνθρωπον τοῦτον  
 τὸν ἐξ αἱμάτων γεγεννημένον (John i. 13) καὶ κατοικεῖν ἐν αὐτῷ  
 τὴν ἀπέραντον δύναμιν, ἣν ρίζαν εἶναι τῶν ὄλων φησίν.*

Bunsen (i. pp. 49, 55) considers the statement that Simon  
 manifested himself to the Samaritans as the Father (Hipp.  
 vi. 19), as a reference to John vi. 21—23

<sup>3</sup> Adv. Hær. vi. 13. *τοῦτο ἐστὶ, φησί, τὸ εἰρημένον, ἵνα  
 μὴ σὺν τῷ κόσμῳ κατακριθῶμεν (1 Cor. xi. 32).*

<sup>4</sup> Constit. Apost. vi. 16, 1. *Οἶδαμεν γὰρ ὅτι οἱ περὶ Σί-  
 μωνα καὶ Κλεόβιον ἰώδη συντάξαντες βιβλία ἐπ' ὀνόματι Χριστοῦ  
 καὶ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ περιφέρουσιν, εἰς ἀπάτην ὑμῶν τῶν πεφι-  
 ληκότων Χριστὸν καὶ ἡμᾶς τοὺς αὐτοῦ δούλους.*

CHAP. IV. but also the principle on which it was formed. The writings of the Apostles were acknowledged to have a peculiar weight: Christians sought in them the confirmation of the teaching which they heard, and the seeming authority of their sanction gained acceptance for that which was otherwise rejected.

*Menander.*

Menander, the scholar and fellow-countryman of Simon Magus, is said to have repeated and advanced his master's teaching. His doctrine of the resurrection in which he taught that those who 'were baptized into him died no more, but continued to live in immortal youth<sup>1</sup>,

<sup>2</sup> Tim. ii. 18.

reminds us of the error of 'Hymenæus and Philetus, who said that the resurrection was passed already;' otherwise I am not aware that anything which is known of his system points directly to the Scriptures.

The relation  
of Cerinthus  
to Simon  
Magus.

While Simon Magus represents the intellectual and rationalistic element of Gnosticism, Cerinthus represents it under a ceremonial and partially Judaizing form. The one was a Samaritan, the natural enemy of Judaism; the other was 'trained in the teaching of the Egyptians<sup>2</sup>,' among whom the interpretation of the law had

<sup>1</sup> Iren. i. 23, 5. Resurrectionem enim per id, quod est in eum baptismus, accipere ejus discipulos, et ultra non posse mori, sed perseverare non senescentes et immortales.

<sup>2</sup> Hipp. adv. Hær. vii. 33.

become a science. The traditional opponent of CHAP. IV. the one was St Peter; of the other, St John; and this antagonism admirably expresses their relative position. St John, however, was not the only Apostle with whom Cerinthus came into conflict. Epiphanius<sup>1</sup> makes him one of those who headed the extreme Jewish party in their attacks on St Peter for eating with Gentiles, and on St Paul for polluting the temple. The statement in itself is plausible; an excessive devotion to the law was a natural preparation for mere material views of Christianity.

Cerinthus was evidently acquainted with the substance of the Gospel history. He must have known the orthodox accounts of the parentage of our blessed Lord. He was familiar with the details of His baptism, of His preaching, of His miracles, of His death, and of His resurrection<sup>2</sup>. 'The Cerinthians,' Epiphanius says, 'make use of St Matthew's Gospel<sup>3</sup> (the Gospel according to

His acquaintance with the New Testament.

<sup>1</sup> Epiph. i. 2, Hær. xxviii.

<sup>2</sup> Hipp. adv. Hær. l. c. Epiph. l. c. What Epiphanius says (Hær. xxviii. 6) of Cerinthus' teaching *Χριστὸν πεπονθέναι καὶ ἐσταυρωῖσθαι μήπω δὲ ἐγγεῖρθαι, μέλλειν δὲ ἀνίστασθαι ὅταν ἡ καθόλου γένηται νεκρῶν ἀνάστασις*, is to be taken as describing Epiphanius' deductions from his teaching, and not as giving Cerinthus' dogmas.

<sup>3</sup> Epiph. Hær. xxviii. 5. *Χρῶνται γὰρ τῷ κατὰ Ματθαίου εὐαγγελίῳ, ἀπὸ μέρους καὶ οὐχὶ ὅλῳ, διὰ τὴν γενεαλογίαν τὴν ἔνσαρκον*. It is not known in what the mutilation of the Gospel consisted. But that he did not remove the whole of

**CHAP. IV.** the Hebrews) like the Ebionites, on account of the human genealogy, though their copy is not entire...The Apostle Paul they entirely reject, on account of his opposition to circumcision.' But the chief importance of Cerinthus is in relation to St John. It has been said that he was the author of the Apocalypse, and even of all the books attributed to the Apostle. And on the other hand, it is the popular belief that the fourth Gospel was written to refute his errors. The coincidence is singular, and it is necessary to consider on what grounds these assertions have been made.

How the *Apo-*  
*calypses* was  
attributed to  
him.

The transition from Judaizing views to Chiliasm is very simple, and Cerinthus appears to have entertained Chiliastic opinions of the most extreme form. In the account which Eusebius gives of him this fact is dwelt upon as if it were the characteristic of his system. In the earliest ages of the Church the language of Chiliasm at least was generally current; but from the time of Origen it fell into discredit, from the gross extravagances which it had occasioned. The reaction itself became extreme; and imagery in itself essentially scriptural and the first two chapters, like the Ebionites, appears again from what Epiphanius says, xxx. 14: *ὁ μὲν γὰρ Κήρωθος καὶ Καρποκράης τῷ αὐτῷ χράμενοι δῆθεν παρ' αὐτοῖς εὐαγγελίῳ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ κατὰ Ματθαῖον εὐαγγελίου διὰ τῆς γενεαλογίας βούλονται παριστᾶν ἐκ σπέρματος Ἰωσήφ καὶ Μαρίας εἶναι τὸν Χριστόν.*

pure was confounded with the glosses by which it had been interpreted. The Apocalypse, though supported by the clearest early testimony, was now viewed with distrust. 'Some said that it was unintelligible and unconnected: that its title was false: that it was not the work of John: that that was certainly not a revelation which was enwrapped in a gross and thick veil of ignorance<sup>1</sup>.' The arguments are purely subjective and internal. There is not a hint of any historical evidence for the opinion. The doctrine of the book was false, and consequently it could not be apostolic. It became then necessary to assign it to a new author. Cerinthus, it appears, had written Revelations, and assumed the Apostolic style<sup>2</sup>: it is possible that he had directly imitated St John: he was distinguished for Chiliasm; and thus the conclusion was prepared, that he was the writer of the Apocalypse; and that he had ascribed it to St John from the desire 'to affix a name of credit to his forgery;' to continue the quotation, 'for this was the prin-

<sup>1</sup> Dionys. Alex. ap. Euseb. H. E. iii. 28.

<sup>2</sup> Theodor. Fab. Hæret. ii. 3 (ap. Routh, ii. 139). The famous fragment of Caius is ambiguous: ap. Euseb. l. c. I may express my decided belief that Caius is not speaking of the Apocalypse of St John, but of books written by Cerinthus in imitation of it. The theology of the Apocalypse is wholly inconsistent with what we know of Cerinthus' views on the Person of Christ.



CHAP. IV. ciple of his teaching, that the kingdom of Christ would be earthly, and consist in those things which he himself desired, being a man devoted to sensual enjoyments, and wholly carnal.' The Chiliasm of Cerinthus is here distinctly brought forward as the ground of what can only be considered as a conjecture; and Dionysius, who gives it at length, was unwilling to embrace it.

The other works of St John also attributed to Cerinthus.

That the ascription of the Apocalypse to Cerinthus was in fact a mere arbitrary hypothesis resting on doctrinal grounds, is further shown by the extension which was afterwards given to it. A sect, whom Epiphanius calls the Alogi, attributed not only the Apocalypse but also the Gospel, and the writings of St John generally, to Cerinthus<sup>1</sup>, and this purely on internal grounds. It was found difficult to reconcile the fourth Gospel with the Synoptists, and forthwith it was pronounced an apocryphal book. Some theory was necessary to account for its origin, and as one of the Apostle's writings had been already assigned to Cerinthus, this was placed in the same category, in spite of its doctrinal character. The Epistles could not be separated from the Gospels; and so this early essay of criticism was completed.

<sup>1</sup> Epiph. Hær. li. 3. The history of the sect is very obscure, but we have only to do with the fact, which is sufficiently supported by Epiphanius' authority.

Nothing indeed can be more truly opposite to Cerinthianism than the theology of St John. The character of his Gospel was evidently influenced by prevailing errors; and though it is unnecessary to degrade it into a mere controversial work, it is impossible not to feel that it was written to satisfy some pressing want of the age, to meet some false philosophy, which had already begun to fashion a peculiar dialect, and to attempt to solve, by the help of Christian ideas, some of the great problems of humanity. Cerinthus upheld a ceremonial system, and taught only a temporary union of God's Spirit with man. St John proclaimed that Judaism had passed away, and set forth clearly the manifestation of the Eternal Word, in His historic Incarnation no less than in His union with the true believer. The teaching of St John is doubtless far deeper and wider than was needed to meet the errors of Cerinthus, but it has a natural connexion with the period in which he lived.

CHAP. IV.

St John truly antagonistic to Cerinthianism.

This relation of the first heretics to the Apostles is of the utmost importance. Like the early Fathers, they witness to Catholic truth rather than to the Catholic Scriptures: they exhibit the correlative errors as the Fathers embodied its constituent parts. The real personality of Simon Magus and Cerinthus is raised

The importance of the teaching of these first heretics generally in relation to the New Testament.

CHAP. IV. beyond all reasonable doubt. The general character of their doctrine can be determined with certainty. And when we find the marks of an activity of speculation, a depth of thought, a variety of judgment in false teachers, can it appear wonderful that in the writings of the Apostles there are analogous differences? If the books of the New Testament stood alone, we might marvel at their fulness and diversity; but when it is found that their characteristic differences are not only stereotyped in Catholic doctrine, but implied in contemporary heresies, they fall as it were into a natural historic position. They are felt to belong to that Apostolic age in which every power of man seems to have been quickened with some spiritual energy. No long interval of time is needed for the gradual evolution of their various forms. Error sprung up with a titanic growth: truth came down full-formed from heaven to conquer it.

They form a link between the Scriptures and later speculations.

But when it is said that the perfect principles of Gnosticism may be detected in these earliest heretics, I do not by any means ignore the vast developments which they afterwards received. In one respect the teaching of the Simonians and Cerinthians furnishes an important link between Catholic doctrine and the later Gnosticism of Valentinus or Marcion. In these systems the phenomena of the world are ex-

plained by the assumption of a Dualism—more or less complete—of a fundamental opposition between powers of good and evil. The creation was removed farther and farther from God, till at last it was ascribed to His enemy. The cosmogony of Simon Magus<sup>1</sup> and of Cerinthus<sup>2</sup> occupies a mean position. In this the world is represented as the work of angels, themselves the offspring of God, who were also the authors of the Jewish law, and the inspirers of the prophets. Against such a form of Gnosticism the Epistle to the Hebrews, and the Introduction to St John's Gospel, speak with divine power; but of the later developments there is not a trace in the New Testament. If however we suppose that any parts of it, the Pastoral Epistles, for instance, or the Epistle of St Jude, had been written after the Apostolic age, is it possible that no word should have betrayed a knowledge of the existence of such theories,

<sup>1</sup> There is some confusion in the account given by Hippolytus. In the first part, where he refers to the 'Great Announcement,' the cosmogony of Simon appears to be expressed in a physical form. Fire is the fundamental element of the universe. This I believe to be the original form of his theory. Afterwards in a passage nearly identical with the account of Irenæus, we read of creating angels, of an arbitrary Moral Law, of the secondary inspiration of the prophets (adv. Hær. vi. 19; Iren. i. 23). Uhlhorn, wrongly I think, takes the opposite view of the relative dates of the two systems (a. a. O. 293.)

<sup>2</sup> Epiph. Hær. xxviii. 1, 2.

CHAP. IV. when error was combated with an intense feeling of its present danger? The books which claim to be Apostolic are by their very character the produce of the Apostolic age. Exactly in proportion as we take into account the whole history of Christianity, in its developments within and without the Church, we find more surely that it implies a complete New Testament as its foundation; that at no subsequent period was there an opportunity for the forgery of writings which appear as the sources, and not as the results, of different systems of speculation.

### § 2. *The Ophites and Ebionites.*

The mixture of Christianity with earlier systems.

*The Ophites.*

While Simon Magus appeared in some measure as the author of an organised counterfeit of Christianity, claiming himself to be an Incarnation of the Deity, and opposing magical powers to the Apostolic miracles, Christians elsewhere came into contact with existing speculative schools, and often survived the encounter only to be ranged with their former enemies. In this way sects arose which were not called by the name of any special founder, but by some general title. Probably one of the earliest results of these was the sect of the Naasseni, Ophites, or Serpent-worshippers. Hippolytus, professing to follow the order of time, places them in the first rank; and it is evident that their system

was not a mere corruption of Christianity, but rather a more ancient creed into which some Christian ideas were infused. Consistently with this view Origen<sup>1</sup> speaks of Ophites who required all who entered their society to blaspheme Christ; the bitterness of which law may be best explained if we suppose that it was first framed against some Christianizing members of their own body. CHAP. IV.

The Christian Ophites whom Hippolytus describes appear to have been the first who assumed the title of Gnostics<sup>2</sup>. They professed to derive their doctrines through Mariamne from James the Lord's brother<sup>3</sup>; and thus the authorities which he quotes may be supposed to date from the age next succeeding that of the Apostles. Their whole system shows an intimate familiarity with the language of the New Testament Scriptures. The passages given from their books<sup>4</sup> contain clear references to the Gospels of St Matthew, St Luke, and St John, and to the Epistles of St Paul to the Romans, the Corinthians (i. ii.), the Ephesians and the Galatians, and probably to the Epistle to the Hebrews<sup>5</sup>. The Ophites described by Hippolytus.

<sup>1</sup> c. Cels. vi. 28.

<sup>2</sup> Adv. Hær. v. 6. *μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπεκάλεσαν ἑαυτοὺς Γνωστικούς, φάσκοντες μόνοι τὰ βάθη γινώσκειν.* Cf. 1 Cor. ii. 10; Apoc. ii. 24.

<sup>3</sup> Adv. Hær. v. 7.

<sup>4</sup> The description of their opinions is constantly prefaced by the words *φασὶν* or *φησὶ*.

<sup>5</sup> The following list of references, which might be

Their testimony to the New Testament.

**CHAP. IV.** They made use also of the Gospel according to the Egyptians, and of the Gospel of St Thomas<sup>1</sup>.

The Peratici  
and Sethians

The Peratici and Sethians are placed by Hippolytus in close connexion with the Ophites. The passages of the esoteric doctrine (*ἀπόρρητα μυστήρια*) of the Peratici which he brings to light, contain obvious references to the Gospel of St John, and to the Epistles to the Corin-

increased, will show to what extent the Ophites made use of the New Testament Scriptures :

St Matthew xiii. 33, 44, p. 108; xiii. 3 sqq., p. 113; xxiii. 27, *τάφοι ἐστὲν κεκοιτάμενοι*. Cf. supr., p. 174, where I should have referred to this passage—p. 111; vii. 21, p. 112; xxi. 31, p. 112; iii. 10, p. 113; vii. 6, p. 114; vii. 14, 13, p. 116.

St Luke xvii. 21, p. 100; xvii. 4, p. 102 (?); xviii. 19 + Matt. v. 45, p. 102; xi. 33, p. 103.

St John iv. 10, pp. 100, 121; x. 34 + Luke vi. 35, p. 106; iii. 6, p. 106; i. 3, 4, as Tischf. p. 107; iii. 1—12, p. 108; vi. 53 + xiii. 33; Matt. xx. 22, p. 109; v. 37, p. 109; x. 9, p. 111; iv. 21, 23, p. 117.

Romans i. 20—23, &c., p. 99 (as St Paul's).

1 Cor. ii. 13, 14, p. 111.

2 Cor. xii. 2, 4, p. 112.

Gal. iii. 28, &c., p. 99.

Eph. iii. 15, p. 97; v. 14, p. 104.

Heb. v. 11, p. 97.

<sup>1</sup> Their use of the 'Gospel entitled according to the Egyptians' (p. 98), and that 'entitled according to Thomas,' (p. 101), does not prove that they ascribed to those books canonical authority. Generally indeed the references to the Gospels are to our Lord's words, and in every case, I believe, anonymous. The passage quoted from the Gospel of St Thomas is not found in any of the present recensions of it. Cf. Tischendorf, *Ev. Apocr.* Pref. p. xxxix.

thians (i.), and to the Colossians<sup>1</sup>. The writings of the Sethiani again allude to the Gospel of St Matthew and to the Epistle to the <sup>2</sup>Philippians<sup>3</sup>. CHAP. IV.

Apart from these special references the whole system of the Ophites bears clear witness to the authenticity of St John's Gospel. Everything tends to prove that in them we see one of the earliest forms of heresy. A similar combination of Gentile mysticism with Jewish and Christian ideas troubled the Church of Colossæ even in St Paul's time: Irenæus himself speaks of the Ophites as the first source of the Valentinian school, the original 'hydra-head from which its manifold progeny was derived;' and yet even they had far passed the limits which St John had fixed for Christian speculation.

The general testimony of the Ophitic systems to the writings of St John.

The Ophites, like Simon Magus, represent The Ebionites.

<sup>1</sup> St John iii. 17 (τὸ εἰρημένον) p. 125; iii. 14, p. 134; i. 1—4, p. 134 (wrongly divided by the editor?); viii. 44, p. 136; x. 7, p. 137. 1 Cor. xi. 32 (ἡ γραφή) p. 125. Col. ii. 9 (τὸ λεγόμενον) p. 124.

<sup>2</sup> Matt. x. 34, p. 146. Phil. ii. 6, 7, p. 318.

<sup>3</sup> The account of the Ophites is concluded by a summary of the opinions of Justin, a Gnostic. The use of Isaiah lxiv. 4 in his teaching fully justifies the conjecture which I proposed above, p. 233; and I think it very likely that Hegesippus had him in view when he wrote. In the quotations made from his writings there are apparent references to Luke xxiii. 46, p. 157; John iii. 10, p. 158; xix. 26, p. 157. The use of Amen as an angelic name (p. 151) may point, as Bunsen observes, to Apoc. iii. 14.



**CHAP. IV.** a system to which Gentile mysticism gave its predominating character: on the opposite side was ranged the famous sect of the Ebionites, by whom Judaism was made an essential part of Christian life. Like Cerinthus they received a mutilated recension of St Matthew's Gospel<sup>1</sup>. Like him they wholly rejected the authority and writings of St Paul; but nothing, I believe, is known of their judgment on the Catholic Epistles. They cannot, however, have received St John's Epistles; and his Gospel, though not specially mentioned, must be included among those of which 'they made no account.'

What books of the New Testament they received.

The testimony of the Clementines.

This exclusive use of St Matthew did not always prevail. In the Clementines, which are a product of the Ebionitic school, there are

<sup>1</sup> Iren. adv. Hær. i. 26, 2. Solo eo quod est secundum Matthæum evangelio utuntur et Apostolum Paulum recusant, apostatam eum legis dicentes. Eusebius calls this Gospel that 'according to the Hebrews' (H. E. iii. 27), and adds, that the Ebionites 'made little account of the rest.'

This is not the proper place to enter on an accurate inquiry into the perplexed question of the various forms of St Matthew's Gospel. I believe them to have been the following:

(a) The original *Aramæan* text.

- (1) A revision (?) of this included in the Peshito.
- (2) An interpolated text used by the Nazarenes, which contained the first two chapters, and is described by Jerome.
- (3) A mutilated and interpolated text used by the Ebionites.

(β) An [apostolic] translation in Greek.

clear references to the four Evangelists. The allusions to St Matthew and St Luke in the Homilies<sup>1</sup> have been generally admitted; and a recent discovery has removed the doubts which had been long raised about those to St Mark and St John. Though St Mark has few peculiar phrases, one of these is repeated verbally in the concluding part of the sixth Homily, published for the first time last year<sup>2</sup>; and in the same place occurs a quotation from St John which leaves no room for questioning the source from which it was taken<sup>3</sup>.

The evidence that has been collected from the documents of these primitive sects is necessarily somewhat vague. It would be more satisfactory to know the exact position of their

The true value of this anonymous evidence.

<sup>1</sup> I quote the Homilies only, because the Latin translation of the Recognitions may have been modified by Ruffinus.

<sup>2</sup> *Clementis R. quæ feruntur Homiliæ xi nunc primum integræ.* Ed. A. R. M. Dressel. Gottingæ, 1853.

Hom. xix. 20. Διὸ καὶ τοῖς αὐτοῦ μαθηταῖς κατ' ἰδίαν ἐπέλυε τῆς τῶν οὐρανῶν βασιλείας μυστήρια. Cf. Mark iv. 34: κατ' ἰδίαν τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ (?) ἐπέλυε πάντα. This is the only place where ἐπιλύω occurs in the Gospels. Cf. Uhlhorn, a. a. O. 122.

<sup>3</sup> Hom. xix. 22. ὅθεν καὶ [ὁ διδάσκ]αλος ἡμῶν περὶ τοῦ ἐκ γενετῆς πηροῦ καὶ ἀναβλέψαντος παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐξετά[ζουσι τοῖς μαθηταῖς], εἰ οὗτος ἤμαρτεν ἢ οἱ γονεῖς αὐτοῦ ἵνα τυφλὸς γεννηθῆ, ἀπεκρίνατο· οὔτε οὗτός τι ἤμαρτεν οὔτε οἱ γονεῖς αὐτοῦ, ἀλλ' ἵνα δι' αὐτοῦ φανερωθῆ ἡ δύναμις τοῦ Θεοῦ τῆς ἀγνοίας ἰωμένη τὰ ἀμαρτήματα. Cf. John ix. 1, sqq. Uhlhorn, 122 ff.

CHAP. IV. authors and the precise date of their composition. It is possible that Hippolytus made use of writings which were current in his own time without further examination, and transferred to the Apostolic age forms of thought and expression which had been the growth of two or even of three generations. However improbable this notion may be, it lessens the direct argumentative value of the evidence, though it leave the moral impression unimpaired. But it cannot be denied that each fresh discovery of ancient records confirms as far as it affects the authenticity of the books of the New Testament. As far as we can trace back, the first teachers of heresy quote them generally as familiarly known to Christians: they place them on the same level as the Old Testament Scriptures, by the forms of citation which they employ: they appeal to them as having authority with those whom they address; and since they used them in their private books, it is evident that they recognized their claims themselves.

### § 3. *Basilides and Isidorus.*

The character  
of the testi-  
mony of Ba-  
silides.

The case, however, does not turn wholly on anonymous evidence. The account of Basilides given by Hippolytus is composed mainly of passages from his own writings which fully establish

the inferences which have been hitherto drawn. CHAP. IV.  
 In this instance also it fortunately happens that Clement of Alexandria, Origen, and Epiphanius witness to the accuracy of our authority, for they preserve specimens of the teaching of Basilides exactly accordant with the more important quotations of Hippolytus. The mode in which the books of the New Testament are treated in these fragments shows that there is no anachronism in supposing that the earliest heretics sought to recommend their doctrines by forced explanations of Apostolic language. And yet more than this: they contain the earliest undoubted instances in which the Old and New Testaments are placed on the same level: the Epistles of St Paul are called 'Scripture,' and quotations from them are introduced by the well-known form, 'It is written<sup>1</sup>.' If it seem strange that the first direct proofs of a belief in the inspiration of the New Testament are derived from such a source, it may be remembered that it is more likely that the apologist of a suspicious system should support his argument by quotations from an authority acknowledged by his opponents, than that a Christian teacher writing to fellow-believers should insist on those

<sup>1</sup> Hipp. adv. Hæer. vii. 26: ἡ γραφή λέγει· οὐκ ἐν διδακτοῖς ἀνθρωπίνης σοφίας λόγοις ἀλλ' ἐν διδακτοῖς πνεύματος (1 Cor. ii. 13); vii. 25: γέγραπται, φησί· καὶ ἡ κτίσις αὐτῆ συστηνάζει, κ.τ.λ. Rom. viii. 22, &c.

CHAP. IV. testimonies with which he might suppose his readers to be familiar.

His date.

Very little is known of the history of Basilides<sup>1</sup>. He was, it seems, an Alexandrine, and probably of Jewish descent. He is said to have lived 'not long after the times of the Apostles<sup>2</sup>,' and to have been a younger contemporary of Cerinthus, and a follower of Menander, who was himself the successor of Simon Magus. Clement of Alexandria and Jerome fix the period of his activity in the time of Hadrian<sup>3</sup>; and he found a formidable antagonist in Agrippa Castor<sup>4</sup>. All these circumstances combine to place him in the generation next after the Apostolic age, and to show that in point of antiquity he holds a rank intermediate between that of Clement of Rome and Polycarp.

He made use of other books besides those included in the Canon of the New Testament.

Since he lived on the verge of the Apostolic times it is not surprising that Basilides made use of other sources of Christian doctrine

<sup>1</sup> *Saturninus*, or *Satornilus*, of Antioch, is generally placed in close connexion with Basilides. He was a scholar of Menander, whose opinions he advanced. All the accounts of his doctrine appear to be derived from one source, and they contain nothing which bears on the history of the Canon. Hipp. adv. Hær. vii. 28; Iren. adv. Hær. i. 24; Epiph. Hær. xxiii.

<sup>2</sup> *Archel. et Man. Disp.*, Routh v. p. 197 . . . Basilides quidam . . . non longe post nostrorum Apostolorum tempora . . . Cf. Routh, i. p. 258. Euseb. H. E. iv. 7.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Pearson, *Vind. Ign.* ii. 7, ap. Lardner, viii. 350.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *supra*, p. 108.

besides the Canonical books. The belief in divine CHAP. IV.  
 inspiration was still fresh and real; and Eusebius relates that he set up imaginary prophets, Barcabbas and Barcoph (Parchor)—‘names to strike terror into the superstitious’—by whose writings he supported his peculiar views<sup>1</sup>. At the same time he appealed to the authority of Glaucias, who, as well as St Mark, was ‘an interpreter of St Peter<sup>2</sup>’; and he also made use of certain ‘Traditions of Matthias,’ which claimed to be grounded on ‘private intercourse with the Saviour<sup>3</sup>.’ It appears, moreover, that he himself published a Gospel<sup>4</sup>—a ‘Life of Christ,’ as it

<sup>1</sup> Eusebius appears to consider the prophecies as forgeries (H. E. iv. 7). They may, however, have been ‘Oriental books which he met with in his journey into the East,’ as Lardner suggests (viii. 390). Isidorus wrote a commentary on the prophecy of Parchor, which gives authority to the conjecture: Clem. Alex. Str. vi. 6, § 53.

<sup>2</sup> Clem. Alex. Str. vii. 17, § 106.

<sup>3</sup> Hipp. adv. Hær. vii. 20: Βασιλείδης τοίνυν καὶ Ἰαίδωρος ὁ Βασιλείδου παῖς γνήσιος καὶ μαθητῆς, φασὶν εἰρηκέναι Μαθθίαν αὐτοῖς λόγους ἀποκρύφους, οὓς ἤκουσε παρὰ τοῦ Σωτῆρος κατ’ ἰδίαν διδαχθεῖς. Miller corrects the MS. reading *Μαθθίαν* into *Μαρθαῖον*, wrongly, I believe. Cf. Clem. Alex. Str. vii. 17, § 108.

<sup>4</sup> The few notices of Basilides’ Gospel or Commentaries are perplexing. Origen is the first who mentions a *Gospel* as written by him. Hom. i. in Luc.: Ausus fuit et Basilides scribere evangelium, et suo illud nomine titolare. This statement is repeated by Ambrose and Jerome, who cannot be considered as independent witnesses. In another passage Origen has been supposed to allude to the Gospel of Basilides as identical with that of Marcion and Valentinus:

**CHAP. IV.** would, perhaps, be called in our days, or 'the Philosophy of Christianity'—but he admitted the historic truth of all the facts contained in the Canonical Gospels<sup>1</sup>, and used them as Scripture<sup>2</sup>.

ταῦτα δὲ εἶρηται πρὸς τοὺς ἀπὸ Οὐαλεντίνου καὶ Βασιλίδου καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ Μαρκίωνος.—ἔχουσι γὰρ καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰς λέξεις (the quotations from the Old Testament in Luke x. 27) ἐν τῷ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς εὐαγγελίῳ (fr. 6. in Luc.) The last clause, however, need not refer to more than the Marcionites.

I am not aware that there are any more references to the work of Basilides as a *Gospel*; but Agrippa Castor mentioned 'four and twenty books (τέσσαρα πρὸς τοῖς (?) εἴκοσι) which he composed on the Gospel' (Euseb. H. E. iv. 7); and Clement of Alexandria quotes several passages from the twenty-third book (Str. iv. 12, § 83 sqq.), and another quotation from the thirteenth book (*tractatus*) occurs at the end of the 'discussion between Archelaus and Manes' (Routh, v. p. 197).

The character of these quotations show that these Commentaries cannot have formed part of a Gospel in the common sense of the word, but it appears that Basilides attached a technical meaning to the term: Εὐαγγέλιον ἐστὶ κατ' αὐτοὺς (the followers of Basilides) ἡ τῶν ὑπερκοσμίων γνώσις, ὡς δεδήλωται, ἣν ὁ μέγας ἄρχων οὐκ ἠπίστατο (Hipp. adv. Hær. vii. 27; cf. § 26). May we not then identify the Commentaries with the Gospel in this sense, and suppose that the ambiguity of the word led Origen into error?

Norton (ii. p. 310) assumes that the Homilies on Luke are not Origen's. In this I suppose that he follows the rash conjecture of Erasmus. Huet, Orig. iii. 3, 13. Redepinning, Origenes, ii. 69.

<sup>1</sup> Hipp. adv. Hær. vii. 27: Γεγεννημένης δὲ τῆς γενέσεως τῆς προδηλωμένης, γέγονε πάντα ὁμοίως κατ' αὐτοὺς τὰ περὶ τοῦ Σωτῆρος, ὡς ἐν τοῖς εὐαγγελίοις γέγραπται. He gave a mystical explanation of the Incarnation, quoting Luke i. 35 (*id.* § 26).

<sup>2</sup> See p. 323, note (1).

For in spite of his peculiar opinions the testimony of Basilides to our 'acknowledged' books is comprehensive and clear. In the few pages of his writings which remain there are certain references to the Gospels of St Matthew, St Luke, and St John, and to the Epistles of St Paul to the Romans, Corinthians, Ephesians, Colossians and Philippians, and possibly to the first Epistle to Timothy<sup>1</sup>. In addition to this he appears to have used the first Epistle of St Peter<sup>2</sup>; and he must have admitted the Petrine type of doctrine through Glaucias. And thus again, apart from the consideration of particular books, an Alexandrine heretic recognized simultaneously the teaching of St Paul, St Peter, and St John, while Polycarp was still at Smyrna, and Justin Martyr only a disciple of Plato. And the fact itself belongs to an earlier date; for this belief

<sup>1</sup> The following examples will be sufficient:

St Matthew ii. 1 sqq. p. 243.

St Luke i. 35, p. 241 (τὸ εἰρημένον).

St John i. 9, p. 232 (τὸ λεγ. ἐν τοῖς εὐαγγ.); ii. 4, p. 242.

Romans viii. 22, p. 238 (ὡς γέγραπται), p. 241; v. 13, 14, (id.) Cf. Orig. Comm. in Rom. c. 5.

1 Corinthians ii. 13, p. 240 (ἡ γραφή); xv. 8 (p. 240).

2 Corinthians xii. 4, p. 241 (γέγραπται).

Ephesians iii. 3, p. 241.

Colossians i. 26, p. 238.

Philippians ii. 9, p. 230.

1 Tim. ii. 6, p. 232 (?) καιροὶ ἴδιοι.

<sup>2</sup> Clem. Str. iv. 12, § 83 (1 Pet. iv. 14—16), quoted by Kirchofer, p. 416.



**CHAP. IV.** cannot have originated with him; and if we go back but one generation we are within the age of the Apostles.

He is said to have rejected some books from the Canon.

On the other hand, Basilides is said to have anticipated Marcion in the rejection of the Pastoral Epistles and of that to the Hebrews; but Clement intimates that these books were commonly condemned by those who 'fancied' that their opinions were characterized in them as 'false-named wisdom;' and there is no reason to suppose that this judgment was the result of any historical inquiry<sup>1</sup>. Jerome speaks of it as a piece of arbitrary dogmatism based on 'their heretical authority,' and unsustained by any definite arguments.

*Isidorus.*

Isidorus, the son of Basilides, maintained the doctrine of his father; and there is no reason to believe that he differed from him in his estimation of the Apostolic writings. Some fragments of his works have been preserved by Clement of Alexandria, but I have noticed nothing in them which bears on the books of the New Testament.

<sup>1</sup> Hieron. Pref. in Ep. ad Tit.: Nonnullas [epistolas] integras repudiandas crediderunt: ad Timotheum videlicet utramque, ad Hebræos, et ad Titum. Et si quidem redderent causas cur eas apostoli non putarent, tentaremus aliquid respondere et forsan satisfacere lectori. Nunc vero cum hæretica auctoritate pronuncient et dicant: Illa epistola Pauli est, hæc non est, ea auctoritate repelli se pro veritate intelligant, qua ipsi non erubescunt falsa simulare.

§ 4. *Carpocrates.*

CHAP. IV.

The accounts of Carpocrates are very meagre, and all apparently come from one source. He was an Alexandrine, and a contemporary of Basilides<sup>1</sup>. Nothing is said directly of his views of the Apostolic writings; but it is mentioned incidentally that he held the Apostles themselves — ‘Peter and Paul and the rest’ — as nowise inferior to Christ Himself<sup>2</sup>. This opinion followed naturally from his views of the Person of Christ; but the close juxtaposition of St Peter and St Paul is worthy of notice.

Carpocrates respected the Apostles generally.

From another passage in Irenæus it may be concluded that the Carpocratians received our Canonical Gospels, adapting them to their own doctrine by strange expositions. Thus they applied the parable of the man and his adversary, to the relation of man to the devil, whose office they held it to be ‘to convey the souls of the dead to the Prince of the world, who in turn gave them to an attendant spirit to imprison in another body, till they had been engaged in every act done in the world<sup>3</sup>.’

The Carpocratians received our Gospels.

Matt. v. 25 ;  
Luke xii. 58.

<sup>1</sup> Clem. Alex. Str. iii. 2, § 5. Iren. adv. Hær. i. 25, 6.

<sup>2</sup> Iren. adv. Hær. i. 25, 2. Hipp. adv. Hær. vii. 31. Epiphanius (Hær. xxvii. 2) says Πέτρου καὶ Ἀνδρέου καὶ Παύλου.—I do not know how to explain the special mention of *St Andrew*. His connexion with St Peter is scarcely sufficient reason.

<sup>3</sup> Iren. i. 25, 4.

## CHAP. IV.

Their system combined the teaching of St Paul and St John.

The key-word of the system of Carpocrates in itself bore witness to the teaching of St Paul and St John. 'Men are saved,' he said, 'by *faith and love*<sup>1</sup>;' but the corollary which he drew from this truth, on the essential indifference of actions, seems to show that he did not combine the teaching of St James with that of the other Apostles<sup>2</sup>.

§ 5. *Valentinus.*

The date of Valentinus.

Shortly after Basilides began to propagate his doctrines another system arose at Alexandria which was the result of similar causes, and moulded on a similar type. Its author, Valentinus, like Basilides, was probably an Egyptian, and his writings betray a familiarity with Jewish opinions<sup>3</sup>. After the example of the Christian teachers of his age he went to Rome, which he chose as the centre of his labours. Irenæus

<sup>1</sup> Iren. i. 25, 5: *διὰ πίστεως γὰρ καὶ ἀγάπης σώζεσθαι· τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ἀδιάφορα ὄντα, κατὰ τὴν δόξαν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, πῆ μὲν ἀγαθὰ, πῆ δὲ κακὰ νομίζεσθαι, οὐδένοσ φύσει κακοῦ ὑπάρχοντοσ.*

<sup>2</sup> The fragments of *Epiphanes*, (Clem. Alex. Str. iii. 2, §§ 6 sqq.) the son of Carpocrates, contain no direct scriptural quotations; but the whole argument on justice reads like a comment on Matt. v. 45. The passage in § 7, *μὴ συνιεὶσ τὸ τοῦ ἀποστόλου ῥητὸν λέγοντοσ· διὰ νόμου τὴν ἀμαρτίαν ἔγνωσ* (Rom. vii. 7) is a remark of Clement's—*συνιεὶσ* referring to *φησὶν* in the former sentence. It is necessary to notice this, as the words have been quoted as used by Epiphanes. Cf. Epiph. Hær. xxxii. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Epiph. Hær. xxxi. 2. Massuet, Diss. i. 1, § 1.

relates that 'he came there during the episcopate of Hyginus, was at his full vigour in the time of Pius, and continued there till the time of Anicetus<sup>1</sup>.' Thus he was at Rome when Polycarp came on his mission from the Eastern Church; and Marcion may have been among his hearers. His testimony in point of age is as venerable as that of Justin; and he is removed by one generation only from the time of St John.

Just as Basilides claimed through Glaucias the authority of St Peter, Valentinus professed to follow the teaching of Theodas, a disciple of St Paul<sup>2</sup>. The circumstance is important; for it shows that at the beginning of the second century, alike within and without the Church, the sanction of an Apostle was considered to be a sufficient proof of Christian doctrine. There is no reason to suppose that Valentinus differed from Catholic writers on the Canon of the New Testament. Tertullian says that he differed in this from Marcion, that he professed at least to accept 'the whole Instrument,' perverting the interpretation where Marcion mutilated the text<sup>3</sup>.

He received the same books as Catholic Christians.

<sup>1</sup> Iren. adv. Hær. iii. 4, 3 (ap. Euseb. H. E. iv. 11).

<sup>2</sup> Clem. Alex. Str. vii. 17, § 106.

<sup>3</sup> Tertull. de Præscr. Hæret.: Alius manu scripturas, alius sensus expositione intervertit. Neque enim si Valentinus integro instrumento uti videtur, non callidior ingenio quam Marcion [manus intulit veritati?] Marcion enim exserte et palam machæra, non stylo usus est: quoniam ad

**CHAP. IV.** The fragments of his writings which remain show the same natural and trustful use of Scripture as any other Christian works of the same period; and there is no diversity of character in this respect between the quotations in Hippolytus and those in Clement of Alexandria<sup>1</sup>. He cites the Epistle to the Ephesians as 'Scripture,' and refers clearly to the Gospels of St Matthew, St Luke, and St John, and to the Epistles to the Romans and Corinthians (i.), and perhaps also to the Epistle to the Hebrews, and to the first Epistle of <sup>2</sup>St John<sup>3</sup>.

*materiam suam cædem scripturarum confecit. Valentinus autem pepercit: quoniam non ad materiam scripturas, sed materiam ad scripturas excogitavit: et tamen plus abstulit, et plus adjecit, auferens proprietates singulorum quoque verborum, et adjiciens dispositiones non comparentium rerum.*

<sup>1</sup> Very little is known of the writings of Valentinus. Clement quotes Homilies and Letters; and in the Dialogue against Marcion a long passage is taken from his treatise 'On the Origin of Evil.' The quotations in Hippolytus are anonymous.

<sup>2</sup> The references are:

St Matthew v. 8. Clem. Str. ii. 20, § 114; xix. 17. Cf. Clem. Str. l. c.

St Luke i. 35. Hipp. adv. Hær. vi. 35 (τὸ εἰρημένον).

St John x. 8. Hipp. vi. 35.

Romans i. 20. Clem. Str. iv. 13, § 92; viii. 11; Hipp. vi. 35.

1 Corinth. ii. 14. Hipp. vi. 34; xv. 8. Cf. vi. 31.

Ephes. iii. 5. Hipp. vi. 35; iii. 14—18. Hipp. vi. 34 (ἡ γραφή).

Hebr. xii. 22. Cf. Hipp. vi. 30.

1 John iv. 8. Cf. Hipp. vi. 29.

<sup>3</sup> In an obscure passage (Clem. Str. vi. 6, 52) Valentinus contrasts 'what is written in popular books (ταῖς δημοσίαις

But though no charge is brought against CHAP. IV.  
 Valentinus of mutilating the Canon or the books But he is said to have introduced verbal alterations;  
 of the New Testament, he is said to have introduced verbal alterations, 'correcting without hesitation' as well as 'introducing new explanations!.' And his followers acted with greater boldness, if the words of Origen are to be taken strictly, in which he says that, 'he knows none other who have altered the form (*μεταχαραξάντας*) of the Gospel besides the followers of Marcion, of Valentinus, and, as he believes, of Lucanus<sup>2</sup>.' However this may be, the whole question belongs rather to the history of the text than to the history of the Canon; and the statement of Tertullian is fully satisfied by supposing that Valentinus employed a different recension from that of the *Vetus Latina*. But it is of consequence to remark that textual differences even in heretical writings attracted the notice of the early

*βίβλοις*) with that which is written in the Church,' (*τὰ γεγραμμένα ἐν τῇ ἐκκλ.*) By 'popular books' Clement understands 'either the Jewish or Gentile writings.' The antithesis seems to involve the idea of an ecclesiastical Canon.

<sup>1</sup> Tertull. de Præscr. Hæret. xxx.: Item Valentinus aliter exponens, et sine dubio emendans, hoc omnino quicquid emendat, ut mendosum retro, antèrius fuisse demonstrat. The connexion of the passage requires the reading *antèrius* for *alterius*. Cf. p. 327, n. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Orig. c. Cels. ii. 27. I have already given an explanation of the passage in which Origen has been supposed to connect the Gospel of Marcion with that of Valentinus: p. 321, n. 4.

CHAP. IV. Fathers; and is it then possible that they would have neglected to notice graver differences as to the books of the New Testament if they had really existed? Their very silence is a proof of the general agreement of Christians on the Canon; a proof which gains irresistible strength when combined with the natural testimony of heretical writings, and the partial exceptions by which it is occasionally limited.

and to have  
used another  
Gospel.

The Valentinians, however, are said to have added a new Gospel to the other four: 'casting aside all fear, and bringing forward their own compositions, they boast that they have more gospels than there really are. For they have advanced to such a pitch of daring, as to entitle a book which was composed by them not long since, "the Gospel of Truth," though it accords in no respect with the Gospels of the Apostles; so that the Gospel in fact cannot exist among them without blasphemy. For if that which is brought forward by them is the Gospel of Truth, and still is unlike those which are delivered to us by the Apostles—they who please can learn *how* from the writings themselves—it is shown at once that that which is delivered to us by the Apostles is not the Gospel of Truth<sup>1</sup>.' What

<sup>1</sup> Iren. adv. Hær. iii. 11, 9. In the last clause I have adopted the punctuation proposed by Mr Norton (ii. 305). The common reading gives the same sense.

then was this Gospel? If it had been a history of our Blessed Lord, and yet wholly at variance with the Canonical Gospels, it is evident that the Valentinians could not have received these—nor, indeed, any one of them—as they undoubtedly did. And here then a new light is thrown upon the character of some of the early Apocryphal Gospels, which has been in part anticipated by what was said of the Gospel of Basilides<sup>1</sup>. The Gospel of Basilides or Valentinus contained their system of Christian doctrine, their view of ‘the Gospel’ philosophically, and not historically<sup>2</sup>. The writers of these new Gospels in no way necessarily interfered with the old. They sought, as far as we can learn, to embody their spirit and furnish a key to their

An explanation of this statement.

No mention of this Gospel, I believe, occurs elsewhere, except in [Tert.] Præscr. Hæret. c. 49. But I can see no reason for doubting the correctness of Irenæus’ statement. The book may have been brought prominently under his notice without having had any permanent authority among the Valentinians.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 321, n. 4.

<sup>2</sup> This common use of the word occurs Rev. xiv. 6, which passage has given rise in our own days to the strangest and most wide-spread apocryphal ‘Gospel’ which the world has yet seen.

The ‘Gospel of Marcion’ may seem an exception, but it will be remembered that he called it the *Gospel of Christ*.—Christianity, in other words, as seen in the life of Christ. Our Canonical Gospels recognize the human teacher by whom it is conveyed to us—εὐαγγέλιον Χριστοῦ κατὰ Ματθαίον.



**CHAP. IV.** meaning, rather than to supersede their use. The Valentinians had *more* Gospels than the Catholic Church, since they accepted an authoritative doctrinal Gospel.

Other Gnostic 'Gospels.'

The titles of some of the other Gnostic Gospels confirm what has been said. Two are mentioned by Epiphanius in the account of those whom he calls 'Gnostics,' as if that were their specific name, the *Gospel of Eve* and the *Gospel of Perfection*. Neither of these could be historic accounts of the Life of Christ, and the slight description of their character which he adds illustrates the wide use of the word 'Gospel.' The first was an elementary account of Gnosticism, 'based on foolish visions and testimonies,' called by the name of Eve, as though it had been revealed to her by the serpent<sup>1</sup>. The second was 'a seductive composition, no Gospel, but a consummation of woe<sup>2</sup>.'

The 'Gospel of Truth' is

The analogy of the title of this 'Gospel of

<sup>1</sup> Eriph. Hær. χxvi. 2: εἰς ὄνομα γὰρ αὐτῆς [Εὔας] δῆθεν, ὡς εὐρούσης τὸ ὄνομα τῆς γνώσεως ἐξ ἀποκαλύψεως τοῦ λαλήσαντος αὐτῇ ὄφρεως σπορὰν ὑποτίθεντι... ὀρμῶνται δὲ ἀπὸ μωρῶν μαρτυριῶν καὶ ὀπτασιῶν...

In the next section Epiphanius quotes a passage from it containing a clear enunciation of Pantheism of great interest.

<sup>2</sup> Eriph. l. c.: ἐπίπλαστον εἰσάγουσιν ἀγώγιμόν τι ποίημα, ᾧ ποιητεύματι ἐπέθεντο ὄνομα, εὐαγγέλιον τελειώσεως τοῦτο φάσκοντες· καὶ ἀληθῶς οὐκ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦτο ἀλλὰ πένθους τελειώσις.

Mr Norton has insisted on this point very justly: ii. pp. 302 ff.

Perfection' leaves little doubt as to the character of the 'Gospel of Truth.' Puritan theology can furnish numerous similar titles. And the partial currency of such a book among the Valentinians offers not the slightest presumption against their agreement with Catholic Christians on the exclusive claims of the four Gospels as records of Christ's life. These they took as the basis of their speculations; and by the help of commentaries endeavoured to extract from them the principles which they maintained. But this will form the subject of the next section.

CHAP. IV.

no proof that the Valentinians differed from other Christians as to the extent of the Canon.

### § 6. *Heracleon.*

The history of Heracleon, the great Valentinian commentator, is full of uncertainty. Nothing is known of his country or parentage. Hippolytus classes him with Ptolemæus as belonging to the Italian school of Valentinians<sup>1</sup>; and we may conclude from this that he chose the West as the scene of his labours. Clement describes him as the most esteemed of his sect<sup>2</sup>,

The history of Heracleon uncertain.

<sup>1</sup> Hipp. adv. Hæret. vi. 35: καὶ γέγονεν ἐντεῦθεν ἡ διδασκαλία αὐτῶν διηρημένη, καὶ καλεῖται ἢ μὲν ἀνατολική τις διδασκαλία κατ' αὐτοὺς ἢ δὲ Ἰταλιωτική. Οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας, ὧν ἐστὶν Ἡρακλέων καὶ Πτολεμαῖος φασίν, κ.τ. λ. Clement of Alexandria made ἐπιτομαὶ ἐκ τῶν Θεοδότου καὶ τῆς ἀνατολικῆς καλουμένης διδασκαλίας.

<sup>2</sup> Clem. Alex. Str. iv. 9, § 73: ὁ τῆς Οὐαλεντίνου σχολῆς δοκιμώτατος.

CHAP. IV. and Origen says that 'he was reported to have been a familiar friend of Valentinus<sup>1</sup>.' Assuming this statement to be true, his writings cannot well date later than the first half of the second century<sup>2</sup>; and he claims the title of the first commentator on the New Testament.

His commentaries on the Gospels.

There is no evidence to determine how far the commentaries of Heracleon extended. Fragments of his commentaries on the Gospels of St Luke and St John have been preserved by Clement of Alexandria and Origen. And the very existence of these fragments shows clearly the precariousness of our information on early Christian literature. Origen quotes the commentary on St John repeatedly, but gives no hint that Heracleon had written anything else. Clement refers to the commentary on St Luke, and is silent as to the commentary on St John<sup>3</sup>. Hippolytus makes no mention of either.

<sup>1</sup> Comm. in Joan. Tom. II. § 8.

<sup>2</sup> Epiphanius, indeed, speaks of him as later than Marcus (Hær. xxxvi. 2). The exact chronology of the early heretics is very uncertain. In fact, at least all those with whom we have to do at present must have been contemporaries. It is surprising that Irenæus makes no mention of Heracleon, since he was closely associated with Ptolemæus against whom particularly his work was directed.

<sup>3</sup> Clem. Alex. Str. iv. 9, §§ 73 sq. The second passage which is commonly referred to his commentary on St Luke (ap. Clem. Alex. frag. § 25) appears to me very uncertain: *ἔνιοι δὲ ὡς φησιν Ἡρακλίων, περὶ τὰ ὄντα τῶν σφραγιζομένων*

The fragments contain allusions to the Gospel of St Matthew, to the Epistles of St Paul to the Romans and Corinthians (i.), and to the second Epistle to Timothy<sup>1</sup>; but the character of the Commentary itself is the most striking testimony to the estimation in which the Apostolic writings were held. The sense of the inspiration of the Evangelists—of some providential guidance by which they were led to select each fact in their history and each word in their narrative—is not more complete in Origen. The first commentary on the New Testament exhibits the application of the same laws to its interpretation as were employed in the Old Testament. The slightest variation of language was held to be significant<sup>2</sup>. Numbers were supposed to con-

The allusions which they contain to the writings of the New Testament.

The doctrine of Inspiration which they imply.

κατεσημήναντο οὕτως ἀκούσαντες τὸ ἀποστολικόν. Cf. Iren. adv. Hær. i. 25, 6. No 'apostolic injunction' occurs to me likely to have given rise to the custom.

<sup>1</sup> The references are:

St Matthew viii. 12; Orig. in Joan. Tom. xiii. § 59.

Romans xii. 1; Orig. l. c. § 25, i. 25; Orig. in Joan. xiii. § 19.

1 Corinthians, Orig. l. c. § 59.

2 Timothy ii. 13; Clem. Alex. Str. iv. l. c.

<sup>2</sup> I cannot help quoting one criticism which seems to me far truer in principle than much which is commonly written on the prepositions of the New Testament. Writing on Luke xii. 8, he remarks: 'With good reason Christ says of those who confess Him, *in me* (ὁμολ. ἐν ἐμοί), but of those who deny Him, *me* (ἀρν. ἐμέ) only. For these, even if they confess Him with their voice, deny Him, since they confess Him not in their action. But they alone make confession *in* Him

CHAP. II. **veal a hidden truth. The whole record was found to be pregnant with spiritual meaning, conveyed by the teaching of events in themselves real and instructive. It appears also that differences between the Gospels were felt, and an attempt made to reconcile them<sup>1</sup>. And it must be noticed that authoritative spiritual teaching was not limited to our Lord's own words, but the remarks of the Evangelist also were received as possessing an inherent weight<sup>2</sup>.**

*The fact of  
commentaries  
of the Bible  
is not  
mentioned.*

The introduction of commentaries implies the strongest belief in the authenticity and authority of the New Testament Scriptures; and this belief becomes more important when we notice the source from which they were derived. They took their rise among heretics, and not among Catholic Christians. Just as the earliest Fathers applied themselves to the Old Testament, to bring out its real harmony with the Gospel, heretics endeavoured to reconcile the Gospel with their own systems. Commentaries

who live in the confession and action that accords with Him; in whom also He makes confession, having Himself embraced them, and being held fast by them' (Clem. Alex. Str. iv. l. c.)

<sup>1</sup> Orig. in Joan. x. § 21: ὁ μέντοι γε Ἡρακλίων τό ἐν τρισί· φησὶν ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐν τρίτῃ...

<sup>2</sup> The fragments of Heracleon are published (after Masman) at the end of Stieren's edition of Irenæus; but much still remains to make the collection complete. His commentary on the fourth chapter of St John will illustrate most of the statements in the text. Orig. in Joann. Tom. xiii. § 10 sqq.

were made where the want for them was pressing. CHAP. IV.  
 But unless the Gospels had been generally accepted, the need for such works would not have been felt. Heracleon was forced to turn and modify much that he found in St John, which he would not have done if the book had not been raised above all doubt<sup>1</sup>. And his evidence is the more valuable, because it appears that he had studied the history of the Apostles, and spoke of their lives with certainty<sup>2</sup>.

In addition to the books of the New Testament, Heracleon quoted the 'Preaching of Peter.' In this he did no more than Clement of Alexandria and Gregory of Nazianzus; and Origen when he mentions the quotation does not venture to pronounce absolutely on the character of the book<sup>3</sup>. It is quite possible that

Heracleon  
quoted also  
the Preaching  
of Peter.

<sup>1</sup> Thus to John i. 3, οὐδὲ ἐν, he added, τῶν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ καὶ τῇ κτίσει (Orig. in Joan. ii. § 8). He argued that John i. 18 contained the words of the Baptist, and not of the Evangelist (Orig. in Joan. Tom. vi. § 2); and in like manner he supposed that the words of Ps. lxxviii. 10, used in John ii. 17, were applied not to our Lord, but to 'the powers which He had ejected' (Orig. in Joan. x. 19). These forced interpretations were made from doctrinal motives, and in themselves sufficiently prove that St John's Gospel was no Gnostic work.

<sup>2</sup> Clem. Alex. Str. iv. l. c.: οὐ γὰρ πάντες οἱ σωζόμενοι ὁμολόγησαν τὴν διὰ τῆς φωνῆς ὁμολογίαν καὶ ἐξῆλθον· ἐξ ὧν Ματθαῖος, Φίλιππος, Θωμᾶς, Λευῖς (i. e. Θαδδαῖος), καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοί.

<sup>3</sup> Comm. in Joan. Tom. xiii. § 17. Cf. App. B.

CHAP. IV. it contained many genuine fragments of the Apostle's teaching; and the fact that it was used for illustration<sup>1</sup> affords no proof that it was placed on the same footing as the Canonical Scriptures.

§ 7. *Ptolemæus.*

The position  
of Ptole-  
mæus.

Ptolemæus, like Heracleon, was a disciple of Valentinus, and classed with him in the Italian as distinguished from the Eastern School<sup>2</sup>. Ire-næus in his great work specially proposed to refute the errors of his followers; and it appears that he reduced the Valentinian system to order and consistency, and presented it under its most attractive aspect.

His Letter to  
Flora.

Epiphanius has preserved an important letter which Ptolemæus addressed to an 'honourable sister Flora,' in which he maintains the composite and imperfect character of the Law. In proof of this doctrine he quoted words of our Lord recorded by St Matthew, the prologue to St John's Gospel, and passages from St Paul's Epistles to the Romans, Corinthians (i.), and

<sup>1</sup> The quotation which Heracleon made was in illustration of our Lord's teaching on the true worship, John iv. 22. The passage in question is given by Clement, Str. vi. 5, §§ 40, 41.

<sup>2</sup> Hipp. adv. Hær. vi. 35. Tertullian (adv. Val. 4) places Ptolemæus before Heracleon.

Ephesians<sup>1</sup>. He appealed, it is true, to an CHAP. IV.  
 esoteric rule of interpretation, but there is nothing to show that he added to or subtracted from the Christian Scriptures. ‘You will learn,’ he says, ‘by the gift of God in due course the origin and generation [of evil], when you are deemed worthy of the Apostolic tradition, which we also have received by due succession, while at the same time you measure all our statements by the teaching of the Saviour<sup>2</sup>.’

Many other fragments of the teaching, if not of the books, of Ptolemæus, have been preserved by Irenæus<sup>3</sup>; and though they are full of forced explanations of Scripture, they recognize even in their wildest theories the importance of every detail of narrative or doctrine. He found support for his doctrine in the parables, the miracles, and the facts of our Lord’s life, as well as in the teaching of the Apostles. In the course of the exposition of his system quotations occur from the four Gospels, and from the Epistles of

Fragments of his teaching in Irenæus.

<sup>1</sup> Eriph. Hær. xxiii. 3 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> Eriph. Hær. xxiii. 7: μαθήσει γάρ, θεοῦ διδόντος, ἐξῆς καὶ τὴν τούτου ἀρχὴν τε καὶ γέννησιν, ἀξιουμένη τῆς ἀποστολικῆς παραδόσεως, ἣν ἐκ διαδοχῆς καὶ ἡμεῖς παρειλήφμεν, μετὰ καὶ τοῦ κανονίσαι πάντας τοὺς λόγους τῆ τοῦ σωτήρος διδασκαλία.

<sup>3</sup> Iren. adv. Hær. i. 1 sqq. After the exposition of the Valentinian system is completed (i. 8, 5), the Latin Version adds: *et Ptolemæus quidem ita*. There is nothing to correspond to these words in the Greek.



**CHAP. IV. St Paul to the Romans, Corinthians (i.), Galatians, Ephesians, and Colossians<sup>1</sup>. Two statements, however, are made at variance with the Gospels: that our Lord's ministry was completed in a year; and that He continued for eighteen months with His disciples after His Resurrection. The first, which has found advocates in modern times, is remarkable because it is chiefly opposed to St John's Gospel, on which the Valentinians rested with most assurance: the second was held by Ptolemæus in common with the Ophites<sup>2</sup>.**

### § 8. *The Marcosians.*

The Marcosians made use of Apocryphal writings.

One sect of the Valentinians was distinguished by the use of Apocryphal writings. 'The Marcosians,' Irenæus writes, 'introduce

<sup>1</sup> The following references may be noticed:

Matthew v. 18 (Iren. i. 3, 2); ix. 20 sq. (i. 3, 3); x. 34 (i. 3, 5); xiii. 33 (i. 8, 3); xx. 1 (i. 3, 1); xxiii. 46; xxvi. 38 (i. 8, 2).

Mark v. 31 (i. 3, 3); x. 21 (i. 3, 5).

Luke ii. 42 (i. 3, 2); iii. 17 (i. 3, 5); vi. 13 (i. 3, 2); viii. 41 (i. 8, 2); ix. 57 sqq.; xix. 5 (i. 8, 3).

John xii. 27 (var. lect. i. 8, 2); i. 1 sqq. (i. 8, 5).

Romans xi. 16 (i. 8, 3); xi. 36 (i. 3, 4).

1 Corinthians i. 18 (i. 3, 5); xi. 10; xv. 8 (i. 8, 2); xv. 48 (i. 8, 3).

Galatians vi. 14 (i. 3, 5).

Ephesians i. 10 (i. 3, 4); iii. 21 (i. 3, 1); v. 13 (i. 8, 5); v. 32 (i. 8, 4).

Colossians i. 16 (i. 4, 5); ii. 9; iii. 11 (i. 3, 4).

<sup>2</sup> Iren. adv. Hær. i. 3, § 3; i. 3, § 2; cf. i. 30, § 7.

with subtlety an unspeakable multitude of apocryphal and spurious writings (*γραφαί*), which they forged themselves, to confound the foolish, and those who know not the Scriptures (*γράμματα*) of truth<sup>1</sup>. In the absence of further evidence it is impossible to pronounce exactly on the character of these books: it is sufficient that they did not supplant the Canonical Scriptures. At the same time their appearance in this connexion is not without importance. Marcus, the founder of the sect, was probably a native of Syria<sup>2</sup>; and Syria, it is well known, was fertile in those religious tales which are raised to too great importance by the title of Gospels.

Whatever the Apocryphal writings may have been, the words of Irenæus show that they were easily distinguishable from Holy Scripture; and the Marcosians themselves bear witness to the familiar use of our Gospels. The formularies which Marcus instituted contain references to the Gospel of St Matthew, and perhaps to the Epistle to the Ephesians<sup>3</sup>. The teaching of his

But they admitted also the Canonical Gospels;

<sup>1</sup> Iren. adv. Hær. i. 20, 1. Among these was a Gospel of the Infancy (Iren. i. 20, 2), containing a similar story to that in the Gospel of Thomas, c. 6.

<sup>2</sup> This may be deduced from his use of Aramaic liturgical forms. Iren. i. 21, 3.

<sup>3</sup> Iren. adv. Hær. i. 13, 3 (Matt. xviii. 10); i. 13, 2 (Eph. iii. 16).

CHAP. IV. followers offers coincidences with all four Gospels. These Gospel-quotations present remarkable various readings, but there is no reason to suppose that they were borrowed from any other source than the canonical books. Irenæus evidently considered that they were taken thence; and while he accuses the Marcosians of 'adapting' certain passages of the Gospels to their views, the connexion shows that they tampered with the interpretation and not with the text<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The various readings are of considerable interest when taken in connexion with those of the Gospel-quotations of Justin. They are exactly of such a character as might arise from careless copying or quotation. In some respects also they are supported by other authority. I have given the passages at length, that they may be compared with Justin.

Matt. xi. 25 sqq.: ἐξομολογήσομαί (-οῦμαι—so Lat. Int.) σοι, Πάτερ, κύριε τῶν οὐρανῶν (τοῦ οὐρ.) καὶ τῆς γῆς, ὅτι ἀπέκρυψας (+ ταῦτα—so Lat. Int.) ἀπὸ σοφῶν καὶ συνετῶν καὶ ἀπεκάλυψας αὐτὰ νηπίοις. Οὐά (ναί), ὁ Πατήρ, ὅτι ἔμπροσθέν σου εὐδοκία μοι ἐγένετο (οὕτως ἐγ. εὐ. ἐμ. σου—Lat. Int. quoniam in conspectu tuo placitum factum est). Πάντα μοι παρεδόθη ὑπὸ τοῦ Πατρός μου· καὶ οὐδεὶς ἔγνω τὸν Πατέρα εἰ μὴ ὁ Υἱός, καὶ τὸν Υἱὸν εἰ μὴ ὁ Πατήρ καὶ ᾧ ἂν ὁ Υἱὸς ἀποκαλύψῃ. For the last clause, see p. 159, n. 2.

Matt. xi. 28, 29: δεῦτε... ὑμᾶς καὶ μάθετε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ τὸν τῆς ἀληθείας Πατέρα κατηγγελκέναι. ὁ γὰρ οὐκ ᾔδεισαν, φησί, τοῦτο αὐτοῖς ὑπέσχετο διδάξαι. The last words show that τὸν...κατηγγελκέναι formed no part of the quotation, which agrees verbally with St Matthew, omitting one clause.

Matt. xix. 16: τί με λέγεις ἀγαθόν; εἰς ἐστὶν ἀγαθός, ὁ Πατήρ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς. Cf. p. 184. The passage is referred to by Ptolemæus thus (Eriph. Hær. xxxiii. 7): εἷνα γὰρ μόνον εἶναι ἀγαθὸν Θεὸν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ πατέρα ὁ σωτὴρ ἡμῶν ἀπεφώνησε. Cf. Mk. x. 18, and D in l.

In addition to the Gospels the Marcosians referred generally to St Paul in support of their peculiar opinions. 'They said that Paul in express terms had frequently indicated *the redemption in Christ Jesus*; and that this was that doctrine which was (variously and incongruously) delivered by them<sup>1</sup>.'

Matt. xxi. 23 : ἐν ποία δυνάμει (ἐξουσία) τοῦτο (ταῦτα) ποιεῖς;

Mark x. 38 : δύνασθε τὸ βάπτισμα βαπτισθῆναι, ὃ ἐγὼ μέλλω βαπτίζεσθαι (βαπτίζομαι); Μέλλω βαπτ. answers to Matt. x. 22, μέλλω πειν. Cf. p. 170.

Luke ii. 49 : οὐκ οἶδατε (so Tert. ἤδαιτε ὅτι ἐν τοῖς τοῦ πατρὸς μου δεῖ με εἶναι;

Luke xii. 50 : καὶ ἄλλο (=) βάπτισμα (+ δὲ) ἔχω βαπτισθῆναι, καὶ πάνυ ἐπείγομαι εἰς αὐτό (πῶς συνέχομαι ἕως ὅτου τελεσθῇ;) This change is a good instance of an interpretative gloss.

Luke xix. 42 : εἰ ἔγνωσ καὶ σὺ σήμερον (ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ταύτῃ) τὰ πρὸς εἰρήνην ἐκρύβη δέ (νῦν δὲ ἐκρ. ἀπὸ ὀφθαλμῶν) σου.

John xx. 24. Iren. i. 20, 2 sqq. Cf. Iren. i. 18, 4.

One passage causes me some perplexity. It stands thus (Iren. i. 20, 2): ἐν τῷ εἰρηκεῖναι πολλάκις ἐπεθύμησα ἀκοῦσαι ἕνα τῶν λόγων τούτων, καὶ οὐκ ἔσχον τὸν ἐροῦντα, ἐμφαίνοντός φασιν, εἶναι διὰ τοῦ ἐνὸς τὸν ἀληθῶς ἕνα θεὸν ὃν οὐκ ἐγνώκεισαν. The Latin Version offers no various reading. Stieren supposes that the words are taken from an Apocryphal Gospel; but that is contrary to what Irenæus says. May we not change ἐπεθύμησα into ἐπεθύμησαν, and refer to Matt. xiii. 17? By this emendation ἐγνώκεισαν has a natural antecedent, and, unless I am mistaken, the connexion of the passage is improved.

<sup>1</sup> Iren. adv. Hær. i. 21, 2. The phrase occurs in the Epistles of St Paul to the Romans (iii. 24), Ephesians (i. 7), and Colossians (i. 14). The words of the Marcosians may consequently be taken as a testimony to these Epistles.

AP. IV.

as far they  
ignised  
or parts of  
New  
Testament.

The coincidences with the other parts of the New Testament are less certain. An allusion to the Deluge bears a marked similarity to the passage in the first Epistle of St Peter<sup>1</sup>; and among the titles of our Lord occurs 'Alpha and Omega,' which appears to have been borrowed from the Apocalypse<sup>2</sup>. Apart from this special coincidence, the whole reasoning of the Marcosians shows a clear resemblance to the characteristic symbolism of the Apocalypse, which is distinguished by the sanction that it gives to a belief in the deep meaning of letters and numbers. And this belief, though carried to an extravagant extent, lies at the bottom of the Marcosian speculations. The principle of interpretation is one which I cannot attempt to discuss, but it is again a matter of interest to trace the general agreement between the contents of the Canon and the bases on which heretical sects professed to build their systems. If we suppose that the 'acknowledged' books of the New Testament were in universal circulation and esteem, we

<sup>1</sup> Iren. i. 18, 3; 1 Peter iii. 20. The recurrence of the same word *διεσώθησαν* makes the similarity more worthy of notice.

<sup>2</sup> Iren. i. 14, 6; 15, 1. The allusion would be beyond doubt if *φησὶν αὐτὸν α καὶ ω* could be translated, as Stieren translates it, *ipse se dicit A et Ω*. It is evident from the next sentence that *φησὶ* implies a quotation. Must we not read *αὐτός*, 'on this account he is... ?'

find in them an adequate explanation of the manifold developments of heresy. In whatever direction the development extended, it can be traced to some starting point in the Apostolic writings<sup>1</sup>.

### § 9. *Marcion.*

Hitherto the testimony of heretical writers to the New Testament has been confined to the recognition of detached parts by casual quotations or characteristic types of doctrine. Marcion, on the contrary, fixed a definite collection

The first known Canon that of Marcion.

<sup>1</sup> At the end of the works of Clement of Alexandria is usually published a series of fragments, entitled 'Short Notes from the writings of Theodotus and the so-called Eastern School at the time of Valentinus' (ἐκ τῶν Θεοδοίου καὶ τῆς ἀνατολικῆς διδασκαλίας κατὰ τοὺς Οὐαλεντίνου χρόνους ἐπιτομαί). The meaning of the phrase 'Eastern School' has been explained already; and the testimony of these fragments may be considered as supplementary to that which has been obtained from the Valentinians of the West. But as I am not now able to enter on the discussion of the authorship and date of the fragments, it will be enough to give a general summary of the books of the New Testament to which they contain allusions. They are these: the four Gospels; the Epistles of St Paul to the Romans, Corinthians (i.), Ephesians, Galatians, Philippians, Colossians, Timothy (i.); the First Epistle of St Peter.

Epiphanius in his article on Theodotus of Byzantium, who is commonly identified with the Clementine Theodotus, represents him (Hær. liv.) as using the Gospels of St Matthew, St Luke, and St John; the Acts of the Apostles; the First Epistle to Timothy.

The passages are given at length by Kirchhofer, § 403 ff.

CHAP. IV. of Apostolic books as the foundation of his system. The Canon thus published is the first of which there is any record; and like the first Commentary and the first express recognition of the equality of the Old and New Testament Scriptures, it comes from without the Catholic Church, and not from within it.

The peculiar position of Marcion.

The position which Marcion occupies in the history of Christianity is in every way most striking. Himself the son of a bishop of Sinope, it is said that he aspired to gain the 'first place' in the Church of Rome<sup>1</sup>. And though his father and the Roman presbyters refused him communion, he gained so many followers that in the time of Epiphanius they were spread throughout the world. While other heretics proposed to extend or complete the Gospel, he claimed only to reproduce in its original simplicity the Gospel of St Paul<sup>2</sup>. But his personal influence was great and lasting. He impressed his own character on his teaching, where others only lent their names to abstract systems of doctrine. If Polycarp called him 'the first-born of Satan,' we

<sup>1</sup> Epiph. Hær. xlii. 1. What the *προεδρία* was is uncertain. Probably it implies only admission into the college of *πρεσβύτεροι*. Cf. Bingham, *Orig. Eccles.* i. p. 266. Masuet, *de Gnostic. reb.* § 135.

<sup>2</sup> Tort. adv. Marc. i. 20: *Aiunt Marcionem non tam innovasse regulam separationis Legis et Evangelii, quam retro adulteratam recurasse.*

may believe that the title signalized his special energy; and the fact that he sought the recognition of a Catholic bishop shows the position which he claimed to fill. CHAP. IV.

The time of Marcion's arrival at Rome<sup>1</sup> His date. cannot be fixed with certainty. Justin Martyr speaks of him as 'still teaching' when he wrote his first Apology, and from the wide spread of his doctrine then, it is evident that some interval had elapsed since he had separated from the Church<sup>2</sup>. Consistently with this, Epiphanius 139-142 A. C. places that event shortly after the death of Hyginus; and Tertullian states it as an acknowledged fact, that Marcion taught in the reign of Antoninus Pius, but with a note to the effect that he had taken no pains to inquire in what year he began to spread his heresy<sup>3</sup>. This approximate date, however, is sufficient to give an accurate notion of the historical place which he occupied. As the contemporary of Justin, he united the age of Ignatius with that of Irenæus. He witnessed the consolidation of the Catholic

<sup>1</sup> Petavius has discussed his date. *Animadv. in Epiph. Hær. xlv. (p. 83)*; and Massuet much more fully and exactly, *de Gnostic. reb. § 136*.

<sup>2</sup> Just. Mart. *Ap. i. c. 26*.

<sup>3</sup> Tert. *adv. Marc. i. 19*: *Quoto quidem anno Antonini Majoris de Ponto suo exhalaverit aura canicularis non curari investigare; de quo tamen constat, Antonianus hæreticus est, sub Pio impius.*



CHAP. IV. Church; and his heresy was the final struggle of one element of Christianity against the whole truth—the formal counterpart of Ebionism, naturally later in time than that, but no less naturally a result of a partial view of Apostolic teaching<sup>1</sup>.

The contents  
of his Canon.

Marcion professed to have introduced no innovation of doctrine, but merely to have restored that which had been corrupted. St Paul only, according to him, was the true Apostle; and Pauline writings alone were admitted into his Canon. This was divided into two parts, 'The Gospel' and 'The Apostolicon'.<sup>2</sup> The Gospel was a recension of St Luke with numerous omissions, and variations from the received text<sup>3</sup>. The Apostolicon contained ten Epistles of St Paul, excluding the Pastoral Epistles and that to the Hebrews<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Marcion is commonly described as the scholar and successor of Cerdo. But it is impossible to determine how far Cerdo's views on the Canon were identical with those of Marcion. The spurious additions to Tertullian's tract, *De Præscr. Hæret.* (c. li.), are of no independent authority.

<sup>2</sup> I have not noticed the title 'Apostolicon,' or 'Apostolus,' in Tertullian; but it occurs in Epiphanius, and in the Dialogue appended to Origen's works.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. p. 351, and note 1.

<sup>4</sup> The Epistles were arranged according to Tertullian (adv. Marc. v.) in the following order: Galatians, Corinthians (i. ii.), Romans, Thessalonians (i. ii.), Ephesians (Laodiceans), Colossians, Philippians, Philemon.

Tertullian and Epiphanius agree in affirming that Marcion altered the text of the books which he received to suit his own views; and they quote many various readings in support of the assertion. Those which occur in the Epistles are certainly insufficient to prove the point<sup>1</sup>;

CHAP. IV.

The text of the Epistles.

Epiphanius gives the same order, with the single exception that he transposes the two last (Hær. xlii. p. 373).

Tertullian expressly affirms the identity of the Epistles to the Laodiceans and to the Ephesians (v. 17); and implies that Tertullian prided himself on the restoration of the true title, *quasi et in isto diligentissimus explorator*. The language of Epiphanius is contradictory.

The statements of Tertullian and Epiphanius as to the Epistle to Philemon are at first sight in opposition; but I believe that Epiphanius either used the word *διαστρόφος* loosely, or was misled by some author who applied it to the transposition and not to the corruption of the Epistle. He uses the same word of the Epistle to the Philippians, but Tertullian gives no hint that that Epistle was tampered with in an especial manner by Marcion. Cf. Epiph. Hær. xlii. pp. 373, 374; Tertull. adv. Marc. v. 20, 21. Again, Epiphanius says (id. p. 371) that the Epistles to the Thessalonians were 'distorted in like manner.'

<sup>1</sup> The variations which Epiphanius notices are:

Eph. v. 31, = τῇ γυναικί. So Jerome.

Gal. v. 9, δολοί. So Lucif. &c.

1 Cor. ix. 8, ὁ νόμος + Μωυσέως. Cf. the following verse.

— x. 9, Χριστὸν for Κύριον. So D, E, F, G, &c.

— — 19, + ἱερόδυτον Cf. varr. lect.

— xiv. 19, διὰ τὸν νόμον. So Ambrst.

2 Cor. iv. 13, = κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον.

The language of Tertullian is more general. Speaking of the Epistle to the Romans he says: *Quantas autem foveas in ista vel maxime Epistola Marcion fecerit auferendo quæ voluit de nostri Instrumenti integritate parebit* (adv. Marc. v.

**CHAP. IV.** and on the contrary, they go far to show that Marcion preserved without alteration the text which he found in his MS. Of the seven 13); but he does not enumerate any of these lacunæ, nor are they noticed by Epiphanius. In the next chapter, after quoting Rom. viii. 11, he adds, 'Salio et hic amplissimum abruptum intercisæ scripturæ,' and then passes to Rom. x. 2. Epiphanius says nothing of any omission here; and the language of Tertullian is at least ambiguous, especially when taken in connexion with his commentary on Rom. xi. 33. It appears however from Origen (Comm. in Rom. xvi. 25), that Marcion omitted the two last chapters of the Epistle.

In the Epistle to the Galatians it seems that there was some omission in the third chapter (Tert. v. 3), but it is uncertain of what extent it was. In Gal. ii. 5, Marcion read οὐδέ, while Tertullian omitted the negative (l. c.).

The other variations mentioned by Tertullian are the following:

1 Cor. xv. 45, Κύριον for Ἀδάμ. Cf. varr. lectt.

2 Cor. iv. 4, Marcion was evidently right in his punctuation.

Eph. ii. 15, = αὐτοῦ.

— — 20, = καὶ προφητῶν.

— iii. 9, = ἐν.

— vi. 2, = last clause.

1 Thess. ii. 15, + ιδίους. So D\*\*\*, E\*\* &c.

2 Thess. i. 8, = ἐν πυρὶ φλογός.

In addition to these various readings, Jerome (l. c.) mentions the omission of καὶ Θεοῦ Πατρὸς in Gal. i. 1; and from the Dialogue (c. 5) it appears that the Marcionites read 1 Cor. xv. 38 sq. with considerable differences from the common text.

The examination of these readings perhaps belongs rather to the history of the text than to the history of the Canon; but they are in themselves a proof of the minute and jealous attention paid to the N. T. Scriptures. If the text was watched carefully, the Canon cannot have been a matter of indifference.

readings noticed by Epiphanius, only three are unsupported by other authority; and it is altogether unlikely that Marcion changed other passages, when, as Epiphanius himself shows, he left untouched those which are most directly opposed to his system. CHAP. IV.

With the Gospel the case was different. The influence of oral tradition upon the form and use of the written Gospels was of long continuance. The personality of their authors was in some measure obscured by the character of their work. The Gospel was felt to be Christ's Gospel—the name which Marcion ventured to apply to his own—and not the particular narration of any Evangelist. And such considerations as these will explain, though they do not justify, the liberty which Marcion allowed himself in dealing with the text of St Luke. There can be no doubt that St Luke's narrative lay at the basis of his Gospel; but it is not equally clear that all the changes which were introduced into it were due to Marcion himself. Some of the omissions can be explained at once by his peculiar doctrines; but others are unlike arbitrary corrections, and must be considered as various readings of the greatest interest, dating, as they do, from a time anterior to all other authorities in our possession<sup>1</sup>. The text of the Gospel.

<sup>1</sup> Of the longer omissions the most remarkable is that of

## CHAP. IV.

The cause of  
the omis-  
sions.

The Acts.

The Pastoral  
Epistles.

There is no evidence to show on what grounds Marcion rejected the Acts and the Pastoral Epistles<sup>1</sup>. Their character is in itself sufficient to explain the fact; and there is nothing to indicate that his judgment was based on any historical objections to their authenticity. In the Acts there is the clearest recognition of the teaching of St Peter as one constituent part of the Christian faith, while Marcion regarded it as essentially faulty; and so again, since he claimed to be the founder of a new line of bishops, it was obviously desirable to clear away the foundation of the Churches whose apostolicity he denied. This may have been the reason why they were not found in his Canon; but it is unsatisfactory to conjecture where history is silent. And the mere fact that Marcion did not recognize the Epistles, cannot be used as an argument against their Pauline origin, as long as the grounds of his decision are unknown.

The remain-  
ing books of  
the New Tes-  
tament.

The rejection of the other books of the New Testament Canon was a necessary consequence of Marcion's principles. The first Apostles,

the parable of the Prodigal Son (Epiph. p. 338). The quotations from Marcion's gospel are collected by Kirchhofer (pp. 366 ff.)

<sup>1</sup> In one passage, Epiphanius (p. 321), according to the present text, affirms that he acknowledged, in part at least, the fourteen Pauline Epistles; but there is evidently some corruption in the words.

according to him, had an imperfect apprehension of the truth, and their writings necessarily partook of this imperfection. But it does not follow that he regarded them as unauthentic because he set them aside as unauthoritative<sup>1</sup>. CHAP. IV.

Apart from the important testimony which it bears to a large section of the New Testament writings, the Canon of Marcion is of importance, as showing the principle by which the New Testament was formed. Marcion accepted St Paul's writings as a final and decisive test of St Paul's teaching; in like manner the Catholic Church received the writings which were sanctioned by Apostolic authority as combining to convey the different elements of Christianity. There is indeed no evidence to show that any definite Canon of the Apostolic writings was already published in Asia Minor, when Marcion's appeared; but the minute and varied hints which have been already collected tend to prove that, if it were not expressly fixed, it was yet implicitly determined by the practice of the Church. And,

The principles on which the Canon was formed.

<sup>1</sup> Though Marcion did not make use of the other Gospels, it appears that he was acquainted with them, and endeavoured to overthrow their authority, not by questioning their authenticity, but by showing that those by whose authority they were published were reprov'd by St Paul (adv. Marc. iv. 3): *Connititur ad destruendum statum eorum evangeliorum quæ propria et sub Apostolorum nomine eduntur, vel etiam Apostolicorum (St Mark), ut scilicet fidem quam illis adimit suo conferat.*

CHAP. IV. without attaching undue weight to the language of his adversaries, it is not to be forgotten that they always charge him with mutilating something which already existed, and not with endeavouring to impose a test which was not generally received.

### § 10. *Tatian.*

The relation of Tatian to Marcion.

The history of Tatian throws an important light on that of Marcion. Both were naturally restless, inquisitive, impetuous. They were subject to the same influences, and were for a while probably resident in the same city<sup>1</sup>. Both remained for some time within the Catholic Church, and then sought the satisfaction of their peculiar wants in a system of stricter discipline, and sterner logic. Both abandoned the received Canon of Scripture; and together they go far to witness to its integrity. They exhibit different phases of the same temper; and while they witness to the existence of a critical spirit among Christians of the second century, they point to a Catholic Church as the one centre from which their systems diverged.

The eventfulness of his life.

Tatian was an Assyrian by birth, and a pagan, but, no less than his future master Justin, an ardent student of philosophy. Like the most famous men of his age, he was attracted to

<sup>1</sup> Tat. ad Gr. 18; Just. Ap. i. 26.

Rome, and there he met Justin,—that ‘most CHAP. IV. admirable man,’ as he calls him—whose influence and experience could not fail to win one of such a character as Tatian’s to the Christian faith. The hostility of Crescens tested the sincerity of his conversion; and after the death of Justin he devoted himself to carrying on the work which his master had begun. For a time his work was successfully accomplished, and Rhodon was among his scholars. But afterwards, in consequence of his elevation, as Irenæus asserts, he introduced novelties of doctrine into his teaching; and at last returning to the East, placed himself at the head of the sect of the Encratites, combining the Valentinian doctrine of Æons with the asceticism of Marcion<sup>1</sup>.

The strange vicissitudes of Tatian’s life contribute to the value of his evidence. In part he continues the testimony of Justin, and in part he completes the Canon of Marcion. Doubts have been raised as to Justin’s acquaintance with the writings of St Paul and St John; and we find his scholar using them without hesitation. Marcion is said to have rejected the pastoral Epistles on critical grounds; and Tatian, who was not less ready to trust to individual judg-

The consequent importance of his evidence.

<sup>1</sup> Tatian, Orat. cc. 42, 1, 35, 18, 19. Iren. adv. Hær. i. 28, 1 (Euseb. H. E. iv. 29). Epiph. Hær. xlvi. Cf. Iren. adv. Hær. iii. 23, 8.



CHAP. IV. ment, affirmed that the Epistle to Titus was most certainly the Apostle's writing.

The testimonies contained in his *Address to Greeks*;

The existing work of Tatian—his 'Address to Greeks'—offers no scope for Scriptural quotations. There is abundant evidence to prove his deep reverence for the writings of the Old Testament, and yet only one anonymous quotation from it occurs in his Apology<sup>1</sup>; but it is most worthy of notice that in the same work he makes clear references to the Gospel of St John, to a parable recorded by St Matthew, and probably to the Epistles of St Paul to the Romans and Corinthians, and to the Apocalypse<sup>2</sup>. The absence of more explicit testimony to the books of the New Testament is to be accounted for by the style of his writing, and not by his unworthy estimate of their importance.

and in his fragments.

A few fragments and notices in other writers help to extend the evidence of Tatian. Eusebius relates on the authority of others, that 'he dared to alter some of the expressions of the Apostle (Paul), correcting their style<sup>3</sup>.' In this there is

<sup>1</sup> Orat. c. 15; Ps. viii. 5. The quotation occurs Hebr. ii. 7; and it may be remarked, that just before Tatian uses the word ἀπαύγασμα (Heb. i. 3).

<sup>2</sup> St Matthew xiii. 44, c. 30; St John i. 1, Orat. c. 5; i. 3, c. 19; i. 5, c. 13.

Romans i. 20, c. 4; vii. 15, c. 11.

1 Corinthians iii. 16; ii. 14, c. 15.

Apoc. xxi. sq. c. 20.

<sup>3</sup> Euseb. H. E. iv. 29.

nothing to show that Eusebius was aware of greater differences as to the contents of the New Testament between the Catholics and Tatian than might fall under the name of various readings; yet in this it appears that he was deceived. Jerome states expressly that Tatian rejected some of the Epistles of St Paul, though he maintained the authenticity of that to Titus<sup>1</sup>. However this may be, it can be gathered from Clement of Alexandria, Irenæus, and Jerome, that he endeavoured to derive authority for his peculiar opinions from the Epistles to the Corinthians and Galatians, and probably from the Epistle to the Ephesians and the Gospel of St Matthew<sup>2</sup>. Nor is this all: the name of one out of 'the great multitude of his compositions' is not the least important element of his testimony.

<sup>1</sup> Pref. in Tit. (fr. xi. Otto.) Tatianus Encratarum patriarches, qui et ipse nonnullas Pauli Epistolas repudiavit, hanc vel maxime (hoc est ad Titum) apostoli pronuntiandam credidit, parvi pendens Marcionis et aliorum qui cum eo in hac parte consentiunt assertionem.

It is probable that he rejected the Epistles to Timothy (cf. Otto l. c.), but there is no evidence to prove it. Many of the Encratites rejected St Paul altogether. Cf. p. 359, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> St Matthew vi. 19; xxii. 30; Clem. Al. Str. iii. 12, § 86 (fr. 2).

1 Corinthians vii. 5; Clem. Al. l. c. § 81 (fr. 1); xv. 22; Iren iii. 23, 8 (fr. 5).

Galatians vi. 8; Hieron. Comm. in l. (fr. 3).

Ephesians iv. 24; Clem. Al. l. c. § 82 (fr. 8) ὁ παλαιὸς ἀνὴρ καὶ ὁ καινός.

CHAP. IV. His Diatessaron is apparently the first recognition of a fourfold Gospel.

His Diatessaron.  
The account of it given by Eusebius.

The earliest mention of the Diatessaron<sup>1</sup> of Tatian is in Eusebius. 'Tatian,' he says, 'the former leader of the Encratites, having put together in some strange fashion a combination and collection of the Gospels, gave this the name of the Diatessaron, and the work is still partially current<sup>2</sup>.' The words evidently imply that the Canonical Gospels formed the basis of Tatian's Harmony; and that this was the opinion of Eusebius is placed beyond all doubt by the preceding sentence, in which he states that 'the Severians, who consolidated Tatian's heresy,

<sup>1</sup> No notice is taken of the Diatessaron in Otto's Edition of Tatian. The most exact account of it with which I am acquainted is that of Credner, Beiträge, i. pp. 437 ff. He endeavours to show that the Diatessaron was in fact a form of the Petrine Gospel, and identical with that of Justin Martyr (p. 444). When he says (p. 48) that the Diatessaron is spoken of "bald als eine von ihm selbst (Tatian) verfasste, gottlose Harmonie aus unsern vier Evangelien, bald als eine eigne, selbständige Schrift," I confess that I do not recognize his usual accuracy and candour.

<sup>2</sup> Euseb. H. E. iv. 29: ὁ μέντοι γε πρότερος αὐτῶν ἀρχηγος ὁ Τατιανὸς συνάφειάν τινα καὶ συναγωγὴν, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως, τῶν εὐαγγελίων συνθεῖς, τὸ διὰ τεσσάρων τοῦτο προσωνόμασεν ὃ καὶ παρά τισιν εἰσέτι νῦν φέρεται. Eusebius evidently spoke from hearsay; but he attributes the title of the book to Tatian himself, and makes no mention of any apocryphal additions to the Evangelic narrative.

The term διὰ τεσσάρων was used in music to express the concord of the fourth (συλλαβή). This sense may throw some light upon the name.

made use of the Law, the Prophets, and the Gospels, while they spoke ill of the Apostle Paul, rejecting his Epistles, and refusing to receive the Acts of the Apostles<sup>1</sup>. The next testimony is that of Epiphanius, who writes that  
Epiphanius.  
 ‘Tatian is said to have been the author of the Harmony of the four Gospels, which some call the Gospel according to the Hebrews<sup>2</sup>.’ The express mention of the four *Gospels* is important as fixing the meaning of the original title. Not long afterwards, Theodoret gives a more exact  
Theodoret.  
 account of the character and common use of the book. ‘Tatian also composed the Gospel called “Diatessaron,” removing the genealogies, and all the other passages which show that Christ was

<sup>1</sup> Euseb. l. c. Credner (p. 439) supposes that the term *Severiani* was merely a translation of *ἐγκρατηταί*. Origen (c. Cels. v. 65) mentions the Encratites among those who rejected the Epistles of St Paul. They received some Apocryphal books also: *κέχρηται δὲ γραφαῖς προτοτύπως (? πρωτοτύποις) ταῖς λεγομέναις Ἀνδρέου καὶ Ἰωάννου πράξεις καὶ Θωμᾶ καὶ ἀποκρύφους τισί.* (Eriph. Hær. xlvii. 1.)

<sup>2</sup> Eriph. Hær. xlii. 1: *λέγεται δὲ τὸ διὰ τεσσάρων εὐαγγελίων ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ γεγενῆσθαι ὅπερ κατὰ Ἑβραίους τινὲς καλοῦσι.* Some perhaps may be inclined to change *εὐαγγελίων* into *εὐαγγέλιον*.

No stress can be laid on the conjectural identification of the Diatessaron with the Gospel according to the Hebrews. Epiphanius appears to give no credit to it; and the belief admits of easy explanation. Both books were current in the same countries, and differed from the canonical Gospels by the omission of the genealogies. And few writers out of Palestine could compare the books to determine their real difference.

CHAP. IV. born of David according to the flesh. This was used not only by the members of his party, but even by those who followed the Apostolic doctrine, as they did not perceive the evil design of the composition, but used the book in their simplicity for its conciseness. And I found also myself more than two hundred such books in our churches (in Syria), which had been received with respect; and having gathered all together, I caused them to be laid aside, and introduced in their place the Gospels of the four Evangelists<sup>1</sup>. Not only then was the Diatessaron grounded on the four Canonical Gospels, but in its general form it was so orthodox as to enjoy a wide ecclesiastical popularity. The heretical character of the book was not evident upon the surface of it, and consisted rather in faults of defect than in erroneous teaching. Theodoret had certainly examined it, and he, like earlier writers, regarded it as a compilation from the

<sup>1</sup> Theodor. Hæret. fab. I. 20 (Credn. p. 442): οὗτος καὶ τὸ διὰ τεσσάρων καλούμενον συντέθεικεν εὐαγγέλιον, τὰς γενεαλογίας περικόψας καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὅσα ἐκ σπέρματος Δαβὶδ κατὰ σάρκα γεγενημένον τὸν Κύριον δείκνυσιν. Ἐχρήσατο δὲ τούτῳ οὐ μόνον οἱ τῆς ἐκείνου συμμορίας ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ τοῖς ἀποστολικαῖς ἐπόμενοι δόγμασι, τὴν τῆς συνθήκης κακουργίαν οὐκ ἐγνωκότες, ἀλλ' ἀπλούστερον ὡς συντόμῳ τῷ βιβλίῳ χρησάμενοι. Εὗρον δὲ κατὰ πλείους ἢ διακοσίας βίβλους τοιαύτας ἐν ταῖς παρ' ἡμῖν ἐκκλησίαις τετιμημένας καὶ πάσας συναγαγὼν ἀπεθέμην καὶ τὰ τῶν τεττάρων εὐαγγελιστῶν ἀντεισήγαγον εὐαγγέλια. The technical sense of κακουργία (*malitia*) forbids us to lay any undue stress on the word.

four Gospels. He speaks of omissions which CHAP. IV. were, in part at least, natural in a Harmony, but notices no such apocryphal additions as would have found place in any Gospel not derived from canonical sources. The later history of the Diatessaron is involved in confusion. Another Diatessaron was composed by Ammonius of Alexandria not long afterwards, and in process of time the two were confused<sup>1</sup>. It is stated, however, by Dionysius Bar Salibi, a writer of the twelfth century, that Ephrem Syrus commented on the Diatessaron of Tatian, and that Tatian's work commenced with the first words of St John's Gospel. The fact in itself is by no means improbable, as appears from the narrative of Theodoret, and from the use which Tatian elsewhere made of the fourth Gospel; but its authenticity is rendered questionable by a passage in Gregory Bar Hebræus, who relates that Ephrem commented on the Diatessaron of Ammonius, and that the words in question were found in that<sup>2</sup>. It is indeed quite possible that both

Later Syrian writers.

<sup>1</sup> See note (2).

<sup>2</sup> The original passages are given at length by Credner (pp. 446 sqq.) Cf. Lardner, ii. pp. 444 sqq. Ebed-jesu identifies Tatian and Ammonius (Credner, p. 449). The testimony of Victor of Capua shows how great was the confusion even in his time between the Harmonies of Tatian and Ammonius (Lardner, p. 443). If there be no error in his statement that Tatian's Harmony was called 'Diapente,' the fifth Gospel alluded to in the name was probably that

CHAP. IV. Harmonies began in the same way, and even that the Harmony of Ammonius was a mere revision of that of Tatian. But it is unnecessary to discuss a point which if it do not confirm the Canonical origin of Tatian's Harmony, does not in any way invalidate it.

The title  
*Diatessaron.*

All that can be gathered from history falls in with the idea suggested by the title of the book. And without strong external evidence in support of another view, the title itself must be allowed to have great weight. There can be no reasonable doubt that the name was given to the work by Tatian himself; and if the Diatessaron was not a compilation of four Gospels, what is the explanation of the number? If again these four Gospels were not those which we receive, what other four Gospels ever formed a collection which needed no further description than 'the Four?' I am not aware that any answer has been given to these questions; and in connexion with the belief and assertions of early Fathers, they are surely decisive as to the sources of Tatian's Diatessaron. And thus once again, a heretical writer is the first to recognize outwardly an important fact in the history of the Canon<sup>1</sup>.

according to the Hebrews, and the title was given in consequence of the confusion already noticed.

<sup>1</sup> Tatian's Diatessaron is said to have contained one important addition (Matt. xxvii. 49), which is however found in B, C, L., &c. Cf. Griesbach, l. c.

## CONCLUSION OF THE FIRST PART. 363

It must indeed have been evident throughout CHAP. IV.  
the course of this chapter that the testimony of General  
result of the  
Chapter.  
heretical writers to the books of the New Testament tends on the whole to give greater certainty and weight to that which is drawn from other sources. So far from obscuring or contravening the judgment of the Church generally, they offer material help in the interpretation of it. And this follows naturally from their position. As separatists they fixed the standard by which they were willing to be judged, if it differed from that which was commonly received. And all early controversy proceeds on this basis. The authority of the Apostolic Scriptures is everywhere assumed: this is the rule and only exceptions from the rule are noticed in detail.

A brief summary of the results which have CONCLU-  
SION.  
been obtained in the First Part of our inquiry The sum-  
mary of the  
First Part.  
will show how far they satisfy that standard of reasonable completeness which was laid down at the outset. The conditions of the problem must be fairly considered, as well as the character of the solution; and it cannot be too often repeated that the period which has been examined is truly the dark age of Church-history. In the absence of all trustworthy guidance every step requires to be secured by painful investigation; and if



## 364 CONCLUSION OF THE FIRST PART.

CONCLU-  
SION.

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I have entered into tedious details, it has been because I know that nothing can be rightly neglected which tends to throw light upon the growth of the Catholic Church. And the growth of the Catholic Church is the comprehensive fact of which the formation of the Canon is one element.

i. The di-  
rect evidence  
is fragmen-  
tary, but

The evidence which has been collected is confessedly fragmentary both in character and substance. And that it is so, follows from the nature of the case. But when all the fragments are combined, the sum exhibits the chief marks of complete trustworthiness.

of wide  
range,

It is of wide range both in time and place. Beginning with Clement of Rome, the companion of St Paul, an uninterrupted series of writers, belonging to the chief Churches of Christendom, witness with more or less fulness to the books of the New Testament. And though the evidence is thus extended, yet it is not without its points of connexion. Most of the writers who have been examined visited Rome: all of them might have been acquainted with Polycarp.

of unaffected  
simplicity,

The character of the evidence is no less striking than its extent. The allusions to Scripture are perfectly natural. The quotations are prefaced by no apology or explanation. The language of the books used was so familiar as to have become part of the common dialect. And

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when men speak without any distinction of their private opinion, it is evident that they express the general judgment of their time. The various testimonies which have been collected thus unite in one; and that one is the general judgment of the Church.

This is further shown by the uniform tendency of the evidence. It is always imperfect, but the different parts are always consistent. It is derived from men of the most different characters, and yet all that they say is strictly harmonious. Scarcely a fragment of the earliest Christian literature has been preserved which does not contain some passing allusion to the Apostolic writings; and yet in all there is no discrepancy. The influence of some common rule is the only natural explanation of this common consent. Nor is evidence altogether wanting to prove the existence of such a rule. The testimony of individuals is expressly confirmed by the testimony of Churches. Two great Versions were current in the East and West from the earliest times, and the Canons which they exhibit agree with remarkable exactness with the scattered and casual notices of ecclesiastical writers. And their common contents—the four Gospels, the Acts, thirteen Epistles of St Paul, the first general Epistles of St Peter and St John—constitute a Canon of acknowledged books. And this agree-

CONCLU-  
SION.

of perfect  
uniformity,

and sus-  
tained by the  
judgment of  
Churches.  
and

**CONCLU-  
SION.**

the practice  
of heretics.

ment of independent writers is not limited to those who were members of the same Catholic Church: the evidence of heretics is even more full and clear. And when they differed from the common opinion, doctrinal and not historical objections occasioned the difference.

The relation  
of Scripture  
and Tradition  
in regard to  
the Canon.

One circumstance which at first sight appeared to embarrass the inquiry has been found in reality to give it life and consistency. A traditional word was current among Christians from the first coincidently with the written Word. It is difficult indeed to conceive that it should have been otherwise if we regard the Apostles as vitally connected with their age; but it is evident that the two might have been in many ways so related as to have produced an unfavourable impression as to the completeness of our present Canon. But now on the contrary the New Testament is found to include all the great elements which are elsewhere referred to Apostolic sources. Many imperfect narratives of our Lord's life were widely current, but the Canonical Gospels offer the types on which they were formed. In the first ages the New Testament may serve at once as the measure and as the rule of tradition.

ii. The au-  
thenticity of  
the Canon is  
a key to the  
history of the  
early Church.

For the earliest evidence for the authenticity of the books of which it is composed is not confined to direct testimony. Perhaps that is

still more convincing which springs from their peculiar characteristics as representative of special types of Christian truth. No one probably will deny the existence of distinguishing features in the several forms of Apostolic teaching, and the history of the subapostolic age is the history of corresponding differences developed in early Christian writers, and in turn transformed into the germs of heresy. The ecclesiastical phase of the difference is in every case later than the scriptural; and thus, while I have spoken of the first century after the Apostles as the dark age of Church-history, the recognition of the great elements of the New Testament furnishes a satisfactory explanation of the progress of the Church during that critical period, which on the other hand itself offers no place for the forgery of such books as are included in the Canon.

CONCLU-  
SION.

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But while the evidence for the authenticity of the Canonical books of the New Testament is up to this point generally complete and satisfactory, it is not such as to remove every doubt to which the subject is liable. At present no trace has been found of the existence of the second Epistle of St Peter<sup>1</sup>. And the Epistles of St James and St Jude, the second and third Epistles of

Yet there are (1) doubts as to the contents of the Canon, and

<sup>1</sup> One coincidence has been pointed out to me which deserves notice. The language of the well-known reference to St Paul in Polycarp's Epistle (c. 3) bears considerable

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CONCLU-  
SION.

St John, the Epistle to the Hebrews, and the Apocalypse, were received only partially, though they were received exactly in those places in which their history was most likely to be known<sup>1</sup>.

(2) the idea of a Canon was implied rather than expressed.

And more than this, the idea of a Canon itself found no public and authoritative expression except where it was required by the necessities of translation. But though during the first age, and long afterwards, the Catholic Church offered no determination of the limits and groundwork of the Canon, they were practically settled by that instinctive perception of truth, if it may not be called by a nobler name, which can, I believe, be recognized as presiding over the organization of the early Church. The Canon of Marcion may have been the first which was publicly proposed, but the general consent of earlier Catholic writers proves that within the Church there had been no need for pronouncing a judgment on a point which had not been brought into dispute. The formation of the Canon may have been gradual, but it was certainly undisturbed. It was a growth, and not a series of contests.

resemblance to the corresponding passage in 2 Pet. iii. 15 (*σοφία, ἐπιστολαί*), but in the absence of all other evidence it is impossible to insist on this.

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the Epistle of St Jude forms an exception to this statement. But the history of the Epistle is extremely obscure.

CONCLUSION OF THE FIRST PART. 369

In the next part it will be seen to what extent this agreement as to the Catholic Canon was established at the end of the second century. And this will furnish in some degree a measure of what had been already settled. The opinions of Irenæus, Clement, and Tertullian were formed by influences at work within the age of Polycarp; and it is wholly arbitrary to suppose that they originated the principles which they organized.

CONCLU-  
SION.

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The result of the teaching of this period to be sought in the first generation of the next.



**SECOND PERIOD.**

**HISTORY OF THE CANON FROM THE TIME OF  
HEGESIPPUS TO THE PERSECUTION  
OF DIOCLETIAN.**

**A.D. 170—303.**



Τοῖς πειθομένοις μὴ ἀνθρώπων εἶναι συγγράμματα τὰς ἱερὰς βίβλους ἀλλ' ἐξ ἐπιπνοίας τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος βουλήματι τοῦ πατρὸς τῶν ὄλων διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ταύτας ἀναγεγράφθαι καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐληλυθέναι, τὰς φαινομένας ὁδοὺς ὑποδεικτέον, ἔχομένοις τοῦ κανόνος τῆς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ κατὰ διαδοχὴν τῶν ἀποστόλων οὐρανοῦ ἐκκλησίας.—ORIGENES.

## CHAPTER I.

### THE CANON OF THE ACKNOWLEDGED BOOKS AT THE CLOSE OF THE SECOND CENTURY.

Communicamus cum Ecclesiis Apostolicis quod nulli  
doctrina diversa : hoc est testimonium veritatis.

CHAP. I.

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TERTULLIANUS.

THE close of the second century marks a great change in the character and position of the Christian Church. It cannot be a mere accident that up to that time the remains of its literature are both unsystematic and fragmentary, a meagre collection of letters, apologies, and traditions, while afterwards Christian works ever occupy the foremost rank in genius as well as in spiritual power. The contrast really expresses the natural progress of Christianity. At first its work was chiefly with the heart; and when that was filled, it next asserted its right over the intellect. And this conquest was necessarily gradual and slow. A Christian dialect could not be fixed at once; and the scientific aspect of the new doctrines could be determined only by the experience of many efforts to unite them with existing systems. It was thus that for a time philosophic views of Christianity were chiefly to be found without the Church, since the partial representation of

The three  
stages of the  
advance of  
Christianity.

its philosophic worth naturally preceded any adequate realization of it. And perhaps it is not difficult to see a fitness in that disposition of events which committed the teaching of the Apostles to minds essentially receptive and conservative, that it might be inwrought into the life of men before it became the subject of subtle analysis. However this may be, it is impossible not to recognize the vast access of power which characterizes the works of Irenæus, Clement, and Tertullian, when compared with earlier writings, both in their scope and composition. In them Christianity asserts its second conquest: the easiest and yet the most perilous alone remained. It had won its way to the heart of the simple and to the judgment of the philosopher: it had still to claim the deference of the statesman. And each success brought its corresponding trial. When Wisdom (*γνῶσις*) was ranged with Truth, it was not always contented to follow; and in after times the subjugation of the imperial government prepared the way for the corruption of the Church by material influences.

The connexion of the Fathers of the second period with their predecessors.

But though the Fathers of the close of the second century are thus prominently distinguished from those who preceded them, it must not be forgotten that they were trained by that earlier generation which they surpassed. They inherited the doctrines which it was their task to arrange

and harmonize. They made no claims to any discoveries in Christianity, but with simple and earnest zeal appealed to the testimony of the Apostolic Church to confirm the truth of their writings. They never admitted the possibility of being separated from their forefathers; and if it has been shown that the continuity of the Christian faith has hitherto suffered no break, from this point it is confessedly maintained without interruption. One voice proceeds from Lyons, from Carthage, from Alexandria, the witness and the herald of the truth.

With regard to the Canon of the New Testament this concord of doctrine is of the greatest importance. In it that which has been already recognized in practice finds a formal expression. As long as those lived who had seen the Apostles—as long as the teaching of the Apostles was fresh in men's minds—it was, as has been already seen, unlikely that their writings, as distinguished from their words, would be invested with any special importance. But traditions soon became manifold, while the books remained unchanged: a catholic Church was organized, and it was needful to determine the 'Covenant' in which its laws were written: Christianity furnished subjects for the philosopher, and it was requisite to settle from what sources his premises might be taken. As soon as the want

How this bears on the history of the Canon.

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**CHAP. I.** was felt it was satisfied. - As soon as an independent Christian literature arose in which it was reasonable to look for any definite recognition of the Apostolic writings, that recognition is substantially clear and correct. With the exception of the Epistle to the Hebrews, the two shorter Epistles of St John, the second Epistle of St Peter, the Epistles of St James and St Jude, and the Apocalypse<sup>1</sup>, all the other books of the New Testament are acknowledged as Apostolic and authoritative throughout the Church at the close of the second century. The evidence of the great Fathers by which it is represented varies in respect of these disputed books, but the Canon of the acknowledged books is established by their common consent. Thus the testimony on which it rests is not gathered from one quarter, but from many, and those the most widely separated by position and character. It is given, not as a private opinion, but as an unquestioned fact,—not as a late discovery, but as an original tradition.

The Canon of acknowledged books at the close of the second century.

From this point then it will be needless to accumulate testimonies to the Canonicity of the four Gospels, of the Acts, of the thirteen Epistles of St Paul, of the first Epistles of St John and

<sup>1</sup> The position of the Apocalypse is anomalous. If it were not for its omission in the Peshito it would be up to this time an acknowledged Book.

St Peter. No one at present will deny that they occupied the same position in the estimation of Christians in the time of Irenæus as they hold now. But here one strange fact must be noticed: the authenticity of the Apocalypse, which is supported by the satisfactory testimony of early writers, was disputed for the first time in the Western Church in the course of the third century. In other words, there was a critical spirit still alive among Christians which impelled them even then to test afresh the records on which their faith rested.

But before dismissing the Canon of the acknowledged books it will be well to revert once again at greater length to the manner in which it is recognized by Irenæus and his contemporaries. Their evidence, when considered in connexion with the circumstances under which it is given, will go far to establish the point to which our investigations have all tended, that the formation of a Canon was among the first instinctive acts of the Christian society—imperfect as the organization of the Church was at first incomplete, but attaining its full proportions by a certain growth as the development of the Church was matured.

On what grounds it rested.

Nothing is known directly of the origin of the Gallican Church; but from several ritual peculiarities its foundation may be probably

i. The testimony of the Gallican Church.

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CHAP. I. referred to teachers from Asia Minor<sup>1</sup>, with which province it long maintained an intimate connexion. And thus Gaul owed its knowledge of Christianity to the same country from which in former times it had drawn its civilization: the Christian missionary completed the work of the Phocæan exile. However this may have been, the first notice of the Church shows its extent and constancy. In the seventeenth year of the reign of Antoninus Verus it was visited by a fierce persecution, of which Eusebius has preserved a most affecting narrative, addressed by the Christians of Vienne and Lyons to 'the brethren in Asia and Phrygia, who held the same faith and hope of redemption as themselves<sup>2</sup>.' This narrative was written immediately after the events which it describes, and is everywhere penetrated by scriptural language and thought. It contains no reference by name to any book of the New Testament, but its coincidences of language with the Gospels of St Luke and St John, with the Acts of the Apostles, with the Epistles of St Paul to the Romans, Corinthians (?), Ephesians, Philippians, and Timothy (i.), with the first catholic Epistles of St Peter and St John, and with the Apocalypse, are unequivocal<sup>3</sup>. In itself this fact would

*The Epistle  
of the  
Churches of  
Vienne and  
Lyons.*

<sup>1</sup> Palmer's *Origines Liturgicæ*, i. pp. 155 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> Euseb. H. E. v. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Euseb. l. c.

perhaps call for little notice after what has been said of the general reception of the acknowledged books at the close of the second century, but it becomes of importance as the testimony of a Church, and one which was not without connexion with the apostolic age even at the time of the persecution. In the same Church where Irenæus was a presbyter—‘zealous for the covenant of Christ’—Pothinus was bishop, already ninety years old. Like Polycarp he was associated with the generation of St John, and must have been born before the books of the New Testament were all written. And how then can it be supposed with reason that forgeries came into use in his time which he must have been able to detect by his own knowledge? that they were received without suspicion or reserve in the Church over which he presided? that they were upheld by his hearers as the ancient heritage of Christians? It is possible to weaken the connexion of the facts by arbitrary hypotheses, but interpreted according to their natural meaning they tell of a Church united by its head with the times of St John to which the books of the New Testament furnished the unaffected language of hope and resignation and triumph. And the testimony of Irenæus is the testimony of this Church. Nor was this the only point in which

*Irenæus the representative of the Church of Lyons.*

<sup>1</sup> Euseb. v. 4.



he came in contact with the immediate disciples of the Apostles. It has been seen already that he recalled in his old age the teaching of Polycarp the disciple of St John; and his treatise against heresies contains several references<sup>1</sup> to others who were closely connected with the apostolic age. He stood forth to maintain no novelties, but to vindicate what had been believed of old. Those whom he quoted had borne witness to the New Testament Scriptures, and he only continued on a greater scale the usage which they had recognized. When he wished to win back Florinus, once his fellow-disciple, to the truth, he reminded him of the zeal and doctrine of their common master, and how he spoke of Christ's teaching and mighty works from the words of those who followed Him. And is it then possible that he who was taught of Polycarp was himself deceived as to the genuine writings of St John? Is it possible that he decided otherwise than his first master, when he speaks of the tradition of the Apostles by which the Canon of Scripture was determined?<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. pp. 87 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> Iren. adv. Hær. iv. 33, 8: *Agnitio (γνώσις) vera est apostolorum doctrina et antiquus ecclesiæ status in universo mundo et character corporis Christi secundum successiones episcoporum quibus illi eam quæ in unoquoque loco est ecclesiam tradiderunt; quæ pervenit usque ad nos custoditione sine fictione Scripturarum tractatio plenissima neque additamentum neque ablationem recipiens.*

He appeals to the known succession of teachers in the Churches of Rome, Smyrna, and Ephesus, who held fast up to his own time the doctrine which they had received from the first age; and is it possible that he used writings as genuine and authoritative which were not recognized by those who must have had unquestionable means of deciding on their apostolic origin?

From Lyons we pass to Alexandria. The early history of the Egyptian Churches is not more certain than that of those in Gaul. Tradition indeed assigns the foundation of the Church of Alexandria to St Mark, but the best evidence for its antiquity is found in its state at the time of the earliest authentic record which remains of it. Not long after the middle of the second century Pantænus was dispatched on a mission to 'India' by Demetrius the bishop of Alexandria, at the request of the nation itself<sup>1</sup>. After successfully accomplishing this work he returned to Alexandria, and 'presided over the school (*διὰ τριβή*) of the faithful there.' The school then was already in existence, however much it may have owed to one distinguished alike 'for secular

ii. The testimony of the Church of Alexandria.

Pantænus.

<sup>1</sup> Euseb. II. E. v. 10. Hieron. de Virr. Ill. xxxvi. It does not fall within our present scope to inquire into the Hebrew Gospel which Pantænus found among the 'Indians.' The mention of the fact shows that attention was directed to the sacred books.

**CHAP. I.** learning and scriptural knowledge.' Indeed there is no absolute improbability in the statement of Jerome<sup>1</sup>, who interprets the words of Eusebius, 'that a school (*διδασκαλεῖον*) of the Holy Scriptures had existed there after an ancient custom,' as meaning that 'ecclesiastical teachers had always been there from the time of the Evangelist Mark.' Without insisting however on the apostolic origin of the school itself, it seems not improbable that Pantænus was personally connected with some immediate disciples of the Apostles. Many contemporaries of Pothinus and Polycarp may have survived to declare the teaching of St John; and Photius in fact represents Pantænus as a hearer of the Apostles<sup>2</sup>. At any rate there is not the slightest ground for assuming any organic change in the doctrine of the Alexandrine Church between the age of the Apostles and Pantænus. Everything, on the contrary, bespeaks its unbroken continuity. And Clement, the second of our witnesses, was trained in the school of Pantænus. He speaks as the representative of a class devoted specially to the study of the Scriptures, and established in a city second to none for the advantages and encouragement which it offered to literary criticism. Like Irenæus, Clement appeals with decision and confidence to the

*Clement.*

<sup>1</sup> Routh, i. 375.

<sup>2</sup> Lumper, iv. 44; Routh, i. 377.

judgment of those who had preceded him. His CHAP. I.  
 writings were no 'mere compositions wrought for display,' but contained a faint picture 'of the clear and vivid discourses, and of the blessed and truly estimable men, whom it was his privilege to hear.' For though Alexandria was in itself the common meeting-place of the traditions of the East and West, Clement had sought them out in their proper sources. As far as can be gathered from the clause in which he describes his teachers, he had studied in Greece and Italy and various parts of the East under masters from Ionia, from Cœle-Syria, from Egypt, and from Assyria, and also under a Hebrew in Palestine, before he met with Pantænus. 'And these men,' he writes, 'preserving the true tradition of the blessed teaching directly from Peter and James, from John and Paul, the holy Apostles, son receiving it from father (but few are they who are like their fathers), came by God's providence even to us, to deposit among us those seeds [of truth] which were derived from their ancestors and the Apostles<sup>1</sup>.'

<sup>1</sup> Clem. Alex. Str. i. 1, § 11 (Euseb. H. E. v. 11): "Ἦδη δὲ σὺ γραφὴ εἰς ἐπίδειξιν τετεχνασμένη ἦδε ἡ πραγματεία ἀλλὰ μοι ὑπομνήματα εἰς γῆρας θησαυρίζεται, λήθης φάρμακον, εἰδωλον ἀτεχνῶς καὶ σκιογραφία τῶν ἐναργῶν καὶ ἐμψύχων ἐκείνων ὧν κατηξιώθην ἐπακοῦσαι λόγων τε καὶ ἀνδρῶν μακαρίων καὶ τῶ ὄντι ἀξιολόγων. τούτων ὁ μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὁ Ἴωνικός· οἱ (Euseb. ὁ) δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς μεγάλης Ἑλλάδος, τῆς κοίλης θάτερος

## CHAP. I.

iii. The testimony of the African Church.

Of the African Church I have already spoken. The venerable relics of the old Latin Version attest the early reception of the New Testament there, and the care with which it was studied. In themselves those fragments are incomplete, and often questionable; but they do not stand alone. The writings of Tertullian furnish an invaluable commentary on the conclusions which have been drawn from them; and in turn his testimony is the judgment of his Church; an inheritance, and not a deduction.

*Tertullian.*

Tertullian himself insists on this with characteristic energy. 'If,' he says, 'it is acknowledged that that is more true which is more ancient, that

αὐτῶν Συρίας ἦν ὁ δὲ ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου· ἄλλοι δὲ ἀνὰ τὴν ἀνατολήν, καὶ ταύτης ὁ μὲν τῆς τῶν Ἀσσυρίων ὁ δὲ ἐν Παλαιστίνῃ Ἑβραῖος ἀνέκαθεν· ὑστάτῳ δὲ περιτυχῶν (δυνάμει δὲ οὗτος πρῶτος ἦν) ἀνεπαυσάμην ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ θηράσας λεληθότα. Σικελικῇ τῷ ὄντι μέλιττα, προφητικῷ τε καὶ ἀποστολικῷ λειμῶνος τὰ ἄνθη δρεπόμενος ἀκήρατόν τι γνώσεως χρῆμα ταῖς τῶν ἀκροωμένων ἐνεγέννησε ψυχαῖς. ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν τὴν ἀληθῆ τῆς μακαρίας σώζοντες διδασκαλίας παράδοσιν εὐθὺς ἀπὸ Πέτρου τε καὶ Ἰακώβου, Ἰωάννου τε καὶ Παύλου, τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων, παῖς παρὰ πατρός ἐκδεχόμενος (ὀλίγοι δὲ οἱ πατράσιν ὅμοιοι) ἤκον δὴ σὺν θεῷ καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς τὰ προγονικὰ ἐκεῖνα καὶ ἀποστολικά καταθησόμενοι σπέρματι· καὶ εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι ἀγαλλιάσονται, οὐχὶ τῇ ἐκφράσει ἡσθέντες λέγω τῆδε, μόνη δὲ τῇ κατὰ τὴν ὑπόσημείωσιν τηρήσει. The passage is of great importance as showing the intimate intercourse between different churches in Clement's time and the uniformity of their doctrine. The use of the prepositions is singularly exact and worthy of notice. I have changed Klotz's punctuation, which makes the passage unintelligible.

more ancient which is even from the beginning, that from the beginning which is from the Apostles; it will in like manner assuredly be acknowledged that that has been derived by tradition from the Apostles which has been preserved inviolate in the churches of the Apostles. Let us see what milk the Corinthians drank from Paul; to what rule the Galatians were recalled by his reproofs; what is read by the Philippians, the Thessalonians, the Ephesians; what is the testimony of the Romans, who are nearest to us, to whom Peter and Paul left the Gospel, and that sealed by their own blood. We have moreover churches founded by John. For even if Marcion rejects his Apocalypse, still the succession of bishops [in the seven churches], if traced to its source, will rest on the authority of John. And the noble descent of other churches is recognized in the same manner. I say then that among them, and not only among the Apostolic Churches, but among all the churches which are united with them in Christian fellowship, that Gospel of Luke which we earnestly defend has been maintained from its first publication<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Adv. Marc. iv. In summa si constat id verius quod prius, id prius quod et ab initio, ab initio quod ab Apostolis: pariter utique constabit id esse ab Apostolis traditum quod apud ecclesias Apostolorum fuerit sacrosanctum. Videamus quod lac a Paulo Corinthii hauserint; ad quam regulam Galatæ sint recorrecti; quid legant Philippenses, Thessalo-

CHAP. I. And 'the same authority of the Apostolic Churches will uphold the other Gospels which we have, in due succession, through them and according to their usage, I mean those of [the Apostles] Matthew and John; although that which was published by Mark may also be maintained to be Peter's, whose interpreter Mark was...' 'These are for the most part the summary arguments which we employ when we argue about the Gospels against heretics, maintaining both the order of time which sets aside the later works of forgers (*posteritati falsariorum præscribenti*), and the authority of churches which upholds the tradition of the Apostles; because truth necessarily precedes forgery, and proceeds from them to whom it has been delivered<sup>1</sup>.'

All appeal to antiquity.

The words of Tertullian sum up clearly and decisively what has been said before of the evi-

*nicenses, Ephesii; quid etiam Romani de proximo sonent, quibus evangelium et Petrus et Paulus sanguine quoque suo signatum reliquerunt. Habemus et Johannis alumnas ecclesias. Nam etsi Apocalypsim ejus Marcion respuit, ordo tamen episcoporum ad originem recens in Johannem stabit auctorem. Sic et cæterarum generositas recognoscitur. Dico itaque apud illas, nec solas jam apostolicas sed apud universas quæ illis de societate sacramenti confœderantur, id evangelium Lucæ ab initio editionis suæ stare quod cum-maxime tuemur. The clause in *Johannem stabit auctorem* is commonly translated, 'will show it [the Apocalypse] to have John for its author;' but it is evident that such a translation is quite out of place even if the words admit of it.*

<sup>1</sup> Adv. Marc. i. c. Cf. adv. Marc. iv. c. 2.

dence of Irenæus and Clement. All the Fathers at the close of the second century agree in appealing to the testimony of antiquity as proving the authenticity of the books which they used as Christian Scriptures<sup>1</sup>. And the appeal was made at a time when it was easy to try its worth. The links which connected them with the Apostolic age were few and known; and if they had not been continuous it would have been

<sup>1</sup> It is almost superfluous to give any references to the quotations from the acknowledged Books made by Irenæus, Clement, and Tertullian; but many of the following are worthy of notice on other grounds than as merely attesting the authenticity of the books.

(a) *The Four Gospels:*

Iren. iii. 11, 8; Clem. Str. iii. 13, § 93; Tert. adv. Marc. iv. 2.

(β) *The Acts:*

Iren. iii. 15, 1; Clem. Str. v. 12, § 83; Tert. adv. Marc. v. 2.

(γ) *The Catholic Epistles:*

1 John: Iren. iii. 16, 8; Clem. Str. ii. 15, § 66; Tert. adv. Prax. 25.

1 Peter: Iren. iv. 9, 2; Clem. Pæd. i. 6, § 44; Tert. c. Gnost. 12.

(δ) *The Pauline Epistles:*

Romans: Iren. ii. 22, 2; Clem. Str. ii. 21, § 134.

1 Corinthians: Iren. i. 8, 2; Clem. Str. i. 1, § 10.

2 Corinthians: Iren. iii. 7, 1; Clem. Str. i. 1, § 4.

Galatians: Iren. iii. 7, 2; Clem. Str. i. 8, § 41.

Ephesians: Iren. i. 8, 5; Clem. Str. iii. 4, § 28.

Philippians: Iren. i. 10, 1; Clem. Str. i. 11, § 53.

Colossians: Iren. iii. 14, 1; Clem. Str. i. 1, § 15.

1 Thessalonians: Iren. v. 6, 1; Clem. Str. i. 11, § 53.



**CHAP. I.** easy to expose the break. But their appeal was never gainsayed; and it still remains as a sure proof that no chasm separates the old and new in the history of Christianity. Those great teachers are themselves an embodiment of the unity and progress of the faith.

The testimony is the same when its original sources cannot be traced.

This will appear yet in another light when it is noticed that Clement and Irenæus speak from opposite quarters of Christendom, and exactly from those in which we have found before no traces of the circulation of the Apostolic writings. They tell us what was the fulness of the doctrine on Scripture where the churches had grown up in silence. They show in what way the books of the New Testament were the natural help of Christian men, as well as the ready armoury of Christian advocates.

The evidence for the reception of the acknowledged Books of the New Testament at the close of the second century is not yet complete.

2 Thessalonians: Iren. v. 25, 1; Clem. Str. v. 3, § 17.

Titus: Iren. i. 16, 3; Clem. Str. i. 14, § 59.

1 Timothy: Iren. i. pref.; Clem. Str. ii. 11, § 52.

2 Timothy: Iren. iii. 14, 1; Clem. Str. iii. 6, § 53.

The Epistle to Philemon is nowhere quoted by Clement or Irenæus, but Tertullian, who examines the *thirteen* Pauline Epistles in the fifth book against Marcion, distinctly recognizes it.

(e) The *Apocalypse*:

Iren. v. 35, 2; Clem. Pæd. ii. 10, § 108; Tert. adv. Marc. iii. 14.

Special causes hindered the universal circulation of the other books, but these were regarded throughout the Church as parts of an organic whole, correlative to the Old Testament, and of equal weight with it. They were considered to be not only Apostolic, but also authoritative. 'The Scriptures are perfect,' Irenæus says, 'inasmuch as they were uttered by the Word of God and His Spirit<sup>1</sup>;' and what he understands by the Scriptures is evident from the course of his arguments, in which he makes use of the books of the Old and New Testaments without distinction. 'There could not,' he elsewhere argues, 'be either more than four Gospels or fewer.' That number was prefigured by types in the Mosaic ritual and by analogies in nature, so that all are 'vain and ignorant and daring besides, who set at nought the fundamental notion (*ιδέα*) of the Gospel<sup>2</sup>.' Clement again recognizes generally a collection of 'the Scriptures of the Lord,' under the title of 'the Gospel and the Apostle<sup>3</sup>;' and this collective title shows that the books were regarded as essentially one. But this unity was produced by 'the harmony of the

CHAP. I.

And it includes the notion of a definite collection of sacred books.

<sup>1</sup> Iren. adv. Hær. ii. 28, 2. *Scripturæ quidem perfectæ sunt, quippe a Verbo Dei et Spiritu ejus dictæ.*

<sup>2</sup> Iren. adv. Hær. iii. 11, 8 sq.

<sup>3</sup> Str. vii. 3, § 14: *σφᾶς γὰρ αὐτοὺς αἰχμαλωτίζειν....τό τε εὐαγγέλιον ὃ τε ἀπόστολος κελεύουσι.* Elsewhere Clement uses the plural *ἀπόστολοι*.

**CHAP. I.** Law and the Prophets, and of the Apostles and the Gospels in the Church<sup>1</sup>. All alike proceeded from One Author: all were 'ratified by the authority of Almighty Power<sup>2</sup>.' Tertullian marks the introduction of the phrase 'New Testament,' as applied to the Evangelic Scriptures. 'If,' he says, 'I shall not clear up this point by investigations of the Old Scripture, I will take the confirmation of our interpretation from the New Testament...For, behold, I observe a visible and an invisible God, both in the Gospels and in the Apostles...<sup>3</sup>.'

The testimony of the chief Fathers supported by collateral evidence.

The clear testimony of Irenæus, Clement, and Tertullian,—clear because their writings are of considerable extent,—finds complete support not only in the fragments of earlier Fathers, but also in smaller contemporary works. Athenagoras at Athens and Theophilus at Antioch make use of the same books generally, and treat them with the same respect<sup>4</sup>. And from the

<sup>1</sup> Str. vi. 11, § 88.

<sup>2</sup> Str. iv. 1, § 2.

<sup>3</sup> Adv. Prax. 15: Si hunc articulum quæstionibus Scripturæ Veteris non expediam, de Novo Testamento sumam confirmationem nostræ interpretationis, ne quodcumque in Filium reputo in Patrem proinde defendas. Ecce enim et in Evangeliiis et in Apostolis visibilem et invisibilem Deum deprehendo, sub manifesta et personali distinctione conditionis utriusque.

<sup>4</sup> Athenagoras quotes the Gospels of St Matthew and St John, and the Epistles of St Paul to the Romans, Corinthians (i. ii.), and Galatians; and refers perhaps to the

close of the second century, with the single exception of the Apocalypse, the books thus acknowledged were ever received without doubt until subjective criticism ventured to set aside the evidence of antiquity<sup>1</sup>. CHAP. I.

In the next chapter I shall examine how far the disputed books were recognized in the several branches of the Christian Church, and whether any explanation can be offered for their partial reception.

Epistle to Timothy (i.), and to the Apocalypse. Theophilus, in his books to Autolytus, refers to the Gospels of St Matthew, St Luke (?), and St John; to the Epistles of St Paul to the Romans, Corinthians (i. ii.), Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, Timothy (i.), Titus; to the first Epistle of St Peter (?); and to the Apocalypse (Euseb. H. E. iv. 24).

<sup>1</sup> The assaults of the Manichees on the books of the New Testament cannot be considered an exception to the truth of this statement. Something will be said on them hereafter.

## CHAPTER II.

### THE TESTIMONY OF THE CHURCHES TO THE DISPUTED BOOKS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

**CHAP. II.** In *Canonicis Scripturis Ecclesiarum catholicarum quamplurium auctoritatem [indagator solertissimus] sequatur.*

AUGUSTINUS.

The question of the disputed books to be decided historically.

SEVEN books of the New Testament, as is well known, have been received into the Canon on evidence less complete than that by which the others are supported. In the controversy which has been raised about their claims to apostolic authority, much stress has been laid on their internal character. But such a method of reasoning is commonly inconclusive, and inferences are drawn on both sides with equal confidence. In every instance the result will be influenced by preconceived notions of the state of the early Church, and it is possible that an original source of information may be disparaged because it is independent. History must deliver its full testimony before internal criticism can find its proper use. And here the real question to be answered in the case of the disputed books is not, Why we receive them? but Why should we not receive them? The general agreement of the Church in the fourth century is an ante-

cedent proof of their claims; and it remains to be seen whether it is set aside by the more uncertain and fragmentary evidence of earlier generations. If, on the contrary, it can be proved that the books were known from the first though not known universally: if any explanation can be given of their limited circulation: if it can be shown that they were more generally received as they were more widely known: then it will appear that history has decided the matter; and this decision of history will be conclusive. The idea of forming the disputed books into a Deutero-canon of the New Testament (advocated by many Roman Catholics, in spite of the Council of Trent, and by many of the early reformers<sup>1</sup>), though it appears plausible at first sight, is evidently either a mere confession that the question is incapable of solution, or a re-statement of it in other words. The Second Epistle of St Peter is either an authentic work of the Apostle, or a forgery; for in this case

The acceptance of a Deutero-canon no solution of the problem.

<sup>1</sup> Even Augustine appears to have favoured this view: Tenebit igitur [scripturarum indagator] hunc modum in Scripturis canonicis, ut eas quæ ab omnibus accipiuntur Ecclesiis Catholicis præponat iis quas quædam non accipiunt; in iis vero quæ non accipiuntur ab omnibus, præponat eas quas plures gravioresque accipiunt iis quas pauciores minoris auctoritatis Ecclesiæ tenent. De Doctr. Chr. ii. 12. In spite of the authority, however, it is clear that such a statement can rest on no logical basis.

CHAP. II.

there can be no mean. And the Epistles of St James and St Jude, and that to the Hebrews, if they are genuine, are apostolic at least in the same sense as the Gospels of St Mark and St Luke and the Acts of the Apostles<sup>1</sup>. It involves a manifest confusion of ideas to compensate for a deficiency of historical proof by a lower standard of canonicity. The extent of the divine authority of a book cannot be made to vary with the completeness of the proof of its authenticity. The authenticity must be admitted before the authority can bear any positive value, which from its nature cannot admit of degrees; and till the authenticity be established the authority remains in abeyance.

A summary  
of the evi-  
dence up to  
this point.

The Epistle  
to the He-  
brews.

The evidence which has been collected hitherto for the apostolicity of the disputed books may be briefly summed up as follows. The Epistle to the Hebrews is certainly referred to by Clement of Rome, and probably by Justin Martyr; it is contained in the Peshito, though probably the version was made by a separate translator; but it is omitted in the fragmentary

<sup>1</sup> I do not by any means intend to assert that every work of an Apostle or Apostolic writer as such would have formed part of the Canon; indeed I believe that many Apostolic writings may have been lost when they had wrought their purpose, but that these books have received the recognition of the Church in such a manner that if genuine they must be canonical.

Canon of Muratori, and, as it appears, it was CHAP. II. wanting also in the old Latin version<sup>1</sup>. Except the opinion of Tertullian, which has been mentioned by anticipation, nothing has been found tending to determine its authorship. The Epistle of St James is apparently referred to The Epistle of St James. by Clement and Hermas, and is included in the Peshito (according to some copies, as the work of St James the elder); but it is not found in the Muratorian Canon, nor in the old Latin<sup>2</sup>. The Epistle of St Jude, and (probably) the two Jude; 2d. 3d. John. shorter Epistles of St John, are supported by the authority of the Muratorian Canon and of the old Latin version; but they are not found in the Peshito<sup>3</sup>. The Apocalypse is distinctly The Apocryphes. mentioned by Justin as the work of the Apostle John, and Papias and Melito bear witness to its authority: it is included in the Muratorian Canon, but not in the Peshito<sup>4</sup>. No trace has yet been found of the Second Epistle of St Peter.

From this general summary it will be seen According to churches. that up to this time the Epistle of St James and that to the Hebrews rest principally on the authority of the Eastern (Syrian) Church: the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. pp. 57, 203, 242, 258, 290.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. pp. 57, 223, 243, 267, 290.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. pp. 242, 284.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. pp. 201, 84, 246, 243.



**CHAP. II.** **Second and Third Epistles of St John, and the Epistle of St Jude, on that of the Western Church: the Apocalypse on that of the Church of Asia Minor.** It remains to inquire how far these lines of evidence are extended and confirmed in the great divisions of the Church up to the close of the third century.

§ 1. *The Alexandrine Church.*

The importance of the witness of the Alexandrine Church,

THE testimony of the Alexandrine Church, as has been noticed already, is of the utmost importance, from the natural advantages of its position and the conspicuous eminence of its great teachers during the third century. Never, perhaps, have two such men as Clement and Origen contributed in successive generations to build up a Christian Church in wisdom and humility. No two fathers ever did more to vindicate the essential harmony of Christian truth with the lessons of history and the experience of men; and in spite of their many faults and exaggerations, perhaps no influence on the whole has been less productive of evil<sup>1</sup>.

**CLEMENT.**

No catalogue of the Books of the New Testament occurs in the writings of Clement; but

<sup>1</sup> Athenagoras is sometimes classed with the Alexandrine school, but his writings contain no clear references to any of the disputed books. Cf. Lardner, Pt. ii. c. 18, § 21; Supr. p. 390.

Eusebius has given a summary of his 'Hypotyposes,' or 'Outlines,' which serves in some measure to supply the defect<sup>1</sup>. 'Clement, in his 'Outlines,' to speak generally, has given concise explanations of all the Canonical Scriptures (*πάσης τῆς ἐνδιαθήκου γραφῆς*), without omitting the disputed books: I mean the Epistle of Jude, and the remaining Catholic Epistles, as well as the Epistle of Barnabas and the so-called Revelation of Peter. And, moreover, he says that the Epistle to the Hebrews is Paul's, but that it was written to the Hebrews in the Hebrew dialect, and that Luke having carefully (*φιλοτιμῶς*) translated it, published it for the use of the Greeks. And that it is owing to the fact that he translated it that the complexion (*χρῶτα*) of this Epistle and that of the Acts is found to be the same. Further, he remarks that it is natural that the phrase 'Paul an Apostle' does not occur in the superscription, for in writing to Hebrews, who had conceived a prejudice against him and suspected him, he was very wise in not turning them away from him at the beginning by affixing his name. And then a little further on he (Clement) adds: 'And as the blessed presbyter (? Pantænus) before now used to say, since the Lord was sent to the Hebrews, as the Apostle Hebr. iii. 1.

<sup>1</sup> The testimony of Pantænus (?) to the Epistle to the Hebrews, as a work of St Paul, will be noticed below.

**CHAP. II.** of the Almighty, Paul, through his modesty, inasmuch as he was sent to the Gentiles, does not inscribe himself Apostle of the Hebrews, both on account of the honour due to the Lord, and because it was a work of supererogation that he addressed an epistle to the Hebrews also (*ἐκ περιουσίας καὶ τοῖς Ἑβραίοις ἐπιστέλλειν*) since he was herald and apostle of the Gentiles<sup>1</sup>. The testimony to the Pauline origin of the Epistle to the Hebrews which is contained in this passage is evidently of the greatest value. There can be little doubt that 'the blessed presbyter' was Pantænus; and thus the tradition is carried up almost to the Apostolic age. With regard to the other disputed books, the words of Eusebius imply some distinction between 'the Epistle of Jude and the Catholic Epistles,' and 'the Epistle of Barnabas and the Revelation of Peter.' But the whole statement is very loosely worded, and its true meaning must be sought by comparison with other evidence. Fortunately this is not wanting. Photius after commenting very severely on the doctrinal character of the 'Outlines,' adds; 'Now the whole object of the book consists in giving, as it were, interpretations of Genesis, of Exodus, of the Psalms, of the Epistles of St Paul, and of the Catholic

to the Epistle  
to the He-  
brews:

to the Catho-  
lic Epistles,

† c. 886,  
A. C.

<sup>1</sup> Euseb. H. E. vi. 14.

Epistles, and of Ecclesiasticus<sup>1</sup>.' The last clause is very obscure; but whatever may be meant by it, it is evident that the detailed enumeration is most imperfect, for the 'Outlines' certainly contained notes on the four Gospels. But if Clement had distinctly rejected any book which Photius held to be canonical, or treated any apocryphal book as part of Holy Scripture, it is likely that he would have mentioned the fact; and thus negatively his testimony modifies that of Eusebius, at least so far as that seems to imply that Clement treated the Epistle of Barnabas and the Revelation of Peter as canonical. A third account of the Outlines further limits the statements of Eusebius and Photius. Casiodorus, the chief minister of Theodoric, in his 'Introduction to the reading of Holy Scripture,' says: 'Clement of Alexandria, a presbyter, who is also called Stromateus, has made some comments on the Canonical Epistles, that is to say, on the first Epistle of St Peter, the first and second of St John, and the Epistle of *St James*, in pure and elegant language. Many things

† c. 575,  
A. C.

<sup>1</sup> Phot. Cod. 109. Bunsen, Anal. Ante-Nic. i. p. 165. For καὶ τῶν καθολικῶν καὶ τοῦ ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ (Bekk. ἐκκλησιαστοῦ), Bunsen prints καὶ τῶν καθ. καὶ τοῦ καθόλου τόμου Ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ. But surely ὁ καθόλου τόμος Ἐκκλησιαστικός is a marvellous phrase. The reference to the book of Wisdom in such a connexion, however perplexing, is not without parallel. Cf. p. 243.

which he has said in them shew refinement, but some a want of caution; and we have caused his comments to be rendered into Latin, so that by the omission of some trifling details, which might cause offence, his teaching may be imbibed with greater security<sup>1</sup>. The notes which follow are written on the first Epistle of St Peter, the Epistle of *St Jude* (not *St James*), and the first two Epistles of St John; and they contain numerous references to Scripture, and expressly assign the Epistle to the Hebrews to St Paul<sup>2</sup>. The scattered testimonies which are gathered from the text of Clement's extant works recognize the same books. He makes several quotations from the Epistle to the Hebrews (as St Paul's)<sup>3</sup>, from the Epistle of St Jude<sup>4</sup>, and one among many others, from the first Epistle of St John, which implies the existence of a second<sup>5</sup>; while he uses the Apocalypse

<sup>1</sup> The passages are printed at length by Bunsen, l. c. pp. 323 sqq.; and in the editions of Clement. Klotz, iv. pp. 52 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> But it is added, that it was translated by St Luke: Lucas quoque et Actus Apostolorum stylo exsecutus agnoscitur et Pauli ad Hebræos interpretatus epistolam. Cf. p. 397.

<sup>3</sup> Clem. Al. Str. vi. 8, § 62: Παῦλος... τοῖς Ἑβραίοις γράφων.

<sup>4</sup> Str. iii. 2, § 11: ἐπὶ τούτων οἶμαι... προφητικῶς Ἰούδαν ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ εἰρηκέναι.

<sup>5</sup> Str. ii. 15, § 66: φαίνεται δὲ καὶ Ἰωάννης ἐν τῇ μείζονι ἐπιστολῇ τὰς διαφορὰς τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἐκδιδάσκων.

frequently, assigning it to the Apostle St John<sup>1</sup>; CHAP. II.  
 but he nowhere makes any reference to the Epistle of St James<sup>2</sup>. There can then be little doubt that the reading in Cassiodorus is false, and that 'Jude' should be substituted for 'James;' and thus the different lines of evidence are found to coincide exactly. Clement, it appears, recognized as canonical all the books of the New Testament, except the Epistle of St James, the second Epistle of St Peter, and the third Epistle of St John. And his silence as to these can prove no more than that he was unacquainted with them<sup>3</sup>.

Origen completed nobly the work which ORIGEN  
 Clement began. During a long life of labour and suffering he learnt more fully than any one who went before him the depth and wisdom of the Holy Scriptures; and his testimony to their divine claims is proportionately more complete and systematic. Eusebius has collected the chief passages in which he speaks on the subject of the Canon, and though much that he says

<sup>1</sup> Pæd. ii. 12, § 119; Str. vi. 13, § 107: *ὡς φησὶ ἐν τῇ ἀποκαλίψει ὁ Ἰωάννης.*

<sup>2</sup> The instances commonly quoted are rightly set aside by Lardner, ii. 22, § 8.

<sup>3</sup> Clement's use of the writings of the Apostolic Fathers and of certain Apocryphal books will be considered in App. B. It is enough to notice that there is no evidence to show that he attributed to them a decisive authority, as he did to the writings of the Apostles in the strictest sense.

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How Eusebius records his evidence in reference to the Gospels;

refers to the Acknowledged Books, his evidence is too important to be omitted. Like the Fathers who preceded him, he professes only to repeat the teaching which he had received. 'In the first book of his Commentaries on Matthew,' Eusebius writes, 'preserving the rule of the Church, he testifies that there are only four Gospels, writing to this effect: I have learnt by tradition concerning the four Gospels, which alone are uncontroverted in the Church of God spread under heaven, that that according to Matthew, who was once a publican, but afterwards an Apostle of Jesus Christ, was written first;... that according to Mark, second;...that according to Luke, third;...that according to John, last of all<sup>1</sup>.'

the Apostolic Epistles.

'The same writer,' Eusebius continues, 'in the fifth book of his Commentary on the Gospel of John, says this of the Epistles of the Apostles: Now he who was made fit to be a minister of the new covenant, not of the letter but of the spirit, Paul, who fully preached the Gospel from Jerusalem round about even to Illyricum, did not even write to all the churches which he taught, and sent moreover but few lines (*στίχους*) to those to which he did address Epistles. Peter, again, on whom the Church of Christ is built, against which the gates of hell shall not

<sup>1</sup> Euseb. H. E. vi. 25.

prevail, has left behind [but] one epistle generally acknowledged; perhaps we may admit a second, for it is a disputed question. Why need I speak about him who reclined upon the breast of Jesus, John, who has left behind a single Gospel, though he confesses that he could make so many as not even the world could contain? He wrote, moreover, the Apocalypse, having been commanded to keep silence, and not to write the voices of the seven thunders. He has left behind also an Epistle of very few lines: perhaps we may admit a second and third; since all do not allow that these are genuine; nevertheless both together do not contain a hundred lines.'

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John xxi. 26.

The Apocalypse.  
Apoc. x. 4.

'In addition to these statements [Origen] thus discusses the Epistle to the Hebrews in his Homilies upon it: Every one who is competent to judge of differences of diction (*φράσεων*) would acknowledge that the style (*χαρακτήρ τῆς λέξεως*) of the Epistle entitled to the Hebrews, does not exhibit the Apostle's rudeness and simplicity in speech (*τὸ ἐν λόγῳ ἰδιωτικόν*), though he acknowledged himself to be 'simple in his speech,' i. e. in his diction (*τῇ φράσει*), but it is more truly Greek in its composition (*συνθέσει τῆς λέξεως*). And again, that the thoughts (*νοήματα*) of the Epistle are wonderful, and not second to the acknowledged writings of the

The Epistle  
to the Hebrews.



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Apostle, every one who pays attention to the reading of the Apostle's works would also grant me to be true.' And after other remarks he adds: 'If I were to express my own opinion, I should say that the thoughts are the Apostle's, but the diction and composition that of some one who recorded from memory the Apostle's teaching, and as it were illustrated with a brief commentary the sayings of his master (*ἀναμνημονεύσαντος καὶ ὡσπερὶ σχολιογράφησαντος*). If then any Church hold this Epistle to be Paul's, we cannot find fault with it for so doing (*εὐδοκίμειτω καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ*); for it was not without good reason (*οὐκ εἰκῆ*) that the men of old time have handed it down as Paul's. But who it was who wrote the Epistle, God only knows certainly. The account (*ἱστορία*) which has reached us is [manifold,] some saying that Clement, who became Bishop of Rome, wrote it, while others assign it to Luke, the author of the Gospel and the Acts.'

The testimonies in the Homilies.

There are still two other passages in Rufinus' version of the Homilies on Genesis and Joshua, in which we find an incidental enumeration of the different authors and books of the New Testament. It is, however, impossible to insist on these as of primary authority. Rufinus, as is well known, was not content to render the

<sup>1</sup> There can be no doubt that he was the author of it. Cf. Huet, Origen. iii. 2.

simple words of Origen, but sought in several points to bring them into harmony with the current belief; and the comparison of some fragments of the Greek text of one of the Homilies with his rendering of it shows clearly that he has allowed himself in these the same licence as in his other translations<sup>1</sup>. Still there is something of Origen's manner throughout the pieces; and in his popular writings he quotes parts of the disputed books without hesitation.

The first passage is contained in a spiritual explanation<sup>2</sup> of the narrative concerning the wells which were opened by Isaac after the Philistines had stopped them, and the new wells which he made. Moses, Origen tells us, was one of the servants of Abraham who first opened the fountain of the law. Such too were David and the Prophets. But the Jews closed up those sources of life, the Scriptures of the Old Testament, with earthly thoughts; and when the antitype of Isaac had sought to lay him open, the Philistines strove with him. 'So then he dug new wells; and so did his servants. Isaac's servants were Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John:

The passage from a Homily on Genesis. Gen. xxvi. 18, sqq.

<sup>1</sup> For instance, he adds such phrases as, "sanctus Apostolus," and translates *ὡς οὐχ ἅγια τὰ Μωυσαίου συγγράμματα*, by "scripta Mosis nihil in se divinæ sapientiæ, nihilque operis sancti Spiritus continere." (Hom. in Gen. ii. § 2.)

<sup>2</sup> Hom. in Gen. xiii. 2. A different explanation of the wells is given *Select. in Gen. viii. p. 77* (ed. Lomm.)

CHAP. II. his servants are Peter, James, and Jude: his servant also is the Apostle Paul; who all dig wells of the New Testament. But those who mind earthly things strive ever for these also, and suffer not the new to be formed, nor the old to be cleansed. They gainsay the sources opened in the Gospel: they oppose those opened by the Apostles (Evangelicis puteis contradicunt: Apostolicis adversantur).'

From a Homily on Joshua.

The last quotation which I shall make is equally characteristic of Origen's style. He has been speaking of the walls of Jericho which fell down before the blasts of the trumpets of the priests. 'So too,' he says<sup>1</sup>, 'our Lord, whose advent was typified by the son of Nun, when he came, sent his Apostles as priests bearing well-wrought (ductiles) trumpets. Matthew first sounded the priestly trumpet in his Gospel. Mark, also, Luke and John, each gave forth a strain on their priestly trumpets. Peter, moreover, sounds loudly on the twofold<sup>2</sup> trumpet of his Epistles: and so also James and Jude. Still the number is incomplete, and John gives forth the trumpet-sound in his Epistles and Apocalypse; and Luke while describing the acts of the Apostles. Lastly, however, came he who

<sup>1</sup> Hom. in Jos. vii. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Duabus tubis. One MS. has a very remarkable reading, *ex tribus*.

said: "I think that God hath shown us Apostles last of all," and thundering on the fourteen trumpets of his Epistles, threw down even to the ground the walls of Jericho, that is to say, all the instruments of idolatry, and the doctrines of philosophers.'

Such appears to have been Origen's popular teaching on the Canon, in discourses which aimed at spiritual instruction rather than at critical accuracy; and it remains to be seen how far these general outlines are filled up in detail by special testimonies. The first place is naturally due to references contained in the Greek text of his writings; and it is indeed on these only that absolute reliance can be placed. It is evident then from this kind of evidence, no less than from all other, that, like Clement, he received the Apocalypse as an undoubted work of the Apostle St John<sup>1</sup>. Like Clement also he quotes the Epistle of St Jude several times, and expressly as the work of 'the Lord's brother;' but he implies in one place the existence of doubts as to its authority<sup>2</sup>. In addition to this he refers to the Epistle in circulation under

Isolated testimonies to the several Books in the Greek Text.

<sup>1</sup> Comm. in Joan. T. i. 14: φησιν οὖν ἐν τῇ ἀποκαλύψει ὁ τοῦ Ζεβεδαίου Ἰωάννης.

<sup>2</sup> Comm. in Matt. T. x. § 17 (Matt. xiii. 55, 56): καὶ Ἰούδας ἔγραψεν ἐπιστολὴν ὀλιγόστιχον μὲν πεπληρωμένην δὲ τῆς οὐρανίου χάριτος ἐρρωμένων λόγων... Id. T. xvii. 30: εἰ δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἰούδα πρόσσιτό τις ἐπιστολήν...

CHAP. II. the name of James<sup>1</sup>; but he nowhere, I believe, either quotes or mentions the second Epistle of St Peter<sup>2</sup>, or the two shorter Epistles of St John. On the contrary, he quotes 'the Epistle of Peter<sup>3</sup>,' and 'the Epistle of John<sup>4</sup>,' in such a manner as to show, at least, that the other Epistles were not familiarly known.

In the Latin Version.

The Latin version of the Homilies supplies in part what is wanting in the Greek Commentaries. It contains several distinct quotations of the second Epistle of St Peter<sup>5</sup>, and of the

<sup>1</sup> Comm. in Joan. xix. 6: *ὡς ἐν τῇ φερομένῃ Ἰακώβου ἐπιστολῇ ἀνέγνωμεν*. Cf. Joan. xx. 10. He once quotes it without further remark: *ὡς παρὰ Ἰακώβου*, *Select. in Ps. xxx. T. xii. p. 129*. It may be concluded from one passage in his Commentaries on St Matthew (c. xiii. 55, 56), in which he notices that the St Jude there mentioned was the author of the Epistle which bore his name, and St James the same to whom St Paul refers, Gal. i. 19, that he was not inclined to believe that the Epistle of St James was written by the Lord's brother.

<sup>2</sup> It is impossible to insist on the doubtful reading. Comm. in Matt. T. xv. 27: *ἀπὸ τῆς [Πέτρου πρώτης] ἐπιστολῆς*. The text should be *ἀπὸ τῆς Πέτρου ἐπιστολῆς* otherwise we should expect *προτέρας*.

<sup>3</sup> *Select. in Ps. iii. (T. xi. 420): κατὰ τὰ λεγόμενα ἐν τῇ καθολικῇ ἐπιστολῇ παρὰ τῷ Πέτρῳ*. Cf. Comm. in Joan. T. vi. § 18.

<sup>4</sup> Comm. in Matt. T. xvii. 19: *τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰωάννου καθολικῆς ἐπιστολῆς*. Id. T. xv. 31: *ἡ Ἰωάννου ἐπιστολή*. Yet cf. p. 411, n. 3.

<sup>5</sup> Hom. in Levit. iv. 4. *Petrus dixit: ii. Pet. i. 4*. Cf. Comm. in Rom. iv. 9. Hom. in Num. xiii. 8, *ut ait quodam in loco scriptura: ii. Pet. ii. 16*. Cf. Hom. xviii. s. f. Thus also *de Princ. ii. 5, 3, Petrus in prima epistola...*

Epistle of St James, who is described in one place as 'the brother of the Lord,' but generally only as 'the Apostle<sup>1</sup>;' but even in this there is no reference to the shorter Epistles of St John. CHAP II.

The Epistle to the Hebrews is quoted continually, both in the Greek and in the Latin text, sometimes as the work of St Paul, sometimes as the work of the Apostle, and sometimes without any further designation<sup>2</sup>.

On the whole, then, there can be little doubt as to Origen's judgment on the New Testament Canon. He was acquainted with all the books which are received at present, and received as apostolic the same as were recognized by Clement. The others he used, but with a certain reserve and hesitation, arising from a want of information as to their history, rather than from any positive grounds of suspicion. Summary of Origen's opinion on the New Testament Canon,

Clement, as we have seen, divided the Christian books into two great divisions, 'the Gospel,' as a whole.

<sup>1</sup> Comm. in Rom. iv. 8; James iv. 4.

<sup>2</sup> The passage quoted by Eusebius from an Homily on the Hebrews gives probably Origen's mature judgment on the authorship of the Epistle. In the earlier letter to Africanus he says, after quoting Hebr. xi. 37: *ἀλλ' εἰκός τινα θλιβόμενον ἀπὸ τῆς εἰς ταῦτα ἀποδείξεως συγχρήσασθαι τῷ βουλευμάτι τῶν ἀθετούντων τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ὡς οὐ Παύλῳ γεγραμμένην πρὸς ὃν ἄλλων λόγων κατ' ἰδίαν χρῆσομεν εἰς ἀπόδειξιν τοῦ εἶναι Παύλου τὴν ἐπιστολὴν* (T. xvii. p. 31). Though the date of this letter is probably A. C. 240, the Homilies were not written till after 245.

**CHAP. II.** and 'the Apostle.' Origen repeats the same classification<sup>1</sup>; but he also advanced a step further, and found that these were united in one whole as 'Divine Scriptures of the New Testament<sup>2</sup>,' written by the same spirit as those before Christ's coming<sup>3</sup>, and giving a testimony by which every word should be 'established<sup>5</sup>.'

**DIONYSIUS.** Among the most distinguished scholars of Origen was Dionysius, who was promoted to the presidency of the Catechetical School, about the year 231 A. C., and afterwards was chosen Bishop of Alexandria. During an active and troubled episcopate he maintained an intimate communication with Rome, Asia Minor, and Palestine; and in one place (referring to the schism of Novatus) he expresses his joy at 'the unity and love everywhere prevalent in all the districts of Syria, in Arabia, Mesopotamia, Pontus, and

<sup>1</sup> Hom. in Jerem. xxi. f.

<sup>2</sup> De Princip. iv. 1 (Philoc. c. 1): ...ἐκ τῶν πεπιστευμένων ἡμῖν εἶναι θείων γραφῶν τῆς τε λεγομένης παλαιᾶς διαθήκης καὶ τῆς καλουμένης καινῆς...

<sup>3</sup> De Princip. iv. 16: οὐ μόνον δὲ περὶ τῶν πρὸ τῆς παρουσίας ταῦτα τὸ πνεῦμα ᾤκονόμησεν, ἀλλ' ἅτε τὸ αὐτὸ τυγχάνον καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐνὸς θεοῦ, τὸ ὅμοιον καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν εὐαγγελίων πεποίηκε καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων.

<sup>4</sup> Hom. in Jerem. i.

<sup>5</sup> The well-known reference of Origen to the Shepherd of Hermas (Comm. in Rom. c. xvi. 14. Cf. Comm. in Matt. T. xiv. 21) evidently expresses a private opinion on the book, and by no means places it on an equality with the Canonical Scriptures. Cf. App. B.

Bithynia,' and 'in all the churches of the East<sup>1</sup>.' CHAP. II.  
 Important fragments of his letters still remain, which contain numerous references to the New Testament; and, among other quotations, he makes use of the Epistle to the Hebrews as St *Ep. to Hebrews.*  
 Paul's<sup>2</sup>, and in his remarks on the Apocalypse mentions 'the second and third Epistles circu- *ii. iii. John.*  
 lated as works of John,' in such a way as to imply that he was inclined to receive them as authentic<sup>3</sup>. His criticism on the Apocalypse has been already *Apocalypse.*  
 noticed. He had weighed the objections which were brought against it, and found them insufficient to overthrow its canonicity<sup>4</sup>, though he believed that it was not the work of the Apostle, and admitted that it was full of difficulties

<sup>1</sup> Euseb. H. E. vi. 46; vii. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Dion. ap. Euseb. H. E. vi. 41: τὴν ἀρπαγὴν τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ὁμοίως ἐκείνοις οἷς καὶ Παῦλος ἐμαρτύρησε μετὰ χαρᾶς προσεδέξαντο. Cf. Hebr. x. 34.

<sup>3</sup> Dion. ap. Euseb. H. E. vii. 25: ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ φερομένῃ Ἰωάννου καὶ τρίτῃ, καίτοι βραχείαις οὖσαις ἐπιστολαῖς, ὁ Ἰωάννης ὀνομαστὶ πρόκειται ἀλλ' ἀωνύμως ὁ πρεσβύτερος γέγραπται. Though the context implies that he held these letters to be St John's, yet he afterwards speaks of 'his Epistle,' as if he had written but one (ἡ ἐπιστολή, ἡ καθολικὴ ἐπιστολή). This may serve to explain the similar usage of Origen. Cf. p. 408. This mode of speaking is most remarkably illustrated in the records of the seventh Council of Carthage (A. C. 256, Routh, Rell. iii. p. 130), where the *second* Epistle of St John is thus quoted: Ioannes apostolus in epistola sua posuit dicens (ii. John 10, 11). In the fifth Council (Routh, p. 111) the first Epistle is quoted in the same words.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. p. 307.



CHAP. II. which he was unable to explain. 'I will not deny,' he says, 'that the author of the Apocalypse was named John, for I fully allow (*συναίνω*) that it is the work of some holy and inspired man (*ἀγίου τινὸς καὶ θεοπνεύστου*); but I should not easily concur in the belief that this John was the Apostle, the son of Zebedee, the brother of James, who wrote the Gospel and the Catholic Epistle.' And he then adds the grounds of his opinion: 'for I conclude, from a comparison of the character of the writings, and from the form of the language, and the general construction of the book [of the Revelation] that [the John there mentioned] is not the same<sup>1</sup>.' In this Dionysius makes no reference to any historical evidence in support of the opinion which he advocates, and consequently his objections gain no weight from his position. But the fact that he urged them is of great interest, as showing the liberty which was still allowed in dealing with the Canon. He set forth the absolute authority of that which 'could be proved by demonstration and teaching of the Holy Scriptures<sup>2</sup>:' he regarded it as a worthy task, even in small matters, to 'harmonize the words of the Evangelists with judgment and good

<sup>1</sup> Euseb. H. E. i. c. : *τεκμαίρομαι γὰρ ἕκ τε τοῦ ἡθους ἐκατέρων καὶ τοῦ τῶν λόγων εἶδους καὶ τῆς τοῦ βιβλίου διεξαγωγῆς λεγομένης μὴ τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι.*

<sup>2</sup> Dion. ap. Euseb. vii. 24: *...τὰ ταῖς ἀποδείξεσι καὶ διδασκαλίαις τῶν ἀγίων γραφῶν συνιστανόμενα καταδεχόμενοι.*

faith<sup>1</sup>: he allowed the Apocalypse itself to be the work of an inspired man; but nevertheless he regarded the special authorship of the sacred books as a proper subject for critical inquiry. And this is entirely consistent with the belief that the Canon was fixed practically by the common use of Christians, and not definitely marked out by any special investigation—that it was formed by an instinct, and not by an argument. Dionysius exercised a free judgment on Scripture, within certain limits, but these limits themselves were already recognized.

It does not appear that the opinion of Dionysius, on the authorship of the Apocalypse made any permanent impression on the Alexandrine Church; but, indeed, the few fragments of later writers by which it is represented contain very little that illustrates the history of the disputed books. In the very meagre remains which survive of the writings of Pierius, Theonas<sup>2</sup> (the A. O. 265.

Later Alexandrine writers.

<sup>1</sup> Dion. Ep. Canon. (Routh, iii. p. 225): καὶ μηδὲ διαφωνεῖν μηδὲ ἐναντιοῦσθαι τοὺς εὐαγγελίστας πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὑπολάβωμεν, ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ μικρολογία τις εἶναι δόξει περὶ τὸ ζητούμενον... ἡμεῖς εὐγνωμόνως τὰ λεχθέντα καὶ πίστως ἀρμόσαι προθυμήθωμεν. He is referring to the accounts of the resurrection.

<sup>2</sup> One passage of his famous letter to Lucianus deserves to be quoted. As one step by which he was to bring his master to the faith it is said: *laudabitur et interim Evangelium, Apostolusque pro divinis oraculis* (Routh, iii. p. 443). The common use of this collective term, as has been noticed before, marks a period in the history of the Canon.

CHAP. II. successor of Dionysius in the Episcopate), and Phileas, I have noticed nothing which bears upon it. Theognostus, who was at the head of the Catechetical School towards the close of the third century, makes use of the Epistle to the Hebrews as authoritative Scripture<sup>1</sup>; and Peter Martyr (the successor of Theonas) refers to it expressly as the work of the Apostle<sup>2</sup>.

THEOGNOSTUS.

PETER MARTYR.  
A.C. 300.

Summary of the judgment of the Alexandrine Church.

The testimony of the Alexandrine Church to the New Testament Canon is thus generally uniform and clear. In addition to the acknowledged books the Epistle to the Hebrews and the Apocalypse were received there as divine Scripture, even by those who doubted their immediate apostolic origin. The two shorter Epistles of St John were well known, and commonly received<sup>3</sup>;

<sup>1</sup> Routh, iii. 409: ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς γευσάμενοις τῆς οὐρανοῦ δωρεῆς καὶ τελειωθεῖσιν οὐδεμία περιλείπεται συγγνώμης ἀπαλογία καὶ παραίτησις (Hebr. vi. 4).

<sup>2</sup> Routh, iv. 35: εἰ μὴ, ὡς λέγει ὁ ἀπόστολος ἐπίλιποι δ' ἂν ἡμᾶς διηγομένους ὁ χρόνος (Hebr. xi. 32). The succession of testimony does not end here. Alexander, who became bishop about 313 A.C., and Athanasius, who succeeded him (326 A.C.—373 A.C.), both quote the Epistle as St Paul's. And Euthalius (c. 460 A.C.) only mentions the doubts which had been raised on the question to refute them (Credner, Einleit. ii. 498 f.)

<sup>3</sup> Alexander, who has been mentioned above, in a letter preserved by Socrates, quotes the second Epistle as the work of 'the Blessed John.' Socr. H. E. i. 6, 30. His testimony is valuable as indicating the tendency of the Alexandrine Church, which is clearly seen in later writers.

but no one except Origen, as far as can be discovered now, was acquainted with the Epistle of St James and ii. Peter, and it is doubtful whether he made use of them<sup>1</sup>.

CHAP. II.

In speaking of the Alexandrine Canon it is impossible to omit all mention of the Egyptian versions, which, even in their present corrupt state, show singular marks of agreement with the Alexandrine text. But the materials which I possess at present are not sufficient to furnish any satisfactory result, either as to their exact age or as to their original form and extent. Two versions into the dialects of Upper and Lower Egypt—the Thebaic (Sahidic) and

The Egyptian versions.

<sup>1</sup> In connexion with the Alexandrine Church it is convenient to notice JULIUS AFRICANUS, who wrote a famous letter to Origen (cf. p. 409, n. 2) and studied at Alexandria, and afterwards lived at Emmaus in Palestine (c. A. C. 220). His method of reconciling the genealogies in St Matthew and St Luke is well-known, and furnishes an important proof of the attention bestowed in his time on the criticism of the Apostolic Books. He speaks generally of 'all [the writings] of the Old Testament' (ὅσα τῆς παλαιᾶς διαθήκης φέρονται, Routh, ii. p. 226), thus implying (as Melito had done before him) the existence of a written New Testament. It is uncertain from the language of Origen whether he received the Epistle to the Hebrews.

ANATOLIUS, bishop of Laodicea, c. A. C. 270, was likewise an Alexandrian, but there is nothing in the fragments of his Paschal Canons (Euseb. H. E. vii. 32) which bears on the history of the disputed books; but he makes use of 2 Cor. iii. 12 sqq., giving to *κατασπρίσσειν* (ver. 18) the sense of 'beholding,' and not 'reflecting.'

CHAP. II. **Memphitic**—date from the close of the third century<sup>1</sup>. The few fragments of the Bashmuriac version which have been published seem to indicate that it was not an independent work, but a dialectic revision of the Thebaic<sup>2</sup>. Of this latter version considerable portions have been preserved, and among them parts of all the disputed books; but it is now impossible to decide how far they are derived from one source<sup>3</sup>. The **Memphitic** version offers a far more hopeful field for criticism. This has been published entire from ancient MSS., and the store of these has not yet been exhausted<sup>4</sup>. It is then not

<sup>1</sup> Hug has shown this fully and satisfactorily. *Introd.* § 91. The Thebaic Version is probably the older, and may date even from the close of the second century. Davidson, *Introd.* ii. 213.

<sup>2</sup> Hug, *Introd.* § 96. Davidson, *Introd.* ii. 213.

<sup>3</sup> The fragments were first collected in an Appendix to the fac-simile of the Cod. Alex. by Woide and Ford; but some additions have been since made, and they require a careful revision.

<sup>4</sup> The first edition was published by Wilkins, at Oxford, in 1716, from MSS. at Oxford, Rome, and Paris. Schwartz published the Gospels at Leipsic in 1846-47; and on his death Bötticher continued his work, though in a different form, and published in 1852 the Acts from four MSS. and the Epistles from eight MSS., more or less perfect; but his Prolegomena—barely a few lines—leave very much to be desired. The order of the Epistles in one Berlin MS. is remarkable: Colossians, Thessalonians, *Philemon*, *Hebrews*, Timothy, Titus. The Apocalypse has not, I believe, yet been published in this edition.

unreasonable to expect that some scholar will point out in this translation, as has been done in the Latin and Syriac, how far an older work underlies the printed text, and whether that can be attributed to one author. But till this has been determined no stress can be laid upon the evidence which the Version affords for the disputed Catholic Epistles<sup>1</sup>. It is worthy of notice, however, that the position in the MSS. occupied by the Epistle to the Hebrews—before the Pastoral Epistles—is consistent with the judgment of the Alexandrine Church, which received it as the work of St Paul<sup>2</sup>. CHAP. II.

### § 2. *The Latin Churches of Africa.*

At Alexandria, as has been said, the two streams of tradition from the East and from the West unite; but elsewhere they may be traced

The divergence of tradition in the East and West.

<sup>1</sup> Though the Æthiopic Version belongs to the next century, I may notice that it contains the entire N. T. The Acts however is contained only in one MS. in addition to the two used in the printed Roman edition (1548-9), on which no great reliance can be placed, as the Vulgate was used to supply lacunæ.

<sup>2</sup> It may be observed here, that the Epistle to the Hebrews is placed in the same position in the [Eastern] MSS. A, B, C, H, and several others, and also by many of the Greek Fathers. The [Western] MSS. D, E, F, G, on the contrary, place the Pastoral Epistles after those to the Thessalonians. There are also traces of another order: In B capitulorum numeri tales appositi ut appareat eorum auctorem hanc [ad Hebr. ep.] post Ep. ad Gal. collocasse. Lachm. N. T. ii. 537.

CHAP. II. each in its separate course. On the one side we follow the Latin Churches of Africa: on the other the Greek Churches of Asia. And both again re-appear in close connexion at Rome—a second centre of Christendom, but widely different from the first.

The opinion  
of the Latin  
Churches on

1. The *Epi-  
stle to the  
Hebrews.*

TER-  
TULLIAN.

CYPRIAN.

In one respect the judgment of the Churches of North Africa materially differed from that of Alexandria on the New Testament Canon. The Alexandrine Fathers uniformly recognized the Epistle to the Hebrews as possessed of Apostolic authority, if not indeed as the work of St Paul. The early Latin Fathers with equal unanimity either exclude it from the Canon or ignore its existence. The evidence of Tertullian on this point is at once the earliest and the most complete. Though the teaching of the Epistle offered the most plausible support to the severe doctrines of Montanism, yet he nowhere quotes it but in one place, and then assigns it positively to Barnabas, the companion of St Paul, placing its authority above that of the Shepherd of Hermas, but evidently below that of the Apostolic Epistles<sup>1</sup>. In Cyprian, again, there is no

<sup>1</sup> De Pudic. c. 20: Volo tamen ex redundantia alicujus etiam comitis Apostolorum testimonium superducere, idoneum confirmandi de proximo jure disciplinam magistrorum. Exstat etiam et Barnabæ titulus ad Hebræos: adeo satis auctoritatis viro ut quem Paulus juxta se constituerit in abstinentiæ tenore, 1 Cor. ix. Et utique receptor apud ecclesias

reference to the Epistle; and on the contrary he implicitly denies its Pauline origin. After enumerating many places in which the mystical number seven recurs in Holy Scripture, he adds: 'And the Apostle Paul, who was mindful of this proper and definite number, writes to seven Churches. And in the Apocalypse the Lord writes his divine commands and heavenly precepts to seven Churches and their Angels<sup>1</sup>.' It will be remembered that the same reference to the symbolism of the number of the Epistles occurs in the Muratorian Canon<sup>2</sup>; and on the very confines of the Latin Church, Victorinus, VICTORINUS. bishop of Petavium (Pettau) in Pannonia, reproduces the same idea: 'There are,' he says, '...seven spirits...seven golden candlesticks... seven Churches addressed by Paul, seven deacons<sup>3</sup>...' And even Jerome bears witness to the

epistola Barnabæ illo apocrypho Pastore mæchorum. Cf. p. 285. The phrase *de proximo jure* clearly implies that the Apostles had the *primum jus*, to which an Apostolic man approached nearest.

The allusions to the Epistle which have been found in other parts of Tertullian's writings are very uncertain.

<sup>1</sup> De Exh. Mart. 11 med. Apostolus Paulus qui hujus numeri legitimi et certi meminit ad septem ecclesias scribit. Et in Apocalypsi Dominus mandata sua divina et præcepta cœlestia ad septem ecclesias et eorum angelos scribit Cf. Testim. i. 20. Unde et Paulus septem ecclesiis scribit et Apocalypsis ecclesias septem ponit ut servetur septenarius

<sup>2</sup> Cf. p. 241.

<sup>3</sup> Vict. ap. Routh, Bell. iii. p. 459.



CHAP. II. general prevalence of the belief, when he says:  
 'The Apostle Paul writes to seven Churches, for  
 his eighth Epistle to the Hebrews is by most  
 excluded from the number<sup>1</sup>.' Generally, indeed,  
 it may be stated that no Latin Father before  
 Hilary quotes the Epistle as St Paul's; and his  
 judgment, and that of the writers who followed  
 him, was strongly influenced by the authority of  
 Origen<sup>2</sup>.

† 368.  
 II. The Epi-  
 stles of St  
 James, ii.  
 Peter, ii. iii.  
 John, Jude.  
 TERTUL-  
 LIAN.

With regard to the disputed Catholic Epi-  
 stles, the first Latin Fathers offer little evidence.  
 Tertullian once expressly quotes the Epistle of St  
 Jude as authoritative and Apostolic<sup>3</sup>. But there  
 is nothing in his writings to show that he was  
 acquainted with the Epistle of St James<sup>4</sup>, the

<sup>1</sup> Hieron. ad Paul. 50 (all. 103, iv. p. 574): Paulus apostolus ad septem ecclesias scribit, octava enim ad Hebræos a plerisque extra numerum ponitur.

<sup>2</sup> The references in Lactantius are very uncertain, though the coincidences of argument are remarkable. E. g. Hebr. iii. 3—6; v. 5, 6; vii. 21, compared with Lact. Instit. iv. 14 init. (quoted by Lardner).

<sup>3</sup> De Hab. Muliebri 3: . . . Enoch apud Judam Apostolum testimonium possidet. This is the only reference which

<sup>4</sup> The references given by Semler, *adv. Jud.* 2 (James ii. 23); *de Orat.* 8 (James i. 13) are quite unsatisfactory. The latter passage indeed seems to prove clearly that Tertullian did not know the Epistle, for otherwise he must have quoted it. The quotation *de Exhort. Cast.* 7, *non auditores legis justificabuntur a deo sed factores*, is from Rom. ii. 14, not from James i. 22.

second and third Epistles of St John<sup>1</sup>, or with the CHAP. II.  
 second Epistle of St Peter. In Cyprian there is, CYPRIAN.  
 I believe, no reference to any of the disputed  
 Epistles. Like several earlier writers, he quotes  
 the first Epistles of St Peter and St John, so as  
 to imply that he was not familiarly acquainted  
 with any other<sup>2</sup>; but a clause from the record of  
 the seventh Council of Carthage, at which he was  
 present, shows how little stress can be laid upon  
 such language alone. For after that one bishop  
 had referred to the first Epistle of St John as  
 'St John's Epistle,' as though it were the only  
 one, Aurelius, Bishop of Chullabi, uses exactly AURELIUS.  
 the same words in quoting the second epistle<sup>3</sup>.  
 At the same time, however, the entire absence of

The well-known passage *adv. Gnost.* 12 does not in itself necessarily show more than that Tertullian did not attribute the Epistle to St James the elder; but the omission of all reference to it there, when connected with the other facts, can leave little doubt that he was unacquainted with it.

<sup>1</sup> The reference in the treatise against Marcion, (iv. 16) is certainly to i. John iv. 1, 2, and not to ii. John 7, though the Latin has not preserved the difference between *ἀληθῆρα* and *ἐρχόμενον*. Some difficulty has been felt about the phrase *Johannes in primore Epistola* (de Pudic. 19); but Tertullian is there contrasting the teaching of i. John iii. 8, 9 with the passage at the beginning of his Epistle: i. John i. 8. This sense of *primoris* is fully justified by Aul. Gell. i. 18, 2: *Varro in primore libro scripsit...* Cf. *nott. in l.*

<sup>2</sup> De Exh. Mart. c. 9: *Petrus in epistola sua...* c. 10: *Johannes in epistola sua...*

<sup>3</sup> Cf. p. 411, n. 2.

**CHAP. II.** quotations from these Epistles in the writings of Cyprian, and (with the exception of the short Epistle to Philemon) from these Epistles only of all the books of the New Testament, leads to the conclusion that he was either ignorant of their existence, or doubtful as to their authority. One other passage alone remains to be noticed. The judgment of Tertullian on the Epistle of St Jude is confirmed by a passage in one of the contemporary treatises commonly appended to the works of Cyprian, in which it is quoted as Scripture<sup>1</sup>; and this reference completes, I believe, the sum of what can be gathered from early Latin writers on this class of the disputed books.

*Auct. adv. Novat. hæret.*

*iii. The Apoc- calypse.*

**TERTULLIAN.**

**CYPRIAN.**

**COMMODIAN.**

But if the evidence for these Epistles be meagre, that for the Apocalypse is most complete. Tertullian quotes it continually as the work of the Evangelist St John, and nowhere implies any doubt of its authenticity<sup>2</sup>. Cyprian again makes constant use of it as Holy Scripture, though he does not expressly assign it to the authorship of the Evangelist St John<sup>3</sup>. Commodian<sup>4</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> *Ad Novat. Hæret.* p. xvii. (ed. Baluz.) (quoted by Lardner): *sicut scriptum est: Jude, 14, 15.*

<sup>2</sup> *Adv. Marc.* iii. 14: *Apostolus Johannes in Apocalypsi . . .*

<sup>3</sup> *De Opere et Elem.* 14: *Audi in Apocalypsi Domini tui vocem . . .* So *ad Novat. Hær.* p. ix.

<sup>4</sup> *Commod. Instr.* l. 41. He interprets Antichrist of Nero, who should rise again. The conjecture ii. 1, 17, *operta Johannis*, is very uncertain.

Lactantius<sup>1</sup> make several allusions to it; and, CHAP. II.  
LACTANTIUS. with the exception of the Gospel of St John, it is the only book of the New Testament which the latter writer quotes by name. From every quarter the testimony of the early Latin Fathers to the Apostolic authority of the Apocalypse is thus decided and unanimous.

It appears then, that the Canon of the Latin Churches, up to the beginning of the fourth century, differed from our own by defect and not by addition. The Latin Fathers were in danger of bounding the limits of the Canon too straitly, as the Alexandrine Fathers were inclined to extend them too widely. But the same causes which kept them from acknowledging all the books which we receive, preserved them also from the risk of confounding Apocryphal with Canonical writings. Notwithstanding the extent of Tertulian's works he refers only to two Apocryphal books; and one of these—the Shepherd of Hermas—he rejects with contempt<sup>2</sup>: the other—the Acts of Paul and Thecla—he declares to be a detected forgery<sup>3</sup>. In Cyprian, though he freely

The Canon of the Latin Churches defective; but

free from Apocryphal additions.

<sup>1</sup> Lact. Ep. 42 f : ... sicut docet Johannes in Revelatione.

<sup>2</sup> Tert. de Orat. 12. Cf. de Pudic. 10: Sed cederem tibi si scriptura Pastoris que sola mœchos amat divino instrumento meruisset incidi, si non ab omni concilio ecclesiarum etiam vestrarum inter apocrypha et falsa judicaretur, adultera et ipsa et inde patrona sociorum.

<sup>3</sup> De Bapt. 17: ... sciant in Asia presbyterum qui eam scrip-

CHAP. II.

e,  
dand regarded  
as a distinct  
whole.

uses the Apocryphal books of the Old Testament, there is no trace of any Christian Apocryphal book; and in the tracts appended to his works there is a single condemnatory reference to the 'Preaching of Paul'.<sup>1</sup> Lactantius also once alludes to the same book, but without attributing to it any remarkable authority<sup>2</sup>; and elsewhere he quotes the words of the Heavenly Voice at our Lord's Baptism, according to the reading of Justin Martyr<sup>3</sup>. But here the list ends; and on the other hand, numerous passages in Tertullian, Cyprian, and Victorinus show that they regarded the books of the New Testament not only as a collection but as a whole, not thrown together by caprice or accident, but united by Divine Providence, and equal in authority with the Jewish Scriptures. The language of Tertullian has been quoted already; and both Cyprian and Victorinus found a certain fitness in a *fourfold* Go-

turam [Acta Pauli et Theclæ] construxit, quasi titulo Pauli de suo cumulans, convictum atque confessum id se amore Pauli fecisse, loco decessisse.

<sup>1</sup> De Bapt. 14: Est autem adulterini hujus, immo internecini baptismatis, si quis alius suctor tum etiam quidam ab eisdem ipsis hæreticis propter hunc eundem errorem conflictus liber qui inscribitur Pauli prædicatio. On the name see Routh, Rell. v. 325.

<sup>2</sup> Lact. Inst. iv. 21: . . . sed et futura aperuit illis omnia quæ Petrus et Paulus Romæ prædicaverunt, et ea prædicatio in memoriam scripta permansit . . .

<sup>3</sup> Instit. iv. 15: Tunc vox de coelo audita est: Filius meus es tu; ego hodie genui te. Cf. p. 189.

spel, as well as in the *seven Churches* addressed by St Paul, so that the very proportions of the Canon seemed to them to be fixed by a definite law<sup>1</sup>. Nor was this strange; for the Old and New Scriptures were in their judgment 'fountains of Divine fulness,' written by 'Prophets and Apostles full of the Holy Spirit,' before which 'all the tediousness and ambiguities of human discourse must be laid aside<sup>2</sup>.'

### § 3. *The Church of Rome.*

IN passing from Africa to Rome we come to the second meeting point of the East and West; for it could not but happen that Rome soon became a great centre of the Christian world. A Latin Church grew up round the Greek Church, and the peculiarities of both were harmonized by that power of organization which ruled the Roman life. But the combination of the same elements at Alexandria and Rome was effected in different modes, and produced different results. The teaching of the East and West was united at Alexandria by the conscious operation

Rome the antipole to Alexandria in the third century.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. pp. 386, 419. Cypr. Ep. lxxiii. 10: *Ecclesia paradisi instar . . . arbores rigat quatuor fluminibus, id est evangeliiis . . .* Vict. (Routh, iii. 456): . . . *quatuor animalia ante thronum Dei, quatuor animalia . . .* It is, I think, unnecessary to make any apology for the use of Cyprian's letters.

<sup>2</sup> Cypr. de Orat. Dom. i.; de Exhort. Mart. i. 4.

**CHAP. II.** of a spirit of eclecticism: at Rome by the silent pressure of events. The one combination was literary: the other practical. The one resulted in a theological code: the other in an ecclesiastical system. And though it would be out of place to dwell longer on these fundamental differences of Alexandria and Rome—the poles of Christendom in the third century—it is of importance to bear them in mind, even in an investigation into the history of the New Testament.

**i. The Latin writers.**

**APOLLONIUS.**

**VICTOR.**

**MINUCIUS FELIX.**

**CORNELIUS**  
† 252.

**NOVATUS.**

The earliest memorials of the Latin Church of Rome are extremely small, and contain very little which bears on the history of the New Testament Canon. Nothing survives of the writings of Apollonius and Victor, the first Latin authors whose names have been preserved. The Octavius of Minucius Felix, like former Apologies, contains no quotations from the Christian Scriptures; and the subject of the two letters of Cornelius, included in the works of Cyprian, is scarcely more productive<sup>1</sup>. The treatises of Novatus, the unsuccessful rival of Cornelius, are alone of such character and extent as to call for the frequent use of the Apostolic writings; and they do, in fact, contain numerous quotations from most of the acknowledged books. But

<sup>1</sup> One quotation occurs from St Matthew (v. 8); Ep. ii. (Routh, lii. 18.)

Novatus nowhere quotes any other Christian CHAP. II.  
 Scriptures; and the passing coincidences of  
 thought and language with the Epistle to  
 the Hebrews which occur in his essay On the  
 Trinity are very uncertain<sup>1</sup>; those with the  
 Epistle of St James and ii. Peter barely worthy  
 of notice<sup>2</sup>. It is also of importance to remark,  
 that, while in the later stages of the Novatian  
 controversy, when the Epistle to the Hebrews  
 was generally acknowledged, it is said that the  
 reading of that Epistle was omitted in some  
 Churches from the danger of misunderstanding  
 its teaching on repentance, no distinct reference  
 to it is made by Novatus or by his immediate op-  
 ponents, which could scarcely have been avoided  
 if it had been held to be authoritative in their  
 time.

The preponderance of the Greek element in ii. The Great  
writers.  
 the Roman Church, even during the third cen-  
 tury, at least in a literary aspect, is clearly  
 shown by the writings of Caius, Hippolytus, and

<sup>1</sup> De Trin. 26: Cum sedere [Christum] ad dexteram  
 Patris et a prophetis et ab apostolis approbatur (Hebr. i. 3;  
 but cf. Eph. i. 20; i. Pet. iii. 22); *id.* 31: . . . ut quamvis probet  
 illum nativitas Filium, tamen morigera obedientia asserat  
 illum Paternæ voluntatis ex quo est ministrum (Hebr. v. 8);  
*id.* s. f. (Hebr. v. 7); *id.* 16: sed vœ est adjicientibus quomodo  
 et detrahentibus positum (Apoc. xii. 18, 19).

<sup>2</sup> De Trin. 8 (ii. Pet. ii. 5); *id.* 4 (James i. 17). The  
 latter passage indeed seems to me to show clearly that No-  
 vatus was not acquainted with the Epistle of St James.



CHAP. II.

HIPPOLYTUS

259—269

A. C.

CAIUS

c. 213 A. C.

Dionysius. Of the first and last only fragments remain; and nothing more can be gathered from the slight remains of Dionysius than that he recognized a New as well as an Old Testament as a final source of truth<sup>1</sup>. Of Caius, it is reported by Eusebius, that, when arguing against the 'new scriptures' of the Montanists, he enumerated only thirteen Epistles of St Paul, omitting that to the Hebrews<sup>2</sup>. Whether he received all the remaining books of the New Testament is left in uncertainty; and in the case of the Apocalypse this is the more to be regretted, because in one obscure fragment he has been supposed to attribute its authorship to Cerinthus<sup>3</sup>. In close connexion with Caius must be noticed a group of writings which were once attributed to him, but are now, by almost universal consent, assigned to his contemporary Hippolytus. Of these the most important is the 'Treatise against all Heresies,' to which frequent reference has been made already in examining the opinions of early heretics on the New Testament Canon. But apart from the testimony which it thus conveys, I have noticed nothing in it which bears upon the history of the disputed

The Treatise  
against He-  
resies.

<sup>1</sup> Dion. Rom. fr. (Routh, iii. 374): *Τριάδα μὲν κηρυττομένην ὑπὸ τῆς θείας γραφῆς σαφῶς ἐπίστανται, τρεῖς δὲ Θεοῦς οὐτε παλαιάν οὐτε καινὴν διαθήκην κηρύττουσαν.*

<sup>2</sup> Euseb. H. E. vi. 20.

<sup>3</sup> Ap. Euseb. H. E. iii. 28. Cf. p. 307, n. 2.

books. Of the 'Little Labyrinth' and the 'Treatise on the Universe,' only fragments remain. In one passage of the former work a charge is brought against certain heretics of 'fearlessly tampering with the Divine Scriptures, while they said that they had corrected them; so that if any one were to take the MSS. of their several teachers and compare them together, he would find them widely different...And how daring this offence is even they must know; for either they do not believe that the Divine Scriptures were uttered by the Holy Spirit, and are faithless, or they hold that they are themselves wiser than the Holy Spirit. And what is this but the conduct of madmen? for they cannot deny that the daring act is their own, since the corrections are written by their hand; and they did not receive the Scriptures in such a form from those by whom they were instructed; and they have it not in their power to show the MSS. from which they transcribed their readings<sup>1</sup>.' This refers chiefly, of course, to the text of Scripture, and probably of the Old Testament, but it is no less an evidence of the vigilance with which the sacred writings were guarded, and of the divine authority which was attributed to their words. And elsewhere, in noticing the statement that a revolution in Christian doctrine had happened

CHAP. II.

*The Little Labyrinth.*

<sup>1</sup> Euseb. H. E. v. 28. Routh, ii. 152 sq.

CHAP. II. after the times of Victor, the same author replies, that the assertion 'would perhaps have been plausible if in the first place the Divine Scriptures had not opposed it, and next also the writings of the brethren before the time of Victor<sup>1</sup>....' An appeal is thus made both to Scripture and to tradition, and the line between them is drawn distinctly. The peroration of the 'Address to the Greeks, on the Universe,' has been well likened to the conclusion of a Christian 'Gorgias,' painting in vivid and brilliant colours the scenes of Hades and the Last Judgment. Many passages from the New Testament are inwrought into the composition, but so as to lose much of their original character; and it is consequently impossible to point with confidence to the coincidences of thought which it offers with the Epistle of St Jude (or ii. Peter) and the Apocalypse<sup>2</sup>. The undoubted writings of Hippolytus contain quotations from all the acknowledged

The treatise  
On the Uni-  
verse.

HIPPOLY-  
TUS.  
c. 220 A.C.

<sup>1</sup> Euseb. l. c.; Routh, ii. p. 129.

<sup>2</sup> Bunsen, Anal. Ante-Nic. i. 393 sqq. The passages which seem most remarkable are the following:....*ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χωρίῳ... ἀνάγκη σκότος διηλεκῶς τυγχάνειν τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον ὡς φρούριον ἀπενεμήθη ψυχαῖς, ἐφ' ᾧ κατεστάθησαν ἄγγελοι φρουροί...* (Jude 6; ii. Pet. ii. 4) *ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τῷ χωρίῳ... λίμνη πυρὸς ἀσβεστοῦ...* (Apol. xx. 10 sqq.) It may be observed that in a passage shortly after this where the common text is *ἀλλὰ καὶ οὐ τὸν τῶν πατέρων χορὸν... ὁρῶσι...* we must read *καὶ οὗτοι τὸν τῶν π. χ.* Bunsen's emendation *οὐ τὸν τ. π. χ.* does not suit the description.

books, except the Epistle to Philemon and the first Epistle to St John. Of the disputed books he uses the Apocalypse as an unquestionable work of the Apostle St John, and is said to have written a commentary upon it<sup>1</sup>. On the other hand he is reported not to have included the Epistle to the Hebrews among the Epistles of St Paul<sup>2</sup>. But beyond this there is nothing to show his opinion upon the contents of the Canon<sup>3</sup>.

From this then it appears that though there is not sufficient evidence to establish a complete view of the Roman Canon in the third century, some points can be ascertained with satisfactory certainty. By the Roman, as well as by the Alexandrine and African Churches, the Apocalypse was added to the acknowledged books; but, like the African Church, it did not receive the Epistle to the Hebrews among the writings of St Paul. Apart, however, from the evidence for particular books, it is evident that as a whole the Apostolic writings occupied at Rome, no less than elsewhere, a definite and distinguished place as an ultimate standard of doctrine.

<sup>1</sup> De Antichr. 36. Cf. 29.

<sup>2</sup> Phot. Cod. 121 (Bunsen, Anal. i. 411).

<sup>3</sup> The supposed reference to ii. Pet. i. 21 in de Antichr. 2, is wholly uncertain.

## CHAP. II.

§ 4. *The Churches of Asia Minor.*

Scanty literature of the Asiatic Churches.

THE great work of Irenæus written in the wilds of Gaul and preserved for the most part only in a Latin translation, is the sole considerable monument of the literature of the Churches of Asia Minor, from the time of Polycarp to that of Gregory of Neocæsarea or even of Basil. Still there is abundant proof of their zeal and activity. At Ephesus and Smyrna, in Pontus and Cappadocia, there were those who traced back a direct connexion with the Apostles, and witnessed to the continuity of the Faith.

i. The Church of Ephesus. POLYCRATES. c. 196 A. C.

During the Paschal controversy in the time of Victor, Polycrates, bishop of Ephesus, addressed a letter in the name of a 'vast multitude' of Asiatic bishops to the Roman Church, justifying their peculiar usage by the example of their predecessors<sup>1</sup>. 'For these all,' he says, 'observed the fourteenth day of the moon according to the Gospel, transgressing it in no respect, but following it according to the rule

<sup>1</sup> Euseb. H. E. v. 24. The letter of Polycrates was written in his 65th year, and Victor died 197 A. C.; Polycrates then may have conversed with Polycarp and Justin Martyr. He appears to have been of a Christian family (*ἐξ ἡκουσῶν οἴκου ἐστὶν ἔχων ἐν Κυρίῳ*); and probably the episcopate had been hereditary in it (*ἑαυτὰ μὲν ἦσαν συγγενεῖς μου ἐπίσκοποι ἐγὼ δὲ ὀρθόδοξος*). At least every detail points to the unbroken unity of the Church.

of faith<sup>1</sup>. Yet even this tradition was not enough: he had also 'conversed with brethren from the whole world, and gone through all Holy Scripture<sup>2</sup>,' and so at length he was not afraid to meet his opponents. Such was the relation of Scripture and tradition in the resting-place of St John within a century after his death: such the intimate union of Churches which were last blessed by the presence of an Apostle. Apollonius, who is stated on doubtful authority to have been also bishop of Ephesus<sup>3</sup>, recognizes a similar combination of arguments when he accuses Themison, a follower of Montanus, of 'speaking against the Lord, the Apostles, and the Holy Church,' while in the endeavour to recommend his doctrine, 'he ventured in imitation of the Apostle to compose a Catholic Epistle<sup>4</sup>.' In addition to these natural indications of the peculiar position

CHAP. II.

APOLLONIUS,  
c. 210 A. C.

<sup>1</sup> Euseb. l. c.: οὗτοι πάντες ἐτήρησαν τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτης τοῦ πάσχα κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, μηδὲν παρεκβαίνοντες ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸν κανόνα τῆς πίστεως ἀκολουθοῦντες.

<sup>2</sup> Euseb. l. c.: ...συμβεβληκῶς τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀδελφοῖς καὶ πᾶσαν ἁγίαν γραφὴν διεληλυθώς... These last words, I believe, refer to the New Testament. Yet cf. Anatol. ap. Euseb. H. E. vii. 32.

<sup>3</sup> Routh, i. p. 465.

<sup>4</sup> Apoll. ap. Euseb. H. E. v. 18: Θεμίσιον ..ἐτόλμησε μιμούμενος τὸν ἀπόστολον καθολικὴν τινα συνταξάμενος ἐπιστολήν... βλασφημῆσαι εἰς τὸν Κύριον καὶ τοὺς ἀποστόλους καὶ τὴν ἁγίαν ἐκκλησίαν.

CHAP. II. occupied by the Christian Scriptures generally, Eusebius mentions that Apollonius 'made use of testimonies from the Apocalypse;' and this indeed would necessarily be the case in a controversy with Montanist teachers, who affirmed that the site of 'the heavenly Jerusalem' was no other than the little Phrygian town which was the centre of their sect<sup>1</sup>.

ii. The  
Church of  
Smyrna.  
Ιουκκ. α. β.  
c. 135-200.

It is uncertain at what time and under what circumstances Irenæus left Smyrna on his mission to Gaul. He was 'still a boy,' 'at the commencement of life,' when he listened to Polycarp 'in lower Asia;' but yet he was not too young to treasure up the words of his teacher, so that they became the comfort of his old age<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Euseb. l. c. : *κέχρηται δὲ καὶ μαρτυρίας ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰωάννου Ἀποκαλύψεως.* The description which Apollonius gives of Montanus—*οὗτός ἐστιν...ὁ Πέπουζαν καὶ Τύμιον Ἰερουσαλήμ ἀπομάσας (πόλεις δὲ εἰσιν αὐταὶ μικραὶ τῆς Φρυγίας) τοὺς παντοχόθεν ἐκεῖ συναγαγεῖν ἐθέλων*—may remind us of a 'prophet' of our own times. Cf. Eriph. Hær. xlix. 1: *Χριστός...ἀπεκάλυψέ μοι (ἡ Μοντανίστις προφήτις) ταυτοὶ τὸν τόπον εἶναι ἅγιον καὶ ᾧδε τὴν Ἰερουσαλήμ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κατιέναι.*

On the tradition which Apollonius mentions that the Apostles were commanded by our Lord to remain twelve years at Jerusalem, compare Clem. Al. Str. vi. 5, § 43; Lumper, vii. 5 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> Euseb. H. E. v. 20. Cf. Iren. adv. Hær. iii. 3, 4 (Euseb. H. E. iv. 14). The date of Irenæus is much disputed, depending on that of Polycarp. I have given that which appears to be the most probable. Eleutherus was still bishop of Rome when he wrote his great Treatise (adv. Hær. iii. 3, 3.)

While a presbyter at Lyons, he was commended CHAP. II.  
 by the Church there to Eleutherus bishop of c. 177 A.C.  
 Rome as 'zealous for the covenant of Christ;' and at a later time he continued to take a watchful regard of 'the sound ordinances of the Church' throughout Christendom. Eusebius<sup>1</sup> has collected some of his testimonies to the Books of the New Testament, but they extend only to the four Gospels, the Apocalypse, i. John and His testi-  
 mony to the  
 Apocalypse. i. Peter; for he takes no notice of his constant use of the Acts and of twelve Epistles of St Paul. It is, however, of more importance that he has neglected to observe the quotations which Irenæus makes from ii. John, once citing a verse II. JOHN. from it as though it were contained in the first Epistle<sup>2</sup>. But in addition to the Apocalypse, which Irenæus uses continually as an unques-

<sup>1</sup> H. E. v. 8.

<sup>2</sup> Iren. adv. Hær. i. 16, 3: 'ἰωάννης δὲ ὁ τοῦ Κυρίου μαθητής...ii. John, 11. In the same connexion it would have been natural to quote ii. Peter and Jude.

l. c. iii. 16, 8, Johannes in prædicta epistola...(ii. John, 7, 8), after quoting i. John ii. 18 sqq. Is it possible that the second Epistle was looked upon as an appendix to the first? and may we thus explain the references to two Epistles of St John? The first Epistle, as is well known, was called *ad Parthos* by Augustine, and some other Latin authorities; and the same title, *πρὸς Πάρθους*, is given to the second epistle in one Greek MS. (62 Scholz). The Latin translation of Clement's Outlines (iv. 66) says: *Secunda Johannis epistola que ad virgines (σαρθένας) scripta simplicissima est.*



tioned work of St John<sup>1</sup>, this is the only disputed book which he certainly acknowledged as having Apostolic authority; and there are no anonymous references to the Epistle of St James, iii. John, ii. Peter or St Jude, on which any reliance can be placed. Some coincidences of language with the Epistle to the Hebrews are more striking; and in a later chapter, Eusebius states that in a book now lost, Irenæus quoted 'the Epistle to the Hebrews and the Wisdom of Solomon<sup>2</sup>.' Agreeably with this, the Epistle to the Hebrews appears to be quoted in the second Pfafrican fragment as the work of St Paul<sup>3</sup>; but on the other hand Photius classes Irenæus with Hippolytus as denying the Pauline authorship of the Epistle. And this last statement offers the most probable conclusion: Irenæus was, I believe, acquainted with the Epistle, but he did not attribute it to St Paul<sup>4</sup>.

*Epistle to the Hebrews.*

<sup>1</sup> Iren. iv. 20, 11: Joannes domini discipulus in Apocalypsi... Yet I do not remember that he ever calls him an Apostle.

<sup>2</sup> Euseb. H. E. v. 26. Iren. adv. Hær. ii. 30, 9: Solus hic Deus invenitur qui omnia fecit... *verbo virtutis suæ* (Hebr. i. 3): iv. 11, 4; cf. Hebr. x. 1, &c. : v. 5, 1; cf. Hebr. xi. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Iren. fr. xxxviii. (p. 854): ὁ Παῦλος παρακαλεῖ ἡμᾶς (Rom. xii. 1)... *καὶ πάλιν* (Hebr. xiii. 15).

<sup>4</sup> Eusebius (H. E. v. 8) noticed that Irenæus quoted the Shepherd of Hermas (adv. Hær. iv. 20, 2) by the name of 'Scriptura.' But several instances have been lately quoted which prove the lax use of the word; and, as in the case of Origen, a difference of private opinion makes the general agreement of the Churches more conspicuous.

One of the most distinguished converts of CHAP. II.  
 Origen was Gregory surnamed Thaumaturgus III. Pontus.  
 (the Wonder-worker), bishop of Neo-Cæsareæ GREGORY of  
 (Niksar) in Pontus. His chief remaining work Cæsarea.  
 is an eloquent address delivered before his  
 master when he was about to leave him. From  
 its character it contains very little which bears  
 upon the Canon, and nothing in regard to the  
 disputed books. But in a fragment quoted from  
 Gregory in a Catena, occurs a marked coin-  
 cidence with the language of St James<sup>1</sup>; and  
 Origen, in a letter which he addressed to  
 him, uses among other texts, one from the  
 Epistle to the Hebrews<sup>2</sup>. From this as well Epistle to the  
 as from the mode in which Gregory treats the Hebrews.  
 writings of the New Testament generally, it  
 may be reasonably concluded that he accepted  
 the same books as Origen, to whom, indeed, he  
 owed his knowledge of the Scriptures. But in Foreign Con-  
 sending forth such a scholar to the confines of nections of  
 Asia Minor, Origen only repaid a benefit which the North of  
 he had received. When he had been forced to Asia.  
 leave Egypt he found protection and honour at  
 the hands of Alexander, originally a Cappa-  
 docian bishop, who was advanced to the chair 231 A.C.

<sup>1</sup> Cat. Vat. ap. Ghisler. Comm. in Ierem. i. p. 831: δῆλον γὰρ ὡς πᾶν ἀγαθὸν τέλειον θεόθεν ἔρχεται. James i. 17.

<sup>2</sup> Ep. ad Greg. B: ἵνα λέγῃς οὐ μόνον τό μετοχοῖ τοῦ Χριστοῦ γεγονάμεν· ἀλλὰ καὶ μετοχοῖ τοῦ Θεοῦ (Hebr. lii. 14.)

**CHAP. II.** of Jerusalem on the death of Narcissus, whom he had previously assisted in his episcopal work. Nor can these facts be without value in our inquiry. It is surely no slight thing that casual notices show that Christians the most widely separated were really joined together by close intercourse: that the Churches of remote provinces, whose existence and prosperity was first disclosed by the zeal of a Roman governor, are found about a century after in intimate connexion with Syria, Egypt and Greece<sup>1</sup>. And the evidence is yet incomplete; for among others who visited Origen during his sojourn in Syria, **FIRMILIAN.** was Firmilian, bishop of Cæsaræa in Cappadocia, the correspondent and advocate of Cyprian<sup>2</sup>; and thus for the moment an obscure corner of Asia becomes a meeting-point of Christians from every quarter, not only 'as if they lived in one country, but as dwelling in one house<sup>3</sup>.' **256 A. C.** The single letter of Firmilian, which is preserved in a Latin translation among the letters of Cyprian, contains numerous allusions to the acknowledged books, and in one place he appears to refer to the second Epistle of St Peter. 'The blessed Apostles Peter and Paul,' he says,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Euseb. H. E. iv. 23: ἄλλη δ' ἐπιστολή [Διονυσίου] πρὸς Νικομηδίας φέρεται...

<sup>2</sup> Euseb. H. E. vi. 27.

<sup>3</sup> Firm. Ep. 75 (Cypr.) § 1.

'have anathematized heretics in their Epistles, and warned us to avoid them<sup>1</sup>.'

CHAP. I.

St. Peter II.

But the influence of Origen was not dominant in all parts of Asia Minor. Methodius, a bishop of Lycia<sup>2</sup>, and afterwards of Tyre, distinguished himself for animosity to his teaching, which Eusebius so far resented, if we may believe the common explanation of his silence, as to omit all mention of him in his history, though his works were 'popularly read' in Jerome's time<sup>3</sup>. There is nothing however, to indicate that the differences which separated Methodius from Origen extended either to the Interpretation or to the Canon of Scripture; and thus they give fresh value to his evidence by confirming its independence. Like earlier Fathers, Methodius found a mystical significance in the

MEMORIAL  
† c. 311 A.C.

<sup>1</sup> Firm. Ep. § 6: adhuc etiam infamans Petrum et Paulum beatos Apostolos...qui in epistolis suis hæreticos execrati sunt et ut eos evitemus monuerunt. In the same chapter Firmilian notices (as unimportant) ritual differences between the Roman and Eastern churches: circa celebrandos dies Paschæ et circa multa alia divinæ rei sacramenta...secundum quod in cæteris quoque plurimis provinciis multa pro locorum et nominum (?) diversitate variantur...

<sup>2</sup> Socr. H. E. vi. 13: .. Μεθόδιος τῆς ἐν Λυκίᾳ πόλεως λεγομένης Ὀλύμπου ἐπίσκοπος. Socrates (l. c.) alone mentions that Methodius recanted his censures on Origen; yet probably his words mean no more than that he expressed admiration for Origen's character, and not for his doctrine.

<sup>3</sup> Hieron. de Virr. Ill. 83.

CHAP. II. number of the Gospels<sup>1</sup>; and his writings abound with quotations from the acknowledged books. He also received the Apocalypse as a work of 'the blessed John' and as possessing undoubted authority<sup>2</sup>. Besides this, numerous coincidences of language show that he was acquainted with the Epistle to the Hebrews; and though he does not directly attribute it to St Paul, he uses it with the same familiarity and respect as he exhibits towards the Pauline Epistles<sup>3</sup>.

He received  
the Apoca-  
lypse: and

the Epistle to  
the Hebrews.

Frug. ad.  
Cataphrypas.

The heresy of Montanus, as has been seen already, occupied much of the attention of Asiatic writers at the beginning of the third century. The steady opposition which they offered to the pretensions of the new prophets is in itself a proof of the limits which they fixed

<sup>1</sup> Sympos. de Cast. p. 391 D.

<sup>2</sup> De Resurr. p. 326 B: ἐπίστησον δὲ μήποτε καὶ ὁ μακάριος Ἰωάννης... Apoc. ix. 13. id. p. 328 D: πῶς δὴ ἔτι ὁ Χριστὸς πρωτότοκος εἶναι τῶν νεκρῶν ὑπὸ τῶν προφητῶν καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων ᾄδεται; (Apoc. i. 5; Col. i. 18). Methodius is also mentioned by Andreas of Cæsarea with Papias, Irenæus and Hippolytus as a witness to the 'divine inspiration' of the Apocalypse (Routh, i. 15). He interpreted much of it allegorically—εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ τὰς παρθενοῦσας (Sympos. p. 388 A).

<sup>3</sup> De Resurr. p. 286 D. Hebr. xii. 5, &c. In the spurious tract on 'Symeon and Anna' it is quoted as 'the most divine Paul's' (p. 427 D). Methodius must be added to the many before him who quote Ps. li. 7, as uttered at our Lord's Baptism (Sympos. p. 387 D). Cf. pp. 424, 189.

to the presence of inspired teaching in the Church, and of their belief in the completeness of the revelation made through the Apostles. In an anonymous fragment which Eusebius has preserved from one of the many treatises on the subject this opinion finds a remarkable expression. For a long time, the writer says, I was disinclined to undertake the refutation of the opinions of multitudes '... through fear and careful regard lest I should seem in any way to some to add any new article or clause to the word of the new covenant of the Gospel, which no one may add to or take from who has determined to live according to the simple Gospel<sup>1</sup>.' Apo. xlii. 16, 19. The coincidence of these words with the conclusion of the Apocalypse cannot but be apparent; and they seem to recognize a complete written standard of Christian truth.

So far then there is no trace in the Asiatic Churches of the use of the Epistle of St Jude; and the use of the Epistle of St James and of the second Epistle of St Peter is at least very uncertain. Methodius alone undoubtedly employs the language of the Epistle to the Hebrews; but The Canon of Asia Minor defective, but

<sup>1</sup> Anat. adv. Cataph. ap. Euseb. v. 16 (Routh, ii. p. 183 sqq.): δεδιώς και ἐξευλαβούμενος μή πη δόξω τισιν ἐπισυγγράφειν ἢ ἐπιδιατάσσεσθαι (cf. Gal. iii. 15): τῷ τῆς τοῦ εὐαγγελίου καινῆς διαθήκης λόγῳ, ᾧ μήτε προσθεῖναι μήτ' ἀφελεῖν δυνατὸν τῷ κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον αὐτὸ πολιτεύεσθαι προηρημένῳ.

CHAP. II. on the other hand the Apocalypse was recognized from the first as a work of the Apostle in the districts most immediately interested in its contents. The same may be said of the second Epistle of St John, and the slight value of merely negative evidence is shown by the fact that no quotation from his third Epistle has yet been noticed, though its authenticity is necessarily connected with that of the second. But if the evidence for the New Testament Canon in the Churches of Asia Minor be incomplete, it is pure and unmixed. The reference of Irenæus to the Shepherd of Hermas is the only passage with which I am acquainted which even appears to give authority to an uncanonical book. Holy Scripture as a whole was recognized as a sure rule of doctrine. We acknowledge, said the Presbytery to Noetus, 'one Christ the Son of God, who suffered as He suffered, who died as He died, who rose again, who ascended into heaven, who is on the right hand of the Father, who is coming to judge quick and dead. This we say, having learnt it from the Divine Scriptures, and this also we know<sup>1</sup>.'

*free from  
Apocryphal  
additions.*

<sup>1</sup> Epiph. Hær. lvii. 1; Routh, iv. p. 243. **MULTIADES** again, with whose country I am unacquainted, is said to have shown 'great zeal about the Divine Oracles' (Euseb. H. E. v. 17). **Anatolius of Laodicea** has been mentioned already, p. 415.

§ 5. *The Churches of Syria.*

NOTHING more than the names of the successors of Ignatius in the see of Antioch has been preserved till the time of Theophilus, the sixth in descent from the Apostles. Of the works which he wrote, three books to Autolycus—‘Elementary Evidences of Christianity’—have been preserved entire; but the commentaries which bear his name are universally rejected as spurious. Eusebius has noticed that Theophilus quoted the Apocalypse in a treatise against Hermogenes<sup>1</sup>; and one passage in his extant writings has been supposed to refer to it<sup>2</sup>. The reference, however, is very uncertain; nor can much greater stress be laid on a passing coincidence with the language of the Epistle to the Hebrews<sup>3</sup>. The use which Theophilus makes of a metaphor which occurs in ii. Peter is much more worthy of notice<sup>4</sup>; and it is remarkable that he distinctly quotes the Gospel of St John

<sup>1</sup> The Church of Antioch.

THEOPHILUS, c. 168—180 A.C.

Apocryphal.

ii. Peter.

<sup>1</sup> Euseb. H. E. iv. 25: τρία τὰ πρὸς Αὐτολύκον στοιχειώδη φέρεται συγγράμματα.

<sup>2</sup> Euseb. l. c.

<sup>3</sup> Theoph. ad Autol. ii. p. 104. Apoc. xii. 3 sqq.

<sup>4</sup> Ad Autol. ii. p. 102. Hebr. xii. 9. Cf. Lardner, ii. 20, 25 sqq.

<sup>5</sup> Ad Autol. ii. c. 18 (p. 92): ἡ διάταξις οὖν τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦτό ἐστιν, ὁ λόγος αὐτοῦ φαίνων ὡσπερ λύχνος ἐν οἰκῆματι συνεχομένῳ ἐφώτισε τὴν ὑπ' οὐρανόν... Cf. ii. Pet. i. 19.



CHAP. II. as written by one of those 'who were moved by  
the Spirit'<sup>1</sup>.

SERAPION.  
c. 190 A.C.

Serapion who was second in descent from Theophilus has left a very remarkable judgment on the 'Gospel according to Peter,' which he found in use at Rhossus, a small town of Cilicia. 'We receive,' he says, when writing to the Church there<sup>2</sup>, 'both Peter and the other Apostles as Christ; but, as experienced men, we reject the writings falsely inscribed with their names, since we know that we did not receive such from [our fathers....still I allowed the book to be used,] for when I visited you, I supposed that all were attached to the right faith; and as I had not thoroughly examined the Gospel which they brought forward under the name of Peter, I said: If this is the only thing which seems to create petty jealousies (*μικροψυχίαν*) among you, let it be read. But now, since I have learnt, from what has been told me, that their mind was covertly attached to some heresy (*αἱρέσει τινὶ ἐνεφώλευεν*) I shall be anxious to come to you again; so, brethren, expect me quickly...But we, brethren, having comprehended the nature of the heresy which Marcianus held—how he contradicted himself from failing to understand what he said, you

<sup>1</sup> Ad Autol. ii. 22.

<sup>2</sup> Euseb. H. E. vi. 12. Routh, Rel. i. 452 sqq.

will learn from what has been written to you— were able to thoroughly examine [the book] having borrowed it from others who commonly use (*ἀσκησάντων*) this very Gospel, that is from the successors of those who first sanctioned it, whom we call Docetæ, (for the greater part of [Marcianus'] opinions belong to their teaching), and to find that the greater part of its contents agrees with the right doctrine of the Saviour, though some new injunctions are added in it, which we have subjoined for your benefit<sup>1</sup>. Something then may be learnt from this as to the authority and standard of the New Testament Scriptures at the close of the second century: the writings of the Apostles were to be received as the words of Christ: and those only were to be acknowledged as such which were

<sup>1</sup> Euseb. H. E. vi. 12; Routh, i. 452 sqq. The text of the fragment is corrupt, and I have ventured to introduce some slight corrections by which the whole connexion appears to be improved. The middle sentence should, I believe, be read thus: ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀδελφοὶ καταλαβόμενοι ὅποιος ἦν αἰρέσεως ὁ Μαρκιανὸς (καὶ [ὡς] ἐαυτῷ ἠναντιοῦτο μὴ νοῶν ἃ ἐλάλει [= ἃ] μαθήσεσθε ἐξ ὧν ὑμῖν ἐγράφη) ἐδυνήθημεν [= γὰρ] παρ' ἄλλων τῶν ἀσκησάντων, κ. τ. λ. Many MSS. omit δ before μαθ., and the confusion of TAP with GAP is of constant occurrence. The changes of number—ἡμεῖς, ἐγώ, ἡμεῖς—seem to prove that the sentences (*βραχέϊας λέξεις*, as Eusebius calls them) are not continuous. As far as I am aware, all follow Valesius in translating *καταρξαμένων αὐτοῦ qui Marciano praeiverunt*; but analogy supports the rendering which I have given.

CHAP. II. supported by a certain tradition. Nor can the conduct of Serapion in allowing the public use of other writings be justly blamed. It does not appear that the 'Gospel of Peter' superseded the Canonical Gospels; and it is well known that even the 'Gospel of Nicodemus' maintained a place at Canterbury—'fixed to a pillar'—up to the time of Erasmus.

PAUL OF  
SAMOSATA.

260—272.  
A.C.

The seventh in succession from Serapion was Paul of Samosata, who was convicted of heresy on the accusation of his own clergy, and finally deposed by the civil authority of the heathen Emperor Aurelian. Nothing remains of his writings, but it is recorded that he endeavoured to maintain his opinions by the testimony of the Old and New Testaments, and his adversaries relied on the same books to refute him. A Synodical Epistle 'addressed to Paul by the orthodox bishops before his deposition' has been preserved<sup>1</sup>, in which, in addition to many other quotations from the New Testament, the Epistle to the Hebrews is cited as the work of St Paul<sup>2</sup>.

Epistle to the  
Hebrews.

<sup>1</sup> Doubts were raised as to the genuineness of this Epistle by Basnage, and repeated by Lardner and Lumper; but Routh considers them of no weight (Lumper, xiii. 711 sqq.; Routh, iii. 321 sqq.) The question appears to depend altogether on the good faith of Turrianus, who first published the Epistle. The Epistle itself is almost made up of a collection of passages of Scripture.

<sup>2</sup> Ep. ap. Routh, iii. 299: ...κατὰ τὸν ἀπόστολον...καὶ πάλιν

And in another letter addressed to the bishops CHAP. II.  
of Alexandria and Rome by Malchion, a pres- MALCHION.  
byter of Antioch, in the name of the 'bishops,  
priests, and deacons of the neighbouring cities  
and nations, and of the Churches of God,' Paul  
is described, with a clear allusion to the Epistle  
of St Jude, as one who 'denied his God and St Jude.  
Lord, and kept not the Faith which he himself  
had formerly held<sup>1</sup>.'

The first traces of the theological school of The School of  
Antioch.  
Antioch which became in the fourth and fifth  
centuries a formidable rival to that of Alexan-  
dria, appear during the period of the controversy  
with Paul. Dorotheus, a presbyter of the Church, DOROTHEUS.  
c. 290 A.C.  
is described by Eusebius<sup>2</sup> as a man remarkably  
distinguished for secular learning, and 'in his  
zeal to understand the full beauty of the divine  
[writings], he studied the Hebrew language, so  
as to read and understand the original Hebrew  
Scriptures.' Lucian, another presbyter of An- LUCIAN.  
tioch, 'well trained in sacred studies<sup>3</sup>,' devoted

...καὶ περὶ Μωυσέως· Μείζονα πλοῦτον ἡγησάμενος τῶν Αἰγύπτου  
θησαυρῶν τὸν ὀνειδισμὸν τοῦ Χριστοῦ (Heb. xi. 26). So again  
just before, Heb. iv. 15 is incorporated in the text of the  
Epistle.

<sup>1</sup> Ep. ap. Euseb. H. E. vii. 30: ...τοῦ καὶ τὸν Θεὸν τὸν  
ἑαυτοῦ καὶ Κύριον ἀρνούμενου, καὶ τὴν πίστιν ἣν καὶ αὐτὸς πρό-  
τερον εἶχε μὴ φυλάξαντος. Cf. Jude 3, 4 (reading Θεόν).

<sup>2</sup> Euseb. H. E. vii. 32.

<sup>3</sup> Euseb. H. E. ix. 6: τοῖς ἱεροῖς μαθήμασι συγκεκροτημένος.

CHAP. II.

himself to a critical revision of the Greek text of the Bible. In carrying out this work it is said that he introduced useless corrections into the Gospels; and the copies which he had 'falsified' were pronounced apocryphal in later times<sup>1</sup>. In the absence of all evidence on the question it is impossible to determine in what respect his text differed from that commonly received; but it may be noticed that there is nothing to show that he held any peculiar views on the Canon itself. Lucian died a martyr in the persecution of Maximinus; and Rufinus has † 211 A.C. preserved in a Latin translation a part of the defence which he addressed to the Emperor on his trial<sup>2</sup>. The fragment is of singular beauty, and contains several allusions to the Gospels and Acts; but it is more remarkable as containing an appeal to the physical phenomena

<sup>1</sup> Decret. Gelas. vi. § 14 : Evangelia quæ falsavit Lucianus Apocrypha. Credner (Zur Gesch. d. K. s. 216) regards this as one of the additions to the original Decree of Gelasius (c. 500 A. C.) made at the time when it was republished in Spain under the name of Hormisdas (c. 700—800 A. C.)

The next clause in the decree is, § 15 : Evangelia quæ falsavit Isicius Apocrypha. This certainly refers to the recension of the New Testament published in Egypt by Hesy-chius at the close of the third century, which is classed by Jerome with that of Lucian; but nothing is known of its character. The speculations of Hug are quite unsatisfactory.

<sup>2</sup> The defence occurs in Rufinus' version of Eusebius (H. E. ix. 6). It is printed by Routh, iv. 5 sqq.; and I see no reason to doubt its authenticity.

connected with the Passion—to the darkness, CHAP. II  
 said by Lucian to be recorded in heathen  
 histories, to the rent rocks, and to the Holy  
 Sepulchre, still to be seen in his time at Jeru-  
 salem<sup>1</sup>.

Antioch was not the only place in Syria II. The  
Church of  
Cæsarea.  
 where the Christian Scriptures were made the  
 subject of learned and laborious study. Pam- PAMPHILUS.  
 philus, a presbyter of Cæsarea, the friend of  
 Eusebius and the apologist of Origen, was ‘in-  
 flamed with so great a love of sacred literature  
 that he copied with his own hand the chief part  
 of the works of Origen,’ which, in the time  
 of Jerome, were still preserved in the library  
 which he founded<sup>2</sup>. This library at Cæsarea is  
 frequently mentioned by ancient writers, and  
 when it fell into decay, towards the close of

<sup>1</sup> Luc. ap. Routh, iv. p. 6: Si minus adhuc creditur, adhibebo vobis etiam loci ipsius, in quo res gesta est, testimonium. Adstipulatur his [quæ dico] ipse in Hierosolymis locus, et Golgothana rupes sub patibuli onere disrupta: antrum quoque illud, quod avulsis inferni januis corpus denuo reddidit animatum, quo purius inde ferretur ad cœlum ...Requirite in annalibus vestris: invenietis temporibus Pilati, Christo patiente, fugato sole interruptum tenebris diem. The rhetorical colouring of the passage cannot affect the facts affirmed.

<sup>2</sup> Hieron. de Virr. Ill. 75: Tanto bibliothecæ divinæ amore flagravit... The phrase ‘divina bibliotheca’ means, I believe, the collection of sacred Scriptures. Cf. Routh, iii. 488. As to Pamphilus’ labours on the LXX. cf. Lardner, ii. 59, 5.

CHAP. II. the fourth century, it was restored by the care of two bishops of the city. Its extent is shown by the fact that Jerome found there a copy of the famous 'Hebrew Gospel of St Matthew;' and memorials of it have been preserved to the present time. The Coislinian fragment of the Pauline Epistles, in which the Epistle to the Hebrews is placed before the Pastoral Epistles, contains a note stating that it was 'compared with the copy in the library of Saint Pamphilus at Cæsarea, written by his own hand'.<sup>1</sup> Nor is this all. At the end of the edition of the Acts and of the [seven] Catholic Epistles published by Euthalius, it is said that the book was 'compared with the accurate copies contained in the library of Eusebius Pamphilus<sup>2</sup> at Cæsarea;' and though it is not expressly stated that these copies were written by Pamphilus himself, yet it is probable that they were, from the fact that

*The Epistle  
to the  
Hebrews.*

*The Catholic  
Epistles.*

<sup>1</sup> For the order of the Epistles in this MS. see Montfaucon, *Bibl. Coislin.* p. 253. Tischendorf, *Proleg.* pp. 73, 4.

<sup>2</sup> Zacagni, *Collect.* p. 513: ἀντεβλήθη δὲ τῶν πράξεων καὶ καθολικῶν ἐπιστολῶν τὸ βιβλίον πρὸς τὰ ἀκριβῆ ἀντίγραφα τῆς ἐν Καισαρείᾳ βιβλιοθήκης Εὐσεβίου τοῦ Παμφίλου. The last genitives are ambiguous, and may refer to ἀντίγραφα or βιβλιοθήκης.

The summary of verses given at the end (p. 513) does not agree with numbers previously given; nor can I explain the phrase τὸ πρὸς ἑμαυτὸν στίχοι κζ'. But these difficulties seem to show that Euthalius did not compose the whole work, but in part transcribed it.

the summary of the contents of the Acts published under the name of Euthalius is a mere transcript of a work of Pamphilus<sup>1</sup>. If then this conjecture be right, it may be inferred that the seven Catholic Epistles were formed into a collection at the close of the third century, and appended, as in later times, to the Acts of the Apostles. So much at least is certain, that Pamphilus, a man of wide learning and research, reckoned the Epistle to the Hebrews among the writings of St Paul, whether he regarded it as actually penned by the Apostle, or, like Origen, as the expression of his thoughts by another writer.

CHAP. II.

Though Pamphilus devoted his life to the study of the Holy Scriptures, he never assumed the office of a commentator; but Jerome's statement that 'he wrote nothing except short letters to his friends,' must be received with some reserve<sup>2</sup>. In addition to the Summary of the

Pamphilus' Apology for Origen.

<sup>1</sup> Montf. Bibl. Coislin. p. 78. Routh, iii. 510 sq. The recurrence in the preface to this summary of a very remarkable phrase found in the subscription of the MS. of the Pauline Epistles copied from that of Pamphilus seems to be conclusive on the point: *εὐχῆ τῇ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν τὴν συμπεριφορὰν κομιζόμενος*. The Summary as it occurs in Zacagni (pp. 428 sqq.) is introduced quite abruptly; and Zacagni's explanation of the allusion to the youth of the writer (Pref. p. 63) is unsatisfactory.

<sup>2</sup> Hieron. adv. Ruf. iv. p. 419. Cf. iv. p. 347: *Date quodlibet aliud opus Pamphili: nusquam reperietis. Hoc*



**CHAP. II.** Acts, already noticed, there can be no doubt that the commencement of an Apology for Origen occupied his attention during his last confinement in prison. The first book which bears his name, and was probably his work, has been preserved; and the quotations from Origen which it contains embrace distinct references to the Apocalypse as the work of St John<sup>1</sup>, proving, if the proof were necessary, that on this point Pamphilus followed his master's judgment.

Recognizes  
the Apo-  
calypse.

The Syrian  
Canon com-  
plete.

In the Syrian Church<sup>2</sup> there are thus traces of a complete Canon of the New Testament at the beginning of the fourth century, and that free from all admixture of Apocryphal writings. The same district which first recognized a collection of Apostolic writings in the Peshito, was among the first to complete that original Canon by the addition of the other works which we now receive<sup>3</sup>. And briefly, it may be said that

*unum est.* Jerome is speaking of the Apology for Origen, but he was misled by the fact that Eusebius completed it.

<sup>1</sup> Pamph. Apol. vii.: Apoc. xx. 13, 6. I have not noticed any other references to the disputed books in the Apology.

<sup>2</sup> The Greek Syrian Church is of course not to be confounded with the native Syrian Church, which retained the Canon of the Peshito; cf. p. 265, and P. iii. ch. 2.

<sup>3</sup> One testimony from an Eastern Church has not yet been noticed. In the Acts of a Disputation between Archelaus Bishop of Caschar (or, as some conjecture, of Carrhæ) in Mesopotamia (? cf. Beausobre, Hist. Manich. i. p. 143) and Manes there are several clear allusions to the Epistle to the

wherever the East and the West entered into a true union, there the Canon is found perfect; while the absence or incompleteness of this union measures the corresponding defects in the Canon. CHAP. II.

This appears clearly on a summary review of the results obtained in this chapter. At Alexandria and Cæsarea, where there was the closest intercourse between the Eastern and Western Churches, the Canon of the New Testament was fixed, even if with some reserve, as it stands at present. In the Latin Churches, on the contrary, no trace has yet been found of the use of the Epistle of St James, or of the second Epistle of St Peter; and the Epistle to the Hebrews was not accepted by them as the work of St Paul. But one of the disputed books was still received generally without distinction of East and West. With the single exception of Dionysius all direct testimony from Alexandria, Africa, Rome, and Carthage, witnesses to the Apostolic authority of the Apocalypse. General summary.

Hebrews, though it is not quoted by name. *Disp. Arch. et Man.* (Routh, *Reliq.* v.) p. 45, *Hebr.* vi. 8: p. 75, *Hebr.* viii. 13: p. 127, *Hebr.* i. 3: p. 149, *Hebr.* iii. 5, 6. The reference to *ii. Pet.* iii. 9 in p. 107, *non enim moratus est in promissionibus suis*, is very uncertain. The Acts, however, are at present in a very unsatisfactory form, existing for the most part only in a Latin translation from the Greek, which was itself probably a translation from the Syriac.

## CHAPTER III.

### THE TESTIMONY OF HERETICAL AND APOCRYPHAL WRITINGS TO THE BOOKS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

CHAP. III. Quodcumque adversus veritatem sapit, hoc erit hæresis, etiam vetus consuetudo.—TERTULLIANUS.

i. The testimony of heretical writers. The forms of here-y though changed still witness to the New testament.

THE controversies which agitated the Christian Church from the close of the second century to the commencement of the third show practically, like those of the first age, what theological position was then occupied by the New Testament. The form of the old errors was changed, but their spirit gave life to new systems. Ebionism had sunk down into a mere tradition<sup>1</sup>, but its principles were embodied in the Christian legalism of the Montanists. The same rationalistic tendencies which moved Marcion, afterwards appeared in the questions raised on the Person of Christ, from the time of Praxeas to that of Arius. And the Simonian counterfeit

<sup>1</sup> Haxthausen (*Transcaucasia*, p. 140) mentions the existence of a sect of Judaizing Christians (Uriani) at present in Derbend on the Caspian. They have, as he heard, no knowledge of the Apostolic writings, but possess a Gospel written by Longinus, the first teacher of their Church. It is to be hoped that some light may be thrown on this strange statement.

of Christianity found a partial parallel in the scheme of Mani, less wild, it is true, and more successful. But each great school of heresy did good service in the cause of the Christian Scriptures. The discussions on the Holy Trinity turned upon their right interpretation, so that their authority was a necessary postulate to the argument. The Montanists, while they appealed to the fresh outpouring of the Spirit, did not profess to supersede or dispense with the books which were commonly received. Even the Manichæans found the belief in their divine claims so strong that they could not set them aside as a whole, but were contented to question their integrity.

CHAP III.

The controversies on the person of Christ first arose by a necessary reaction within the Church against the speculations of the Gnostics on the succession and orders of divine powers. The simple baptismal confession, which became the popular rule of faith<sup>1</sup>, contained no reference to the doctrine of the Word, and the unlearned stumbled at the 'mysterious dispensation' of the Holy Trinity. 'We are Monarchians,' they said. 'We acknowledge only one God<sup>2</sup>.' This Monarchianism naturally assumed a double form,

<sup>1</sup>. Controversies on the Person of Christ.

<sup>1</sup> Tert. de Virg. Vel. 1 : Regula quidem fidei una omnino est, sola immobilis et irreformabilis, credendi scilicet in unicum Deum...

<sup>2</sup> Tert. adv. Prax. 3.

CHAP. III.

(a) Patripassianism: Praxeas.  
c. 170 A.C.

(b) Unitarianism: Theodotus.

according as the unity of God was supposed to be rightly asserted by identifying the Son with the Father, or by denying His proper divinity. Praxeas and Theodotus stood forth at the same time at Rome as the champions of these antagonistic opinions. Praxeas seems to have retained his connexion with the Catholic Church; Theodotus was excommunicated. But though they differed thus widely in doctrine and fortune, both held alike the general opinion of Christians on the authority of the Apostolic writings. Tertullian, who attacked Praxeas, with greater zeal, perhaps, because he had proved himself a formidable opponent of Montanism, urged against him various passages of the New Testament, without hesitation and reserve, and answers an argument which he drew from the Apocalypse<sup>1</sup>. And though the followers of Theodotus were accused of 'tampering fearlessly with the Holy Scriptures,' it is evident that their corrections extended only to the text, and not to the Canon itself<sup>2</sup>. So likewise in the later stages of the Trinitarian controversy, with Hermogenes, Noetus, Vero, Beryllus and Sabellius<sup>3</sup> on one side, and with Artemon and

<sup>1</sup> Adv. Prax. xvii.: Interim hic mihi promotum sit responsum adversus id quod et de Apocalypsi Joannis proferrunt. Apoc. i. 8.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. p. 429.

<sup>3</sup> Epiphanius (Hær. lxii. 2) says that Sabellius borrowed many points in his system from the "Gospel according to

Paul of Samosata on the other, the Scriptures CHAP. III.  
were always regarded as the common ground on  
which the questions at issue were to be settled.

In the midst of the discussions which were 2. Montan-  
ism.  
thus extending rapidly in the Church towards  
the close of the second century, it was natural  
that Christians should look around for some sure  
sign of God's presence among them, and for some  
abiding criterion of truth. The urgency of this  
want gave power and success to the teaching of  
Montanus. A strict discipline promised to serve c. 170 A.C.  
as a mark of the elect; and prophecy was offered  
to solve the doubts of believers. But the relation  
of the new prophecies to the Apostolic teaching  
proves how completely the New Testament Scrip-  
tures were identified with the sources of Chris-  
tian doctrine. Tertullian, after he became a  
Montanist, no less than before, appeals to them  
as decisive. The outpouring of the Spirit, he  
says, was made in order to remove the ambi-  
guities and parables by which the truth was  
obscured<sup>1</sup>; to illustrate and not to set aside the

the Egyptians." There is, however, nothing to show that Sabellius placed it in rivalry with the canonical Gospels. The opinions of the Alogi on the writings of St John have been noticed already, pp. 306 sqq.

<sup>1</sup> De Resur. Carn. s. f.: ...jam omnes retro ambiguitates et quas volunt parabolas, aperta atque perspicua totius sacramenti prædicatione [Spiritus Sanctus] discussit, per novam prophetiam de Paraclete inundantem; cujus si hausseris fontes

**CHAP. III.** written Word<sup>1</sup>; to confirm and define what had been already given, and not to introduce anything strange or novel<sup>2</sup>. The ancient Scriptures still remained a common treasure to Montanist and Catholic alike<sup>3</sup>. Some there were certainly among the Montanists who were not content with this view of the position occupied by their prophets, but the exceptions are not sufficient to lessen the importance of the testimony which they bear generally to the Christian Scriptures<sup>4</sup>.

3. Manichæ-  
ism.

The Montanists proposed to restore Christianity: the Manichæans ventured to reconstruct it. Montanus proclaimed the presence of the Paraclete: Mani himself claimed to personify Him, and to lay open that perfect knowledge of which St Paul had spoken. While assuming

*nullam poteris sitire doctrinam : nullus te ardor exuret questionum... De Virg. Vel. 1 : Quæ est ergo Paracleti administratio nisi hæc, quod disciplina dirigitur, quod scripturæ revelantur, quod intellectus reformatur, quod ad meliora proficitur?*

<sup>1</sup> Adv. Prax. 13: Nos enim qui et tempora et causas scripturarum per Dei gratiam inspicimus, maxime Paracleti non hominum discipuli...

<sup>2</sup> De Monog. 3: Nihil novi Paracletus inducit. Quod præmonuit, definit: quod sustinuit, exposcit.

<sup>3</sup> De Monog. 4: Evolvamus communia instrumenta scripturarum pristinarum.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Euseb. H. E. vi. 20. It is probable that Caius excluded the Epistle to the Hebrews from the number of St Paul's Epistles, in opposition to some Montanists (*ἐπιστοπιζῶν*). Cf. Schwegler, Montan. 287 f.

such a character it is more surprising that Mani received the Christian Scriptures in any sense than that he brought them to the test of a merely subjective standard. And it is an important symptom of the popular feeling of the time, that the Manichæans called in question the integrity and sometimes the authenticity of the Christian records, but not the authority of their writers. The grounds on which they did so are purely arbitrary, and their objections are simple assertions without any external proof<sup>1</sup>. Probably they differed considerably among themselves in their estimation of the Canonical books<sup>2</sup>. Thus Augustine states that they rejected the Acts of the Apostles as inconsistent with their belief in the character of Mani<sup>3</sup>; but this explanation is evidently insufficient, because the Montanists received the book in spite of a similar difficulty, and several writers use it without hesitation in their controversies with Manichæans<sup>4</sup>. Generally, however, he speaks of the Manichæans as

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Beausobre, *Hist. de Manich.* i. pp. 297 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> Beausobre is probably right in supposing that they generally accepted the Canon of the Peshito (i. pp. 294 sq.); but I do not think that he is right in limiting (p. 292) the *Epistolæ Canonice* (Aug. c. Faust. xxxii. 15) to the *Catholic Epistles*, though that is the later meaning of the phrase.

<sup>3</sup> *De Util. Cred.* 3. The Acts was generally much less known in the East than the other books of the New Testament. Cf. Beausobre, l. c. p. 293.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Lardner, ii. 63, 4.



**CHAP. III.** admitting 'the New Testament,' 'the four Gospels, and the Epistles of Paul,' in which must be included that to the Hebrews<sup>1</sup>: but without insisting on this evidence, it is an important fact that they did not attempt to assail the Scriptures historically. On the contrary, Augustine argues against them (and his reasoning gains force from his own conversion) that no writings can be proved authentic if the books received as Apostolic be not so: that every kind of evidence combines to establish their claims, the rejection of which must be followed by universal historical scepticism<sup>2</sup>: that they had been circulated in the lifetime of their professed authors: that they had been received throughout the Church: that they were in the hands of all Christians: that they had been scrupulously guarded and attested from the age of the Apostles by an unbroken line of witnesses<sup>3</sup>. And thus the first critical assault on the authority of the New Testament called forth a noble assertion of its historic claims.

<sup>1</sup> Aug. c. Faust. ii. 1; v. 1: de Util. Cred. iii. 7. For the Epistle to the Hebrews, cf. Epiph. Hær. lxvi. 74; supr. p. 452 n. 3; and, on the other hand, Beausobre, i. p. 292.

<sup>2</sup> Aug. de Mor. Eccl. Cath. 29, 60. Consequetur omnium litterarum summa perversio, et omnium qui memoriæ mandati sunt librorum abolitio; si quod tanta populorum religione roboratum est, tanta hominum et temporum consensione firmatum, in hanc dubitationem inducitur, ut ne historiæ quidem vulgaris fidem possit gravitatemque obtinere.

<sup>3</sup> Aug. c. Faust. xxxii. 19; xxxiii. 6.

But while the Manichæans admitted the original authority of the Scriptures of the New Testament, they appealed to other books for the confirmation of their doctrines. When received into the Catholic Church they were required to abjure the use of numerous Apocryphal writings<sup>1</sup>; and a bishop of the fifth century did not scruple to assert that they had either 'invented or corrupted every Apocryphal book<sup>2</sup>.' Without entering in detail into the parallels which the Apocryphal Gospels, Acts, Epistles, and Apocalypses offer to the Canonical Scriptures, it is evident that, as a whole, like false miracles and false prophecies, they presuppose some authentic collection which determined the shape and furthered the circulation of the copy. And that they are copies is evident from their internal character; so that in one respect at least they are instructive, as showing what might have been expected from writings founded on tradition, even when shaped after an Apostolic pattern<sup>3</sup>.

CHAP. III.

The use of Apocryphal books by the Manichees.

How these attest the Canon generally.

<sup>1</sup> The whole formula (ap. Cotel. PP. App. i. 537 sqq., referred to by Beausobre,) is extremely interesting. The passage more directly bearing on our subject is: ἀναθεματίζω πάντα τὰ δόγματα καὶ συγγράμματα τοῦ Μάνεντος...καὶ πάσας τὰς Μανιχαϊκὰς βίβλους, οἷον τὸ νεκροποιὸν αὐτῶν εὐαγγέλιον, ὅπερ ζῶν καλοῦσι, καὶ τὸν θησαυρὸν τοῦ θανάτου, ὃν λέγουσι θησαυρὸν ζωῆς, καὶ τὴν καλουμένην μυστηρίων βίβλον...καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀποκρύφων, καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀπομνημονευμάτων...

<sup>2</sup> Turibius, quoted by Beausobre, i. p. 348.

<sup>3</sup> Beausobre (i. pp. 348 sqq.) has given a general review of their contents; and I have noticed them elsewhere.

## CHAP. III.

Other Apocryphal writings.

Besides the direct imitations of the Apostolic books there are two other Apocryphal writings which deserve notice, because they represent no canonical type,—the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs and parts of the Sibylline Oracles. The Apostles were contented to recommend the Gospel to the Jews by the evidence of the Old Testament, to the heathen by the testimony of their own consciences, to both on the broad grounds of its own divine character. But it was natural that a succeeding generation should look for more distinct intimations of the Hope of the world than are to be found in the symbolism of a nation's history, or the indistinct confessions of hearts ill at rest. By what combination of fraud and enthusiasm the desire was gratified cannot be told, but the works which have been named represent the result<sup>1</sup>. In the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs, and in some of the Sibylline Oracles, the history of the Gospel is thrown into a prophetic form; and the general use made of the latter writings, from the time of Justin Martyr downwards, shows how little any other age than that of the Apostles was able to originate or even to reproduce the simple grandeur of

*The Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs.*

*The Sibylline Oracles.*

<sup>1</sup> The Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs is quoted by Origen (Hom. in Jos. xv. 6). Friedlieb has given a summary of the probable dates of the Sibylline Oracles (Orac. Sibyll. Einl. § 32).

the New Testament. Besides numerous allusions CHAP. III.  
to the facts of the Gospels, and to very little else  
connected with the life of Christ<sup>1</sup>, these Apocry-  
phal books contain several references to the  
Epistles and to the Apocalypse<sup>2</sup>. And one pas-  
sage from the Testament of Benjamin expresses  
such a remarkable judgment on the mission and  
authority of St Paul as to deserve especial  
notice, particularly as the work itself comes from  
the hand of a Jewish Christian.

‘I shall no longer,’ the patriarch says to his Testimony to  
St Paul.  
sons<sup>3</sup>, ‘be called a ravening wolf on account of  
your ravages, but a worker of the Lord, dis-  
tributing goods to those who work that which is  
good. And there shall arise from my seed in  
after times one beloved of the Lord, hearing  
His voice, enlightening with new knowledge all  
the Gentiles,...and till the consummation of the  
ages shall he be in the congregations of the  
Gentiles, and among their princes, as a strain of  
music in the mouth of all. And he shall be  
inscribed in the Holy Books, both his work and

<sup>1</sup> The fire in the Jordan at Baptism of our Lord (cf. p. 191 n.) is the only fact which occurs to me. Orac. Sibyll. vi. 6. Cf. vii. 84.

<sup>2</sup> Test. Levi, § 18; Hebr. vii. 22—24. Issachar, § 7; i. John v. 16, 17. Dan. § 5; Apoc. xxi.

Orac. Sibyll. i. 125 sqq.; ii. Pet. ii. 5. Lib. ii. 167 sqq.; ii. Thess. ii. 8—10. Lib. viii. 190 sqq. Apoc. ix. &c.

<sup>3</sup> Test. Benj. § 11.

## 464 TESTIMONY OF HERETICAL AND APOCRYPHAL

CHAP. III. his word, and he shall be chosen of God for ever...<sup>1</sup>’

The evidence of the heathen opponents of Christianity.

CELSUS.

In addition to other evidence that of the heathen opponents of Christianity must not be neglected. Celsus, the earliest and most formidable among them, lived towards the close of the second century, and he had sought his knowledge of the Christian system in Christian books. He quotes ‘the writings of the disciples of Jesus’ concerning His life, as possessing unquestioned authority<sup>2</sup>; and that these were the four Canonical Gospels is proved both by the absence of all evidence to the contrary, and by the special facts which he brings forward<sup>3</sup>. And not only

<sup>1</sup> It is perhaps impossible to fix with precision the date of the *Pistis Sophia* (ed. Schwartze et Petermann, *Berl.* 1851). Petermann describes it simply as ‘ab Ophitâ quodam superiori scriptum’ (Pref. p. vii.). It contains numerous references to the Gospels of St Matthew, St Luke, and St John; and once quotes St Paul (Rom. xiii. 7, p. 294). The only apocryphal saying which I noticed in it is the well-known phrase attributed to our Lord, ‘Be ye wise money-changers’ (p. 353); but of Philip it is said: iste est qui scribit res omnes quas Jesus dixit et quas fecit omnes’ (p. 69).

<sup>2</sup> Orig. c. Cels. ii. 13, 74.

<sup>3</sup> The title of Celsus’ book was *Λόγος ἀληθείης*, and Origen has answered it at length. The following references will be sufficient: Matt. ii. Orig. c. Cels. i. 34; Mark vi. 3, id. vi. 36 (where Origen had a false reading); Luke iii. id. ii. 32; John xix. 34, id. ii. 36. Celsus evidently considered that the different Gospels were incorrect revisions of one original; id. ii. 27. All the facts which Origen quotes from Celsus are, I believe, contained in our Canonical Gospels; yet cf. Orig. in Cels. ii. 74.

this, but both Celsus and Porphyry appear to have been acquainted with the Pauline Epistles<sup>1</sup>. And in Porphyry at least the influence of the Apostolic teaching can be distinctly traced, for Christianity, even in his time, had done much to leaven the world which rejected it<sup>2</sup>.

CHAP. III.

PORPHYRY.  
† 304.

*Conclusion of Second Part.*

To pass once again from these details to a wider view, it is evident that the results of the last three chapters confirm what was stated at the outset, that this second period in the History of the Canon offers a marked contrast to the first. It is characterized not so much by the antagonism of great principles as by the influence of great men. But their work was to construct and not to define. And thus the age

Summary of  
the history of  
the Second  
Period.  
Its work to  
construct,  
not to define;  
though

<sup>1</sup> Orig. c. Cels. i. 9; cf. i. Cor. iii. 19, i. Pet. iii. 15: id. v. 64; cf. Gal. vi. 14. Porphyry. ap. Hieron. Comm. in Galat. i. 15, 16 (T. iv. p. 233); ii. 11 (id. p. 244).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Ullmann, Stud. u. Krit. v. 376 sqq. His beautiful letter to Marcella (ed. Mai, *Mediol.* 1816), the climax of philosophic morality, offers nevertheless a complete contrast to the Christian doctrine of the dignity of man's body.

In other heathen writers there is little which bears on the Christian Scriptures. LUCIAN in his True History (ii. 11 sqq.) gives a poor imitation of Apoc. xxi. But the striking description which ARISTIDES (ad Plat. ii. T. ii. pp. 398 sqq. Df.) draws of the Christians is very worthy of notice, especially when compared with Lucian's (de Peregr. ii. 13). LONGINUS' testimony to the eloquence of 'Paul of Tarsus' (fr. 1, ed. Weiske) is generally considered spurious.

CON-  
CLUSION.

---

was an age of research and thought, but at the same time it was an age of freedom. The fabric of Christian doctrine was not yet consolidated, though the elements which had existed at first separately were already combined. An era of speculation preceded an era of councils; for it was necessary that all the treasures of the Church should be regarded in their various aspects before they could be rightly arranged.

it was fertile  
in controver-  
sies.

There was, however, among Christians a keen and active perception of that 'one unchangeable rule of faith,' which was embodied in the practice of the Church and attested by the words of Scripture. Apologists for Christianity were followed by advocates of its ancient purity even in the most remote districts of the Roman world. In addition to the writers who have been mentioned already, Eusebius has preserved the names of many others 'from an innumerable crowd,' which in themselves form a striking monument of the energy of the Church. Philip in Crete, Bacchylus at Corinth, and Palmas in Pontus defended the primitive Creed against the innovations of heresy<sup>1</sup>. And the list might be easily increased; but it is enough to show that the energy of Christian life was not confined to the great centres of its action, or to the men who gave their character to its development.

<sup>1</sup> Euseb. H. E. iv. 23, 25, 28; v. 22, 46.

CONCLUSION OF THE SECOND PART. 467

The whole body was instinct with a sense of truth and ready to maintain it.

CON-  
CLUSION.

Yet even controversy failed to create a spirit of historical inquiry. Tertullian once alludes to synodal discussions on the Canon<sup>1</sup>, but as a general rule it was assumed by Christian writers that the contents of the New Testament were known and acknowledged. Where differences existed on this point, as in the case of the Marcionites, no attempt was made to compose them by a critical investigation into the history of the sacred records. And in the Church itself no voice of authority interfered to remove the doubts which formerly existed, however much they were modified by usage and by the judgment of particular writers. The age was not only constructive but conservative; and thus the evidence for the New Testament Canon, which has been gathered from writers of the third century, differs from that of earlier date in fulness rather than in kind.

which did not, however, create any historic criticism.

Hence we gain no new results, but

But the fulness of evidence for the acknowledged books, coming from every quarter of the Church and given with unhesitating simplicity, can surely be explained on no other ground than that it represented an original tradition or an instinctive judgment of Apostolic times. While, on the other hand, the books which were

the old are strongly confirmed, as regards the acknowledged books,

the disputed books, and

<sup>1</sup> Tert. de Pudic. 11.



## 468 CONCLUSION OF THE SECOND PART.

CON-  
CLUSION.

not universally received seem to have been in most cases rather unknown than rejected. The Apocalypse alone was made the subject of a controversy, and that purely on internal testimony<sup>1</sup>. For it is most worthy of notice that the disputed books (with the exception of ii. Peter, the history of which is most obscure) are exactly those which make no direct claims to apostolic authorship, so that they might have been excluded from the Canon, even by some who did not doubt their authenticity. In the meantime Apocryphal writings had passed almost out of notice, and no one can suppose that they were any longer confounded with the Apostolic books. Nothing more, indeed, was needed than that some practical crisis should give clear effect to the judgment everywhere felt; and this, as we shall see in the next chapter, was soon furnished by the interrogations of the last persecutor.

Apocryphal  
writings.

<sup>1</sup> It is a satisfaction to find that the opinion which I have given on the testimonies of Caius and Dionysius (pp. 307, 411) is confirmed by that of Münster in a special tract on the subject: *De Dionys. Alex. Judic. c. Apocal. Hafniæ*, 1826, pp. 35 sqq. 67 sqq.

**THIRD PERIOD.**

**HISTORY OF THE CANON FROM THE PERSE-  
CUTION OF DIOCLETIAN TO THE THIRD  
COUNCIL OF CARTHAGE.**

**A.D. 303—397.**

Solis eis Scripturarum libris qui jam Canonici<sup>2</sup> appol-  
lantur, didici hunc timorem honoremque deferre, ut nullum  
eorum auctorem scribendo aliquid errasse firmissime credam.  
—**AGUSTINUS.**

## CHAPTER I.

### THE HISTORY OF THE CANON DURING THE AGE OF DIOCLETIAN.

Ἐπληρώθη τό· πῦρ ἦλθον βαλεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν οὐκ ἀφανιστικὸν ἀλλὰ καθαρτικόν.—ATHANASIUS. CHAP. I.

THOUGH we do not possess any public Acts of the Ante-Nicene Church relative to the Canon, the zeal of its enemies has in some degree supplied the deficiency. During the long period of repose which the Christians enjoyed after the edict of Gallienus, the character and claims of their sacred writings became more generally known<sup>1</sup>, and offered a definite mark to their adversaries. Diocletian skilfully availed himself of this new point of attack. The earlier persecutors had sought to deprive the Church of its teachers: he endeavoured to destroy the writings which were the unfailing source of its faith. Hierocles, the proconsul of Bithynia, is said to have originated and directed the persecution<sup>2</sup>; and his efforts were more formidable because he was well acquainted with the history and doctrines of Christianity.

The persecu-  
tion of Dio-  
cletian di-  
rected in part  
against the  
Christian  
Scriptures,  
and so

261 A.C.

303—311  
A. C.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Lact. Instit. Div. v. 2: Alius [Hierocles]...quædam capita [Scripturæ Sacræ] quæ repugnare sibi videbantur exposuit, adeo multa, adeo intima enumerans, ut aliquando ex eadem disciplina fuisse videatur...præcipue tamen Paulum Petrumque laceravit...

<sup>2</sup> Lact. Instit. Div. l. c. De Mort. Persec. 16.

## CHAP. I.

productive  
of dissensions  
among  
Christians  
which led  
necessarily

The first result of this persecution was to create dissensions within the Church itself. A large section of Christians availed themselves of the means of escape offered by lenient magistrates, and surrendered 'useless writings<sup>1</sup>,' which satisfied the demands of their inquisitors. Others, however, viewed this conduct with reasonable jealousy, and branded as 'traitors' (traditores) those who submitted to the semblance of guilt to avoid the trials of persecution. And the differences which arose on the question became deep and permanent. For nearly two hundred years the schism of the Donatists remained to witness to the intensity and bitterness of the controversy. But schism as well as persecution furthered the work of God. Henceforth the *Canonical* Scriptures were generally known by that distinctive title, even if it was not then first applied to them<sup>2</sup>. Both parties in the Church naturally combined to distinguish the sacred writings from all others. The stricter Christians required clear grounds for visiting the 'traditores' with Ecclesiastical censures<sup>3</sup>; and

to a clearer  
determina-  
tion of the  
Canonical  
books.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Neander, Ch. Hist. i. p. 205. Augustin. Brev. Coll. Donat. ix. 568, E. F (ed. Bened.); c. Cresc. iii. 30. Credner (Zur Gesch. d. K. s. 66) gives another interpretation to *scripturæ supervacuae* in the Acts of Felix.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Append. A. Credner, a. a. O.

<sup>3</sup> Concil. Arelat. xiii.: De his qui scripturas sanctas tradidisse dicuntur...ut quicumque eorum *ex actis publicis* fuerit detectus...

the more pliant were anxious not to compromise their faith, while they were willing to purchase peace by obedience in that which seemed indifferent.

But though it is evident that an ecclesiastical canon must have been formed before the close of the persecution of Diocletian, it is not to be concluded that no such Rule existed before. The original edict which enjoined that 'the Churches should be razed, and the Scriptures consumed by fire...<sup>1</sup>' is unhappily lost; and Christian writers describe its provisions in words intelligible and definite to themselves, but little likely to have been used by a heathen Emperor. There can, however, be no doubt that it contained an accurate description of the books to be surrendered, and the official records of two trials consequent upon it seem to have preserved the exact phrase which was employed. 'Bring forward,' the Roman commissioner said to the bishop Paul, 'the Scriptures of the Law.' And Cæcilian writing to another bishop Felix says, 'Ingentius inquired whether any Scriptures of your law were burnt according to the sacred law<sup>2</sup>.' Now whether this title was of Christian

But at least the outlines of a Canon must have existed before.

<sup>1</sup> Euseb. H. E. viii. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Acta ap. Labbé, Concil. ii. 501 (ed. Mansi, *Florent.* 1759); Augustin. ix. App. p. 29. Felix F. P. P. curator Paulo Episcopo dixit: Proferte *scripturas legis*, et si quid aliud hic habetis, ut præceptum est, ut jussioni parere possitis.

## CHAP. I.

or heathen origin it evidently had a meaning sufficiently strict and clear for the purposes of a Roman court: in other words the books which the Christians called 'divine' and 'spiritualizing' (deificæ), which were publicly read in their assemblies and guarded with their most devoted care, were formed into a collection so well known that they could be described by a title scarcely more explicit than 'the Bible.'

And what this Canon was may be seen from the Canon left after the persecution in i. Africa—Donatists.

And what then were the contents of that collection? The answer to this question must be sought for in the results of the persecution. No district suffered more severely than North Africa, where schism continued the ravages which persecution began. Donatus placed himself at the head of a party who opposed the appointment of Cæcilian to the see of Carthage on the ground that he had been ordained by Felix a traditor; and, in spite of the judgment of a synod, confirmed by Constantine, the rup-

Paulus episcopus dixit: Scripturas lectores habent, sed nos quod hic habemus damus. Afterwards the command is simply: Proferte scripturas. Id. p. 509. Parenti Felici salutem: Cum Ingentius collega meus Augentinum amicum suum conveniret et inquisisset anno duoviratus mei, an aliquæ scripturæ legis vestræ secundum sacram legem adustæ sint...(These passages are quoted by Credner, a. a. O.) A similar phrase occurs also in Augustine, Ps. c. Donat. T. ix. p. 3 B: Erant quidam traditores *librorum de sacra lege*. Cf. Commod. Inst. i. Pref. 6. On the relation of the words *lex*, *regula* and *κανών*, see Credner, l. c.

ture became complete. The ground of the Donatist schism was thus the betrayal of the Canonical Scriptures, and the Canon of the Donatists will necessarily represent the strict judgment of the African Churches. Now Augustine allows that both Donatist and Catholic were alike 'bound by the authority of both Testaments<sup>1</sup>,' and that they admitted alike 'the Canonical Scriptures<sup>2</sup>.' 'And what are these,' he asks, 'but the Scriptures of the Law and the Prophets. To which are added the Gospels, the Apostolic Epistles, the Acts of the Apostles, the Apocalypse of John<sup>3</sup>.' The only doubt which can be thrown on the completeness and purity of the Donatist Canon arises from the uncertain language of Augustine about the Epistle to the Hebrews, and no Donatist writing throws any light upon the point<sup>4</sup>. But with this uncertain exception the ordeal of persecution left the African Churches in possession of a perfect New Testament.

<sup>1</sup> August. Ep. cxxix. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Aug. c. Cresc. i. xxxi. 37: *Proferte certe aliquem de scripturis Canonicis, [quarum nobis est communis auctoritas] ...*The last clause, if it be uncertain in this place, occurs without any variation at the end of the chapter.

<sup>3</sup> De Unit. Eccles. xix. 51.

<sup>4</sup> The only disputed books from which I have noticed quotations in Tichonius (Aug. c. Ep. Parm. T. ix. p. 11) are the second Epistle of St John (Gallandi, Bibl. Pp. viii. p. 124), and the Apocalypse (id. pp. 107, 122, 125, 128).



## CHAP. I.

ii. Syria—  
EUSEBIUS.  
c. 270—340  
A.C.

From Africa we pass to Palestine. Among the witnesses of the persecution there was Eusebius the friend of Pamphilus, afterwards bishop of Cæsarea, and the historian of the early Church. ‘I saw,’ he says, ‘with my own eyes the houses of prayer thrown down and razed to their foundations, and the inspired and sacred Scriptures consigned to the fire in the open market-place<sup>1</sup>.’ Among such scenes he could not fail to learn what books men held to be more precious than their lives, and it is reasonable to look for the influence of this early trial on his later opinions. But the great fault of Eusebius is a want of independent judgment. He writes under the influence of his last informant, and consequently his narrative is often confused and inconsistent. This is the case, in some degree, with his statements on the Canon, though it is possible, I believe, to ascertain his real judgment on the question, and to remove some of the discrepancies by which it is obscured.

His character.

His first account of the Apostolic Canon.

The manner in which he approaches the subject illustrates very well the desultory character of his work. After recording the succession of Linus to the see of Rome, ‘after the martyrdom of Peter and Paul,’ without any further preface, he proceeds<sup>2</sup>: ‘Of Peter then

<sup>1</sup> H. E. viii. 2.

<sup>2</sup> H. E. iii. 3. The title of the Chapter is: Περὶ τοῦ

one Epistle, which is called his former Epistle, CHAP. I.  
 is generally acknowledged; of this also the Writings of  
St Peter and  
 ancient presbyters have made frequent use (κατα-  
 κέχρηται) in their writings as indisputably  
 genuine (ἀναμφιλέκτω). But that which is cir-  
 culated as his second Epistle we have received  
 to be not canonical (ἐνδιάθηκον); still as it ap-  
 peared useful to many it has been diligently  
 read (ἐσπουδάσθη) with the other scriptures. The  
 Book of the Acts of Peter and the Gospel  
 which bears his name, and the book entitled  
 his Preaching, and his so-called Apocalypse, we  
 know to have been in nowise included in the  
 Catholic<sup>1</sup> scriptures by antiquity (οὐδ' ὅλως ἐν  
 καθολικοῖς παραδιδόμενα), because no ecclesias-  
 tical writer in ancient times or in our own has  
 made general use (συνεχρήσατο) of the testimo-  
 nies to be drawn from them...So many are  
 the works which bear the name of Peter, of  
 which I have recognized (ἔγνω) one epistle only  
 as genuine (γνησίαν) and acknowledged by the  
 ancient presbyters.

‘Of Paul the fourteen epistles commonly of St Paul.  
 received (αἱ δεκατέσσαρες) are at once manifest

ἐπιστολῶν τῶν ἀποστόλων, yet he makes no allusion to the  
 Epistles of St John, and digresses to other writings.

<sup>1</sup> i. e. *canonical*. This use of the word καθολικός is illus-  
 trated by the Concil. Carthag. xxiv. Int. Gr. (given in  
 App. D.)

the Shepherd  
of Hermas.

... received as indi  
Since the same  
the end of the Epis  
mention among oth  
Shepherd is said to  
this book has been  
fore it could not be c  
book, though it has  
most necessary for t  
elementary instructio  
*εἰσαγωγικῆ*). In con  
that it has been for  
*μοσιευμένον*) in church  
some of the most anci  
of it.

These remarks w  
*παράστασις*) the divine  
controvertible (*ἀναντιρ*  
... ..

Apostle St John. While doing this he quotes from Clement the beautiful story of the young robber, and then goes on abruptly to enumerate 'the uncontroverted writings of the Apostle.' The Gospel is placed first as 'fully recognized in all the churches under heaven;' and so Eusebius proceeds to speak on the other Gospels, prefacing his criticism with some remarks on Apostolic gifts which illustrate his view of inspiration<sup>1</sup>. 'Those inspired and truly godlike men (*θεσπέσιοι καὶ ἀληθῶς θεοπρεπεῖς*), I mean the Apostles of Christ, having been completely purified in their life, and adorned with every virtue in their souls, though still simple and illiterate in their speech (*ἰδιωτεύοντες τὴν γλῶσσαν*), yet trusting boldly to the divine and marvellous power given them by the Saviour, had not indeed either the knowledge or the design to commend the teaching of their Master by subtilty and rhetorical art, but using only the demonstration of the divine Spirit, who wrought with them, and the wonder-working power of Christ realized through them, proclaimed the knowledge of the kingdom of heaven over all the world (*οἰκουμένη*), giving little heed to the labour of written composition (*σπουδῆς τῆς περὶ τὸ λογογραφεῖν*). And this they did as being wholly engaged (*ἐξυπηρευτούμενοι*) in a greater

the writings  
of St John,  
and after  
general re-  
marks on the  
Gospels.

<sup>1</sup> H. E. iii. 24.

CHAP. I.

and superhuman ministry. For example, Paul who showed himself the most powerful of all in the means of eloquence, and the most able in thought, has not committed to writing more than his very short letters, although he had countless mysteries to tell, as one who attained to a vision of things in the third heaven, and was caught up to the divine paradise itself, and was counted worthy to hear unspeakable words from those who had been transported thither. The rest of the immediate followers (*φοιτηταί*) of the Saviour, twelve Apostles, and seventy disciples, and innumerable others besides, were in some degree blessed with the same privileges... still Matthew and John alone of all have left us an account of their intercourse with the Lord....' After this Eusebius discusses the mutual relations of the Gospels, promising a more special investigation in some other place, a promise which, like many others, he left unfulfilled. He then continues: 'Now of the writings of John, in addition to the Gospel, the former of his Epistles also has been acknowledged as undoubtedly genuine both by the writers of our own time and by those of antiquity; but the two remaining Epistles are disputed. Concerning the Apocalypse men's opinions even now are generally divided. This question, however, shall be decided at a proper

time by the testimony of antiquity<sup>1</sup>. There is nothing to show that Eusebius carried his intention into effect, and, without further break, he proceeds<sup>2</sup>: 'But now we have arrived at this point, it is natural that we should give a summary catalogue of the writings of the New Testament to which we have already alluded<sup>3</sup>. First then we must place the holy quaternion of the Gospels, which are followed by the account of the Acts of the Apostles. After this we must reckon the Epistles of Paul; and next to them we must maintain as genuine (*κυρωτέον*) the Epistle circulated (*φερομένη*) as the former<sup>4</sup> of John, and in like manner that of Peter. In addition to these books, if possibly such a view seem correct<sup>5</sup>, we must place the Revelation of John, the judgments on which we shall set forth

CHAP. I.

Sums up his opinions on the books of the New Testament.

(a) The Acknowledged Books.

<sup>1</sup> The scattered testimonies which he quotes from Justin (iv. 18), Theophilus (iv. 24), Irenæus (vi. 25), Origen (iv. 26), and Dionysius (vii. 25) can scarcely be considered to satisfy this promise.

<sup>2</sup> H. E. iii. 25.

<sup>3</sup> Ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι τὰς δηλωθείσας τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης γραφάς. It seems incredible that there should have been any difference of opinion as to the meaning of the phrase. Eusebius had mentioned before all the books of the New Testament which he here accepts: Four Gospels, iii. 24; Acts, ii. 22; fourteen Epistles of St Paul, iii. 3; seven Catholic Epistles, ii. 23, iii. 24; Apocalypse, iii. 24.

<sup>4</sup> Προτέρα not πρώτη. Cf. pp. 83. n. 3; 435, n. 2.

<sup>5</sup> Εἴ γε φανεῖη. The difference between this and εἰ φανεῖη below must not be left unnoticed.

## CHAP. I.

in due course. And these are regarded as generally received (*ἐν ὁμολογουμένοις*).

(B) The Disputed Books  
1. Generally known.

‘ Among the controverted books, which are nevertheless well known and recognized by most<sup>1</sup>, we class the Epistle circulated under the name of James, and that of Jude, as well as the second of Peter, and the so-called Second and Third of John, whether they really belong to the Evangelist, or possibly to another of the same name.

2. Spurious.

‘ We must rank as spurious (*νόθοι*) the account of the Acts of Paul, the book called the Shepherd, and the Revelation of Peter. And besides these the epistle circulated under the name of Barnabas, and the Teaching of the Apostles; and moreover, as I said, the Apocalypse of John, if such an opinion seem correct (*εἰ φανεῖη*), which some, as I said, reject (*ἀθετοῦσι*), while others reckon it among the books generally received. We may add that some have reckoned in this division the Gospel according to the Hebrews, to which those Hebrews who have received [Jesus as] the Christ are especially

<sup>1</sup> Γνωρίμων τοῖς πολλοῖς. Cf. H. E. iii. 38. The word *γνώριμος* implies a familiar knowledge. It is a singular coincidence that Alex. Aphrod. (*de. an.* 2, quoted by Stephens) uses it in connexion with another Eusebian word. Speaking of Time and Place he says: τὸ μὲν εἶναι γνώριμον καὶ ἀναμφίλεκτον.

attached. All these then will belong to the class of controverted books. CHAP. I.

‘It has been necessary for us to extend our catalogue to these, in spite of their ambiguous character (τούτων ὅμως τὸν κατάλογον πεποιήμεθα), having distinguished the writings which are true and genuine (ἀπλάστους), and generally acknowledged<sup>1</sup> according to the ecclesiastical tradition, and the others besides these, which, though they are not canonical (ἐνδιαθήκους) but controverted, are nevertheless constantly recognized (γιγνωσκομένας) by most of our ecclesiastical authorities (ἐκκλησιαστικῶν), that we might be acquainted with these scriptures, and with those which are brought forward by heretics in the name of Apostles, whether it be as containing the Gospels of Peter and Thomas and Matthias, or also of others besides these, as the Acts of Andrew and John and the other apostles, which no one of the succession of ecclesiastical writers has anywhere deigned to quote. And further also the character of their language, (φράσεως) which varies from the apostolic spirit (παρὰ τὸ ἦθος τὸ ἀποστολικὸν ἐναλλάττει), and the sentiment and purpose of their contents, which is utterly discordant with true orthodoxy,

<sup>1</sup> Ἀνωμολογημένους. Ἀνομολογεῖσθαι differs from ὁμολογεῖσθαι in bringing out the notion of examination, inquiry, and judgment. Cf. H. E. iii. 3, 24, 38; iv. 7.



CHAP. I. clearly prove that they are forgeries of heretics; whence we must not even class them among the spurious (*νόθοις*) books, but set them aside (*παραιτητέον*) as every way monstrous and impious.'

This last passage must interpret the others.

This last passage in which Eusebius professes to sum up what he had previously said upon the subject, however imperfect and vague it may appear in some respects, forms the centre to which all his other statements on the books of the New Testament must be referred. Here, instead of quoting the authority of others, he writes in his own person, and implies, I believe, his own judgment on the disputed books<sup>1</sup>. In order to determine what this was, it will be necessary to analyse briefly the classification which he proposes. And at the outset it is evident, I think, that he divides all the writings which laid claim to Apostolic authority into three principal divisions—the Acknowledged, the Disputed, and the Heretical. But these words, it must be remembered, are used with reference to a particular object, and consequently in a modified sense<sup>2</sup>. That a book should be 'acknowledged'

Three classes of books distinguished in it, of which

<sup>1</sup> In treating of the Eusebian Canon, I can only give the conclusions at which I have arrived. The best separate essay on it which I know, is that of Lücke (Berlin, 1816), which is not, however, by any means free from faults.

<sup>2</sup> Thus under different aspects the same book may be differently described. The Epistle of Clement (i), for in-

as Canonical, it was requisite that its authenticity should be undisputed, and that its author should have been possessed of Apostolic power; if it were supposed to fail in satisfying either of these conditions, then it was 'disputed,' however well it satisfied the other.

With regard to the first and last classes there can be little ambiguity as to the limits which Eusebius would set to them generally; the position of the Apocalypse (for a reason which will be shortly seen) being left in some uncertainty. But considerable doubt has been felt as to the exact extent and definition of the second class, though the words at the beginning and end of the paragraph in which the disputed books are enumerated, clearly state that they were all included under one comprehensive title. Yet it does not therefore follow that all the books included in the second class were on the same footing; for, on the contrary, this class itself is subdivided into two other classes,

the second class is again subdivided into two others,

stance, is called 'acknowledged,' when the question of authenticity only is at issue (Euseb. H. E. iii. 16, 38): but 'disputed,' with regard to canonicity (H. E. vi. 13).

Origen once adopts a triple division of books claiming Apostolic authority somewhat different (Comm. in Joan. xiii. 17): ...ἐξετάζοντες περὶ τοῦ βιβλίου [τοῦ κηρύγματος Πέτρου] πότερόν ποτε γνήσιόν ἐστὶν ἢ νόθον ἢ μικτόν (a genuine work, a spurious work falsely inscribed with St Peter's name, or a work containing partly true records of St Peter's teaching, partly spurious additions to it).

## CHAP. I.

containing, respectively, such books as were generally though not universally recognized, and such as Eusebius pronounced to be 'spurious,' that is deficient in one or other of the marks of an acknowledged book. There are traces even of a further subdivision; for this latter class again is made up of subordinate groups, determined, as it appears, by the common character which fixed their position: the first group containing the Acts of Paul, the Shepherd, and the Apocalypse of Peter, was not genuine; the second, containing the Epistle of Barnabas<sup>1</sup> and the Doctrines of the Apostles, was not apostolic. And if this view be correct the ambiguous statement as to the Apocalypse becomes intelligible, because it was undoubtedly a genuine work of John; and if that John were identical with the Apostle, then it satisfied both the conditions requisite to make it an acknowledged book: otherwise, like the letter of Barnabas, it was 'spurious<sup>2</sup>.'

<sup>1</sup> In speaking of Barnabas the companion of St Paul, Eusebius takes no notice of the Epistle, and he nowhere attributes it to him (H. E. i. 12; ii. 1; vi. 13). Cf. p. 49.

<sup>2</sup> Though Eusebius does not here use the word ἀπόκρυφος, yet as he elsewhere applies it (H. E. iv. 22) to the books fabricated by heretics, it will be well to trace its meaning briefly:

i. The original sense is clearly *set apart from sight* as distinguished from the simple *hidden*, (κρυπτός) the notion

According to this view of the passage, then, it appears that Eusebius received as 'Divine Scriptures' the acknowledged books, adding to

of separation or removal being brought prominently forward. Cf. Sirac. xlii. 12 (LXX.): *θυγάτηρ πατρὶ ἀπόκρυφος ἀγρυπνία*. Gen. xxiv. 43 (Aqu.); Dan. xi. 43; Col. ii. 3; Mark iv. 22; Luke viii. 17; Matt. xi. 25; xxv. 18; i. Cor. ii. 7; Eph. iii. 1; Col. i. 26 (*ἀποκρύπτειν ἢ φανεροῦν*).

ii. From this sense various others branch out corresponding to the several motives which may occasion the concealment. As applied to books, concealment might be caused by their

(a) Esoteric value, as containing the secrets of a religion or an art. Cf. Ex. vii. 11, 22 (Symm.); Suid. in Pherecyde (quoted by Stephens): *ἤσκησε δὲ ἑαυτὸν κτησάμενος τὰ Φουίκων ἀπόκρυφα βιβλία*. As such heretics brought forward writings under the names of prophets and apostles; cf. Orig. Comm. Ser. in Matt. § 28.

(β) Mysterious or ambiguous character, as containing that which specially needs interpretation or correction from its difficulty or imperfection. Cf. Sirac. xxiii. 3, 9; (Xen. Memor. iii. 5, 14; Conv. viii. 11). In the first sense the word is applied to the Revelation by Gregory of Nyssa (Orat. in Ordin. suam, T. i. p. 876, ed. Par. 1615): *ἤκουσα τοῦ εὐαγγελιστοῦ Ἰωάννου ἐν ἀποκρύφοις δι' αἰνίγματος λέγοντος...*; and in the other commonly to the so-called 'Apocrypha' of the Old Testament. Cf. Orig. prol. in Cant. s. f.

(γ) In the last sense the word offered a contrast to *δεδημοσιευμένος*, and so came to be applied to books wholly set aside from the use of the Church. Thus it is first used by Irenæus, i. 20 (with some allusion probably to the claims made by the writers of the books; cf. Clem. Str. i. 15, § 69): *ἀμύθητον πλῆθος ἀποκρύφων καὶ νόθων γραφῶν, ἃς αὐτοὶ ἐπλασαν παρεισφέρουσιν...*; Athanat. Ep. fest. (*κανονιζόμενα, ἀναγνωσκόμενα, ἀπόκρυφα*); Cyril. Catech. iv. 36. Cf. Schlensner, Lex. Vet. Test. and Suicer s. v.; and Reuss, Gesch. der Heil. Schrift. § 318.

## CHAP. I.

General view  
of his Canon  
of the New  
Testament,  
supported by  
isolated testi-  
monies to

them the other books in our present Canon, and no others, on the authority of most writers, with this single exception, that he was undecided as to the authorship of the Apocalypse. It remains for us to inquire how far this general judgment is supported by the isolated notices of the different books scattered throughout his writings.

the *Epistle to  
the Hebrews,*

It will be noticed that no special mention is made in the general summary of the Epistle to the Hebrews, but in the first quotation it is expressly attributed to St Paul; and though Eusebius elsewhere speaks of it as among the disputed books<sup>1</sup>, numerous quotations prove that he regarded it as substantially St Paul's, even if it had been translated by St Luke, or (as he was more inclined to believe) by Clement<sup>2</sup>. With regard to the Catholic Epistles, after speaking of the martyrdom of James the First, he says<sup>3</sup>: 'The first of the Epistles styled Catholic is said to be his. But I must remark that it is held by

the *Catholic  
Epistles,*

of *St James  
and St Jude,*  
and gene-  
rally,

<sup>1</sup> H. E. vi. 13: Κέχρηται δ' [ὁ Κλήμης]...ταῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀντι-  
λεγόμενων μαρτυρίαις...καὶ τῆς πρὸς Ἑβραίους ἐπιστολῆς, τῆς τε  
Βαρνάβα καὶ Κλήμεντος καὶ Ἰούδα.

<sup>2</sup> H. E. iii. 38. For his use of the Epistle, see Eclog.  
Proph. i. 20 (ed. Gaisfd, Ox. 1842): ὁ ἀπόστολος...ἐν τῇ πρὸς  
Ἑβραίους συντάξει...φησὶν· Hebr. i. 5; so iii. 23: ὁ θαυμάσιος  
ἀπόστολος· Hebr. iv. 14; c. Marc. de Eccl. Theol. i. 20: καὶ  
ἀρχιερέα δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ αὐτὸς ἀπόστολος [Παῦλος] ἀποκαλεῖ λέγων·  
Hebr. iv. 14; c. Marc. ii. 1. Comm. in Ps. (ed. Montfaucon,  
Par. 1706) i. 175 sq., 248, &c.

<sup>3</sup> H. E. ii. 23.

some to be spurious (*νοθεύεται*). Certainly not many old writers have mentioned it, nor yet the Epistle of Jude, which is also one of the seven so-called Catholic Epistles. But nevertheless we know that these have been publicly used with the rest in most Churches.' This, again, is thoroughly consistent with his summary; for the allusion to the order of the Catholic Epistles, and to their definite number (seven), shows that even such as were disputed were distinguished from those which he likewise calls 'disputed' when mentioning the opinions of others, but 'spurious' when expressing his own. It is more important to insist on this testimony, because though Eusebius has made use of the Epistle of St James in many places<sup>1</sup>, yet I am not aware that he ever quotes the Epistle of St Jude, the second Epistle of St Peter, or the two shorter Epistles of St John<sup>2</sup>.

The Apocalypse alone remains; and with regard to this book, the same uncertainty as marks Eusebius' judgment on its apostolicity characterizes his use of it, though he shows a certain inclination to abide by the testimony of

<sup>1</sup> Comm. in Ps. i. p. 247: λέγει γοῦν ὁ ἱερός Ἀπόστολος James v. 13; id. p. 648: τῆς γραφῆς λεγούσης. Prov. xx. 13; James iv. 11. Cf. id. p. 446; c. Marc. de Eccl. Theol. ii. 26; iii. 2.

<sup>2</sup> On the contrary cf. Theophania, v. 39 (p. 323, Lee).

CHAP. I. antiquity. 'It is likely,' he says in one place, 'that the Apocalypse, circulated under the name of John, was seen by the second John [the presbyter], if any one be unwilling to believe that it was seen by the first [the Apostle]';<sup>1</sup> and he quotes it (though rarely in respect of its importance) simply as 'the Apocalypse of John'.<sup>2</sup>

Result of the chapter.

From all this it is evident that the testimony of Eusebius marks a definite step in the history of the Canon, and exactly that which it was reasonable to expect from his position. The books of the New Testament were formed into distinct collections—'a quaternion of Gospels,' 'fourteen Epistles of St Paul,' 'seven catholic Epistles.' Both in the West and in the East the persecutor had wrought his work, and a New Testament rose complete from the fires which were kindled to consume it. That it rested on no authoritative decision is simply a proof that none was needed; and in the next chapter it will be seen that the Conciliar Canons introduced no innovations, but merely proposed to preserve the tradition which had been handed down.

<sup>1</sup> H. E. iii. 39.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. H. E. iii. 18, 29. Eclog. Proph. iv. 30: *κατὰ τὸν Ἰωάννην*. Apoc. xiv. 6. Cf. id. iv. 8; Demonstr. Ev. viii. 2: *κατὰ τὴν Ἀποκάλυψιν Ἰωάννου*. Apoc. v. 5. No reference to it occurs, however, in his Commentaries on the Psalms and on Isaiah, published by Montfaucon.

## CHAPTER II.

### THE HISTORY OF THE CANON DURING THE AGE OF COUNCILS.

Non doctrina et sapientia, sed Domini auxilio pax ecclesie reddita.—HIERONYMUS. CHAP. II.

No sooner was Constantine's imagination moved by the sign of the heavenly cross (if we may receive the account of Eusebius), than he 'devoted himself to the reading of the divine Scriptures,' seeking in them the interpretation of his vision<sup>1</sup>. And in after times he continued, at least with outward zeal, the study which he had thus begun. If his predecessors 'had commanded the Inspired Oracles to be consumed in the flames, he gave orders that they should be multiplied, and embellished magnificently at the expence of the royal treasury<sup>2</sup>.' One of his first cares after the foundation of Constantinople, when 'a great multitude of men devoted themselves to the most holy Church,' was to charge Eusebius with 'the preparation of fifty copies of the divine Scriptures, which he knew to be required for the purposes of the Church,

Constantine's  
zeal for the  
Holy Scrip-  
tures, both in  
private, and

<sup>1</sup> Euseb. V. C. i. 32.

<sup>2</sup> Euseb. V. C. iii. 1.



CHAP. II. written on parchment and convenient for use, by the help of skilful artists accurately acquainted with their craft<sup>1</sup>. And as the emperor himself set an example to his subjects 'studying the Bible in his palace' and 'giving himself up to the contemplation of the Inspired Oracles<sup>2</sup>,' he was better able to persuade 'weak women and countless multitudes of men to receive rational support for rational souls by divine readings, in exchange for the mere support of the body<sup>3</sup>.'

as the rule of controversy.

During the great controversies which agitated the Church throughout his reign, Constantine—'appointed by God as bishop in outward matters<sup>4</sup>'—remained faithful to the same great principle of the paramount authority of Scripture. A historian of the Council of Nice represents him as closing his address to the fathers assembled there in memorable words. 'Let us cherish peace and forbearance,' he says, 'for it would be truly disastrous that we should assail one another, particularly when we are discussing divine matters, and possess the teaching of the most Holy Spirit committed to writing; for the books of the Evangelists and Apostles, and the utterances of the ancient prophets, clearly instruct us what we ought to

<sup>1</sup> Euseb. V. C. iv. 36.

<sup>2</sup> Euseb. V. C. iv. 17.

<sup>3</sup> Euseb. V. C. xvii.

<sup>4</sup> Euseb. V. C. iv. 24. Cf. Heinichen, Exc. ad l.

think of the Divine Nature. Let us then banish strife which gendereth contention, and take the solution of our questions from the inspired words<sup>1</sup>. Though we may admit that this speech is due to the pen of the historian<sup>2</sup>, it is thoroughly consistent with phrases in Constantine's letters, which are of unquestioned authenticity. Thus he charges Arius with teaching 'things contrary to the inspired Scriptures and the holy faith,' which faith was 'in truth the exact expression of the Divine Law<sup>3</sup>.'

The criterion laid down by Constantine was also acknowledged by the leaders of the conflicting parties in the Church. Alexander was bishop of Alexandria at the time when the opinions of Arius, 'a presbyter in the city entrusted with the interpretation of the divine Scriptures<sup>4</sup>,' first gained notoriety. He convened a synod of many bishops of his province, when Arius was condemned by 'the testimony of the divine Scriptures;' and among other passages

Holy Scriptures appealed to as authoritative by both sides during the Arian controversy, on other occasions, and

<sup>1</sup> Gelas. Hist. Conc. Nic. ii. 7. Theodor. H. E. i. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Gelasius states (Pref.) that his work was composed during the persecutions of Basiliscus (475 A. C.) Photius has criticised the book, cc. 15, 88. Gelasius quotes i. Tim. iii. 16, *ὁ ἐφανερώθη*, which is very remarkable in an Eastern writer (Hist. ii. 22).

<sup>3</sup> Ep. Const. ap. Gelas. Hist. Conc. Nic. ii. 27. Socr. H. E. i. 6.

<sup>4</sup> Theodor. H. E. i. 2.

CHAP. II.

which Alexander quoted, occur several from the Epistle to the Hebrews (as the work of the Apostle Paul), and one from the second Epistle of 'the blessed John<sup>1</sup>.' Arius on the other hand, when sending a copy of his Creed to the Emperor, adds: 'this is the faith which we have received from the holy Gospels, according to the Lord's words, as the Catholic Church and the Scriptures teach, which we believe in all things: God is our Judge both now and in the judgment to come<sup>2</sup>.' The followers of Arius repeated the assertion of their master; and though some of them held the Epistle to the Hebrews to be uncanonical, that opinion was neither universal among them, nor peculiar to their sect<sup>3</sup>.

Matt. xxviii.  
19.

<sup>1</sup> Ep. Alex. ap. Gelas. Hist. Conc. Nic. ii. 3. (Socr. H. E. i. 3). Hebr. i. 3; xiii. 8; ii. 10. ii. John 11. So also Ep. Alex. ap. Theodor. H. E. i. 4. (Labbé, Concil. ii. p. 14) *σύμφωνα γούν τούτοις βοᾷ καὶ ὁ μεγαλοφωνότατος Παῦλος φάσκων περὶ αὐτοῦ* Hebr. i. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Ep. Arii ad Const. Imp. (ap. Labbé, Concil. ii. p. 464. Ed. Par. 1671).

<sup>3</sup> Theodor. pref. Ep. ad Hebr. Epiph. hæc. lxi. 37.

The famous Gothic Version of ULPHILAS, who is generally reputed to have been an Arian, contained 'all the Scriptures, except the books of the Kings,' which were omitted because they contained a history of wars likely to inflame the spirit of the Goths. (Philostorg. ii. 5). Sixtus Sinensis, however, says: 'omnes divinas Scripturas in Gothicam linguam a se conversas tradidit et catholice explicavit' (Massmann, p. 98). The version as it stands at

The discussions which took place at Nice CHAP. II.  
 were in accordance with the principle thus laid at the general  
Council of  
Nice.  
A.D. 325.  
 down, if the history of Gelasius be trustworthy<sup>1</sup>.  
 Scripture was the source from which the cham-  
 pions and assailants of the orthodox faith derived  
 their premisses; and among other books, the  
 Epistle to the Hebrews was quoted as written by  
 St Paul, and the Catholic Epistles were recog-  
 nized as a definite collection<sup>2</sup>. But neither in  
 this nor in the following Councils were the Scrip-  
 tures themselves ever the subjects of discussion.  
 They underlie all controversy, as a sure founda-  
 tion, known and immoveable<sup>3</sup>.

present is clear and accurate, and shows no trace of Arianism. (Massmann, a. a. O.). A great part of the Gospels and Pauline Epistles has been published: the former chiefly from the silver MS at Upsal; the latter from Italian MSS.

Massmann published a fragment of a Gothic Commentary on St John, probably translated from the Greek of Theodorus of Heraclea (p. 79), containing a quotation from the Epistle to the Hebrews (Auslegung des Ev. Johannis u. s. w. H. F. Massmann, *Munich*, 1834).

<sup>1</sup> Hist. Conc. Nic. ii. 13—23. Labbé, Concil. ii. 175—223. Phœbadius (c. 359 A. C.) asserts the same fact.

<sup>2</sup> Gelas. Hist. Conc. Nic. ii. 19. καθώς φησι καὶ ὁ Παῦλος, τὸ σκεῦος τῆς ἐκλογῆς, τοῖς Ἑβραίοις γράφων· Hebr. iv. 12; id. ii. 19. ἐν καθολικαῖς Ἰωάννης ὁ εὐαγγελιστῆς βοᾷ· i. John iii. 6. Cf. ii. 22. For the Epistle to the Hebrews, see also Sozom. H. E. i. 23.

<sup>3</sup> Jerome (Pref. in Judith, i. p. 1169) says: quia hunc librum synodus Nicæna in numero sanctarum scripturarum legitur computasse, acquievi postulationi tuæ (to translate it). No reference to the book of Judith occurs in the

## CHAP. II.

The Synods which immediately followed this Council disciplinary, and not doctrinal.

The canons set forth by the synods which followed the general Council of Nice, at Gangra in Paphlagonia, at Antioch in Syria, at Sardica in Thrace, and at Carthage, were chiefly directed to points of ritual and discipline, yet so that in the last Canon of the synod at Gangra it is said: 'To speak briefly, we desire that what has been handed down to us by the divine Scriptures and the apostolic traditions should be done in the Church<sup>1</sup>.'

The Synod of Laodicea. Its date.

The first synod at which the books of the Bible were made the subject of a special ordinance was that of Laodicea, in Phrygia Pacatiana; but the date at which the synod was held, no less than the integrity of the Canon in question, has been warmly debated. In the collections of Canons the Council of Laodicea stands next to that of Antioch, and this order is probably correct. The arguments which have been urged to show that it was prior to the Council of Nice are on the whole of little moment, and the mention of the Photinians in the seventh Canon, no less than the whole character

records of the Council, as far as I am aware, and it can be only to something of this kind that Jerome alludes.

The holy Gospels were placed in the midst of the assembled fathers at Chalcedon, but though it is commonly stated that it was so at Nice also, I know of no proof of the circumstance.

<sup>1</sup> Conc. Gangr. Can. xxi f.

of the questions discussed, is decisive for a later date<sup>1</sup>. A natural confusion of names offers a ready excuse for the contrary opinion. Gratian<sup>2</sup> states that the Laodicean Canons were mainly drawn up by Theodosius; and Theodosius (Theodotus or Theodorus, for the name is variously written) was bishop of Laodicea *in Syria* at the time of the Council of Nice. But the statement of Gratian really points to a very different conclusion; for Epiphanius mentions another Theodosius, bishop of Philadelphia<sup>3</sup>, who is said to have convened a synod in the time of Jovian c. 363 A.C. for the purpose of condemning certain irregular ordinations<sup>4</sup>, and his position coincides admirably with that of the author of our Canons. Internal evidence also supports their identification; nor is it any objection that this Theodosius was an Arian, for the Canons are chiefly disciplinary, and such as could be ratified by orthodox councils; and at the same time that

<sup>1</sup> The name is omitted in the Latin Version of Isidore, but it is contained in the Greek text and in the Version of Dionysius Exiguus. Phrygia was not divided into different provinces till after the Council of Sardis, hence the title—Phrygia Pacatiana—points to a date later than 344 A. C. Cf. Spittler, Werke, viii. 68 (ed. 1835).

<sup>2</sup> Grat. Decr. Dist. xvi. c. 11. [Synodus] sexta Laodicensis, in qua patres xxxii. statuerunt Canones LXI. (sic ed. 1648; LXIII. ed. Antv. 1573), quorum auctor maxime Theodosius episcopus exstitit.

<sup>3</sup> Epiph. Hær. lxxiii. 26.    <sup>4</sup> Philostorg. viii. 3, 4.

CHAP. II. fact explains the omission of all reference to the Nicene Canons, which would otherwise be strange<sup>1</sup>.

The last Laodicean Canon in the printed editions.

The date of the Synod of Laodicea (which was in fact only a small gathering of clergy from parts of Lydia and Phrygia<sup>2</sup>) being thus approximately affixed, the question of the integrity of the last Canon, which contains the catalogue of the books of Holy Scripture, remains to be considered. In the printed editions of the Councils, the Catalogue stands as an undisputed part of the Greek text, and the whole Canon reads as follows:

‘ Psalms composed by private men (*ιδιωτικούς*) must not be read (*λέγασθαι*) in the Church,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Pagi, Crit. ad Baron. ann. 314, xxv.; Baron. Opp. Tom. vi. (ed. 1738). On the omission of the book of Judith from the Old Testament Canon, said to have been recognized by the Nicene Council, cf. supra, p. 495 n.

Beveridge fixes the date of the Synod about the same time (365 A. C.), and supposes that it was summoned in consequence of letters from Valentinian, Valens and Gratian (Theodor. H. E. iv. 6) to the bishops *διοικήσεως Ἀσιανῆς, Φρυγίας, Καροφρυγίας, Πακατιανῆς*, urging them to hold a synod on some who had been reviving the Homoousian controversy, and also on the choice of men of approved faith for the episcopate (Pand. Can. ii. 3, p. 193).

<sup>2</sup> Gratian (l. c.) says it consisted of ‘xxxii. fathers.’ Harduin quotes a different version of Gratian’s statement from a Parisian MS. of Isidore: *Laodicensis synodus, in qua Patres viginti quatuor statuerunt Canones LIX. quorum auctor maxime Theodosius episcopus exstitit, subscribentibus Niceta, Macedonio, Anatolio, et cæteris.*

nor uncanonical (*ἀκανόνιστα*) books, but only CHAP. II.  
the canonical [books] of the New and Old Testaments.

‘How many books must be read (*ἀναγινώσκεισθαι*);

Of the Old Testament: 1. The Genesis of the World. 2. The Exodus from Egypt. 3. Leviticus. 4. Numbers. 5. Deuteronomy. 6. Jesus the son of Nun. 7. Judges. Ruth. 8. Esther. 9. Kings i. ii. 10. Kings iii. iv. 11. Chronicles i. ii. 12. Esdras i. ii. 13. The Book of Psalms cl. 14. The Proverbs of Solomon. 15. Ecclesiastes. 16. The Song of Songs. 17. Job. 18. xii. Prophets. 19. Esaias. 20. Jeremiah. Baruch. Lamentations, and Letter. 21. Ezechiel. 22. Daniel. Together xxii. books.

Of the New Testament: Four Gospels, according to Matthew, Mark, Luke, John. The Acts of the Apostles. Seven Catholic Epistles: thus: James i. Peter i. ii. John i. ii. iii. Jude i. Fourteen Epistles of Paul: thus: to the Romans i. To the Corinthians i. ii. To the Galatians i. To the Ephesians i. To the Philippians. i. To the Colossians i. To the Thessalonians i. ii. To the Hebrews i. To Timothy i. ii. To Titus i. To Philemon i.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. App. D. The Canons are variously numbered, but the oldest and best authorities which contain both these paragraphs combine them together as the LIXth Canon. Cf. Spittler, a. a. O. 72.



## CHAP. II

How far its  
claims to au-  
thenticity are  
supported by

Of this Canon the first paragraph is recognized as genuine with unimportant variations by every authority; the second, the Catalogue of the Books itself, is omitted in various MSS. and versions; and in order to arrive at a fair estimate of its claims to authenticity, it will be necessary to notice briefly the different forms in which the Canons of the ancient Church have been preserved<sup>1</sup>.

1. Greek  
MSS.

with Scholia,

The Greek MSS. of the Canons may be divided into two classes, those which contain the simple text, and those which contain in addition the scholia of the great commentators. Manuscripts of the second class in no case date from an earlier period than the end of the twelfth century, the era of Balsamon and Zonaras, the most famous Greek canonists. Yet it is on this class of MSS., which contain the Catalogue in question, that the printed editions are based. The earliest MS. of the first class with which I am acquainted is of the xith century, and one is as

without  
Scholia.

<sup>1</sup> The authenticity of the Catalogue has been discussed at considerable length by Spittler (*Sammtl. Werke*, viii. 66 ff. ed. 1835), whose essay was published in 1776, and again by Bickell (*Stud. u. Krit.* 1830, pp. 591 ff.) The essay of Spittler seems to me to be much superior to that of his successor in clearness and wideness of view. Spittler regards the Catalogue as entirely spurious; Bickell only allows that it was wanting in some very early copies of the Canons, and supposes that it may have been displaced by the general reception of the Apostolic Canons and Catalogue of Scripture.

late as the xvth. The evidence on the disputed paragraph which these MSS. afford is extremely interesting. Two omit the Catalogue entirely. In another it is inserted after a vacant space. A fourth contains it on a new page with red dots above and below. In a fifth it appears wholly written in red letters. Three others give it as a part of the last Canon, though headed with a new rubric. In one it appears as a part of the 59th Canon without interruption or break; and in two (of the latest date) numbered as a new Canon<sup>1</sup>. It is impossible

<sup>1</sup> The MSS. with which I am acquainted are the following:

- (a) *Cod. Barocc.* (Bibl. Bodl.) 26 (7), sæc. xi. ineuntis.  
*Cod. Misc.* (Bibl. Bodl.) 170 (12), sæc. xiv, xv.

These omit the Canon altogether.

- (β) *Cod. Barocc. Mus. Bodl.* 185 (18), sæc. xi. exeuntis.  
 Gives the Canon after a vacant space.

*Cod. Vindob.* 56, sæc. xi. On a new page with red dots above and below. (Bickell, p. 595.)

*Cod. Seld.* (Bibl. Bodl.) 48 (10), sæc. xiii. All in red letters.

- (γ) *Cod. Barocc.* (Bibl. Bodl.) 196 (16), anno M<sup>C</sup>XLIII exaratus.

*Cod. Misc.* (Bibl. Bodl.) 206 sæc. xi. exeuntis.

*Cod. Cant.* (Bibl. Univ. Ee. 4. 29 22), sæc. xii.

These give the Catalogue under a rubric *ὅσα—διαθήκης*, but not as a new Canon.

- (δ) *Cod. Laud.* (Bibl. Bodl.) 39 (21), sæc. xi. ineuntis.  
 As part of 59.

*Cod. Barocc.* (Bibl. Bodl.) 205 (18), sæc. xiv. As a new Canon.

*Cod. Barocc.* (Bibl. Bodl.) 158 (23), sæc. xv. As a new Canon.

## CHAP. I ·

not to feel that these several MSS. mark the steps by which the Catalogue gained its place in the present Greek text; but it may still be questioned whether it may not have thus regained a place which it had lost before. And thus we are led to notice some versions of the Canons which date from a period anterior to the oldest Greek MSS.

## 2. The Latin Versions.

The Latin version exists in a threefold form. The earliest (*Versio prisca*) is fragmentary, and does not contain the Laodicean Canons. But two other versions by Dionysius and Isidore are complete<sup>1</sup>. In the first of these, which dates from the middle of the sixth century, though it exists in two distinct recensions, there is no trace of the Catalogue. In the second, on the contrary, with only two exceptions, as far as I am aware, the Catalogue constantly appears. And though the Isidorian version in its general form only dates from the ninth century, two MSS. remain which are probably as old as the seventh century, and both of these contain it<sup>2</sup>. So far then it appears that the evidence of the

The MSS. marked by italics are now, I believe, quoted on this question for the first time; and for the account of all the Bodleian MSS. I am indebted to the kindness of the Rev. H. O. Coxe.

<sup>1</sup> In the account of the Latin versions I have chiefly followed Spittler, a. a. O. 98 ff. Cf. Bickell, 601 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Spittler, p. 115. Cf. Bickell, p. 606.

Latin versions for and against the authenticity of the Catalogue is nearly balanced, the testimony of Italy confronting that of Spain. CHAP. II.

The Syriac MSS. of the British Museum are however more than sufficient to turn the scale. Three MSS. of the Laodicene Canons are found in that collection, which are as old as the sixth or seventh century. All of these contain the fifty-ninth Canon, but without any Catalogue. And this testimony is of twofold value from the fact that one of them gives a different translation from that of the other two<sup>1</sup>. 3. Syriac Versions.

Nor is this all: in addition to the direct versions of the Canons, systematic collections and synopses of them were made at various times which have an important bearing upon the question. One of the earliest of these was drawn up by Martin, Bishop of Braga in Portugal, in the middle of the sixth century. This collection contains the first paragraph of the Laodicene Canon, without any trace of the second; and the testimony which it offers is of 3. Systematic arrangement of the Canons. c. 580 A.C. †578 A.C.

<sup>1</sup> The MSS. are numbered 14, 526; 14, 528; 14, 529. All of them contain 59 Canons. For the examination of these MSS. I am indebted to the kindness of T. Ellis, Esq., of the British Museum.

The Arabic MS. in Rich's collection (7207) is only a fragment. Bickell consulted an Arabic translation at Paris, which contained the Laodicene Canons twice, once with and once without the Catalogue, (p. 592.)

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more importance, because it was based on an examination of Greek authorities, and those of a very early date, since they did not notice the councils of Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon, which were included in the collections of the fifth century<sup>1</sup>. Johannes Scholasticus, a presbyter of Antioch, formed a digest of Canons under different heads about the same time, and this contains no reference to the Laodicean Catalogue, but on the contrary the list of Holy Scriptures is taken from the last of the Apostolic Canons. The *Nomocanon* is a later revision of the work of Johannes, and contains only the undisputed paragraph; but in a third and later recension the Laodicean and Apostolic catalogues are both inserted.

The Catalogue not an authentic part of the text of the Laodicean Canons, but

On the whole, then, it cannot be doubted that external evidence is decidedly against the authenticity of the Catalogue as an integral part of the text of the Canons of Laodicea, nor can any internal evidence be brought forward sufficient to explain its omission in Syria, Italy, and Portugal in the sixth century, if it had been so. Yet even thus it is necessary to account for its insertion in the version of Isidore. So much is evident at once that the Catalogue is of Eastern

<sup>1</sup> Mart. Brac. pref. Incipiunt canones ex orientalibus antiquorum patrum synodis a venerabili Martino ipso vel ab omni Bracarense Consilio excerpti vel emendati.

and not of Western origin; and, except in details of order, it agrees exactly with that given by Cyril of Jerusalem. Is it then an unreasonable supposition that some early copyist endeavoured to supply, either from the writings of Cyril, or more probably from the usage of the Church which Cyril represented, the list of books which seemed to be required by the language of the last genuine Canon? In this way it is easy to understand how some MSS. should have incorporated the addition, while others preserved the original text; and the known tendency of copyists to make their works full rather than pure, will account for its general reception at last.

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an early addition to it.

The later history of the Laodicean Canons does not throw any considerable light on the question of the authenticity of the Catalogue<sup>1</sup>. Though they were originally drawn up by a provincial (and perhaps unorthodox) synod, they were afterwards ratified by the Eastern Church at the Quinisextine Council of Constantinople. But nothing can be concluded from this as to the absence of the list of the Holy Scriptures from the copy of the Canons which was then confirmed. The Canons of the Apostles were

The later history of the Laodicean Canons.

692 A. C.

<sup>1</sup> It is commonly supposed that the Laodicean Canons were ratified at the Council of Chalcedon (451 A.C.): Conc. Chalc. Can. 1. But the wording of the Canon is very vague.

**CHAP. II.** sanctioned at the same Council; and though a special reservation was made in approving them, to the effect that the Clementine Constitutions, which they recognized as authoritative, were no longer to be received as canonical, on account of the interpolations of heretics, no notice was taken of the two Clementine epistles which were also pronounced canonical at the same time<sup>1</sup>. It is, then, impossible to press the variations between the Apostolic and Laodicene Catalogues as a conclusive proof that they could not have been admitted simultaneously<sup>2</sup>. The decision of the Council contained a general sanction rather than a detailed judgment. And this is further evident from the differences between the Apostolic and Carthaginian Catalogues which were certainly ratified together<sup>3</sup>. So again, at

Justinian, by a special ordinance, ratified not only the Canons of the four general Councils, of which that of Chalcedon was the last, but also those which they confirmed.

<sup>1</sup> Concil. Quinisext. Can. XXI. The Catalogue of the books of Scripture in the last Apostolic Canon is curious; but as a piece of evidence it is of no value. It was drawn, I believe, from Syrian sources, and probably dates from the sixth century. Cf. App. D.

<sup>2</sup> Though the Catalogues differed in other respects, they coincided in omitting the Apocalypse. Cf. App. D.

<sup>3</sup> The later history of the Canon in the Greek Church, which accepts the decrees of the Quinisextine Council, shows that the ratification of these earlier Councils was not supposed to fix definitely (which, indeed, it could not do) the contents of Holy Scripture. Cyril Lucar (Confess. 3.) pro-

a later time the Laodicean Catalogue was confirmed by a synod at Aix-la-Chapelle in the time of Charlemagne, and gained a wide

posed to admit 'such books as were recognized by the synod at Laodicea, and by the catholic and orthodox Church,' but he adds to the New Testament 'the Apocalypse of the beloved.' There is no Catalogue of the books of Scripture in the 'Orthodox Confession,' but the Apocalypse is quoted in it (quæst. 14), and as 'Holy Scripture' (quæst. 73.) At the Synod of Jerusalem (1672) Cyril was condemned for 'rejecting some of the books which the holy and œcumenical synods had received as canonical,' but no charge is brought against him for adding to them, so that in this case the Carthaginian and not the Laodicean Catalogue was the standard of reference for the new Testament. (Act. Synod. Hieros. xviii. p. 417, Kimmel.) In the confession of Dositheus the Greek Church is said to receive 'all the books which Cyril borrowed from the Laodicean Council, with the addition of those which he called ...apocryphal.' (Kimmel, p. 467. Cf. Proleg. § 11 on the Latin influence supposed to have been exercised on these documents.) In the Confession of Metrophanes Critopulus the Canon of the Old Testament is identical with the Hebrew, that of the New Testament with our own, so that there are 'thirty-three books in all, equal in number to the years of the Saviour's life.' The Apocrypha is there regarded as useful for its moral precepts, but its canonicity is denied on the authority of Gregory of Nazianzus, Amphilochius, and Johannes Damascenus, but no reference is made to the Laodicean Canon. (Kimmel, ii. 105-6.) At the Synod of Constantinople a general reference is made to the different catalogues in the Apostolic Canons, and in the Synods of Laodicea and Carthage. (Kimmel, ii. 225.) In the Catechism of Plato and in the authorized Russian Catechism, the Old Testament is given according to the Hebrew Canon. On the other hand, the authorized Moskow edition of the Bible contains the Old Testament Apocrypha arranged with the other books. Reuss, § 338.



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currency in the Isidorian version of the Canons. But there is no evidence to show that there was on this account any doubt in the Western Churches as to the authority or public use of the Apocalypse. But though no argument can be drawn against the authenticity of the Catalogue from the ratification of the Laodicean Canons at Constantinople, that fact leaves the preponderance of evidence against it wholly unaffected. The Catalogue may have been a contemporary appendix to the Canons, but it was not, I believe, an integral part of the original conciliar text.

II. The third Council of Carthage.

It is then necessary to look to the West for the first synodical decision on the Canon of Scripture. Between the years 390 and 419 A. C. no less than six councils were held in Africa, and four of these at Carthage. For a time, under the inspiration of Aurelius and Augustine, the Church of Tertullian and Cyprian was filled with a new life before its fatal desolation. Among the Canons of the third Council of Carthage, at which Augustine was present, is one which contains a list of the books of Holy Scripture. 'It was also determined,' the Canon reads, 'that besides the Canonical Scriptures nothing be read in the Church under the title of divine Scriptures. The Canonical Scriptures are these: Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus,

The Canon of Scripture which was received there.

Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua the son of Nun, Judges, Ruth, four books of Kings, two books of Paraleipomena, Job, the Psalter, five books of Solomon, the books of the twelve Prophets, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezechiel, Daniel, Tobit, Judith, Esther, two books of Esdras, two books of the Maccabees. Of the New Testament: four books of the Gospels, one book of the Acts of the Apostles, thirteen Epistles of the Apostle Paul, one Epistle of the same [writer] to the Hebrews, two Epistles of the Apostle Peter, three of John, one of James, one of Jude, one book of the Apocalypse of John.' Then follows this remarkable clause: 'Let this be made known also to our brother and fellow-priest Boniface, or to other bishops of those parts, for the purpose of confirming that Canon, because we have received from our fathers that those books must be read in the Church.' And afterwards the Canon is thus continued: 'Let it also be allowed that the Passions of Martyrs be read when their festivals are kept<sup>1</sup>.'

Even this Canon therefore is not altogether free from difficulties. The third Council of Carthage was held in the year 397 A.C. in the pontificate of Siricius; and Boniface did not succeed to the Roman chair till the year 418 A.C.;

An explanation of the form of this Canon.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. App. D. A collection of the chief catalogues of Holy Scripture.

**CHAP. II.** so that the allusion to him is at first sight perplexing. Yet this anachronism admits of a reasonable solution. In the year 419 A.C., after the confirmation of Boniface in the Roman episcopate, the Canons of the African Church were collected and formed into one code. In the process of such a revision it was perfectly natural that some reference should be made to foreign churches on such a subject as the contents of Scripture, which were fixed by usage rather than by law. The marginal note which directed the inquiry was suffered to remain, probably because the plan was never carried out; and that which stood in the text of the general code was afterwards transferred to the text of the original synod<sup>1</sup>.

The evidence of Fathers on the Canon from the fourth century in

At this point then the voice of a whole province pronounces a judgment on the contents of the Bible; and the books of the New Testament are exactly those which are generally received at present. But in making this decision the African bishops put aside all notions of novelty. Their decision had been handed down to them by their fathers; and reverting once again from Churches to men, our work would be unfinished

<sup>1</sup> The Carthaginian Catalogue of the Books of Scripture is found in the Canons of the Council of Hippo (393 A.C.) But mention is made in that of 'fourteen Epistles of Paul' instead of the strange circumlocution given above. (Conc. Hipp. 36.)

without a general review of the principal evidence on the Canon furnished by individual writers from the beginning of the fourth century. Nothing indeed is gained by this for a critical investigation of the subject; for the original materials have been all gathered already. But it is not therefore less interesting to trace the local prevalence of ancient doubts, and the gradual extension of the Western Canon throughout Christendom. CHAP. II.

Turning towards the Eastern limit of Christian literature we find the ancient Canon of the Peshito still dominant at Antioch, at Nisibis, and probably at Edessa<sup>1</sup>. i. The churches of Syria.

The voluminous writings of Chrysostom, who was at first a presbyter of Antioch and afterwards patriarch of Constantinople, abound in references to Holy Scripture; but with the exception of one quotation from the second Epistle of St Peter<sup>2</sup>, which seems suspicious from its singularity, I believe that he has nowhere noticed the four Catholic Epistles which are not contained in the Peshito, nor the Apocalypse<sup>3</sup>. (a) Antioch. CHRYSOSTOM. 1407 A.C.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *supr.* pp. 265, *sqq.*

<sup>2</sup> Hom. in Joan. 34 (al. 33) viii. p. 230, ed. Par. nova; 2 Pet. ii. 22.

<sup>3</sup> Though Chrysostom nowhere quotes the Apocalypse as Scripture, he appears to have been acquainted with it; and indeed it is difficult to suppose the contrary. Suidas (s. v. Ἰωάννης) says: δέχεται δὲ ὁ Χρυσόστομος καὶ τὰς ἐπιστολάς

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*Synopsis S.  
Script.*

THEODORE  
of Mopsu-  
estia.  
1429 A.C.

It is also in accordance with the same version that he attributed fourteen Epistles to St Paul, and received the Epistle of St James, 'the Lord's brother,' with the first Epistles of St Peter and St John<sup>1</sup>. A Synopsis of Scripture which was published by Montfaucon under the name of Chrysostom, exactly agrees with this Canon, enumerating, 'as the books of the New Testament, fourteen Epistles of St Paul, four Gospels, the book of the Acts, and three of the Catholic Epistles<sup>2</sup>. Theodore, a friend of Chrysostom, and bishop of Mopsuestia in Cilicia, wrote commentaries on fourteen Epistles of St Paul; and his remaining fragments contain several quotations from the Epistle to the Hebrews, as St Paul's<sup>3</sup>. But Leontius of Byzantium, writing at the close of the sixth century, states that he rejected 'the Epistle of James and other of the Catholic Epistles,' by which we must

*αὐτοῦ τὰς τρεῖς καὶ τὴν Ἀποκάλυψιν.* If this be true, it is a singular proof of the inconclusiveness of the casual evidence of quotations.

<sup>1</sup> It is however very well worth notice that PALLADIUS, a friend of Chrysostom, in a dialogue which he composed at Rome on his life, has expressly quoted the Epistle of St Jude, and the third Epistle of St John, and makes an evident allusion to the second Epistle of St Peter. Dial. cc. 18, 20. (ap. Chrysost. Opp. T. xiii. pp. 68 c; 79 D; 68 c.)

<sup>2</sup> Cf. App. D.

<sup>3</sup> Comm. in Zachar. p. 542 (ed. Wegnern, Berl. 1834), οὐδὲ ἐχρῆν αἰσχυρῆναι γούν τοῦ μακαρίου Παύλου τὴν φωνήν... Hebr. i. 7, 8. Cf. Ebed Jesu, ap. Assem. Bibl. Or. iii. 32, 3.

probably understand that he received only the first acknowledged Epistles of St Peter and St John<sup>1</sup>. And though nothing is directly known of his judgment on the Apocalypse, it is at least probable that in respect to this he followed the common opinion of the school to which he belonged. Once again: Theodoret, a native of Antioch and bishop of Cyrus in Syria, used the same books as Chrysostom, and has nowhere quoted the four disputed Epistles or the Apocalypse<sup>2</sup>.

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THEODORET.

Junilius, an African bishop of the sixth century, has given a very full and accurate account of the doctrine on Holy Scripture taught in the school of Nisibis in Syria, where 'the Divine Law was regularly explained by public masters, just as Grammar and Rhetoric.' He enumerates all the acknowledged books of the New

(β) Nisibis.  
JUNILIUS.

<sup>1</sup> Compare also what Cosmas says of Severian bishop of Gabala, (Montf. Anal. Pp. p. 135, Venet. 1781). The words of Leontius are: Ob quam causam (because he rejected the book of Job) ut arbitror, ipsam Jacobi epistolam, et alias deinceps aliorum Catholicas abrogat et antiquat. Non enim satis fuit illi bellum contra veterem Scripturam suscipere ad imitationem impietatis Marcionis, sed oportuit etiam contra scripturam novam pugnare, ut pugna ejus contra Spiritum Sanctum clarior et illustrior esset (c. Nest. et Eutyech. iii. ap. Canis. Varr. Lect. iv. 73. Ed. 1603).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Lücke, Comm. üb. Joh. i. 348. A Commentary on the Gospels attributed to Victor of Antioch contains references to the Epistle to the Hebrews, and to the Epistles of St James and St Peter (i.) Cf. Lardner, ii. c. 122.

Apostles, that is: James and John... 'As to the list there is considerable doubt among Christians'... At a very early date a Nestorian bishop of the 5th century, has left a catalogue of the New Testament, his summary of ecclesiastical history, and his catalogue exactly agree with the Catholic Apostles in every particular. It contains no allusion to the Jews.

(y) Edessa.  
KURAN  
SYRUB.

The testimony of the Jews is naturally uncertain. For all the books of our works, which are preserved, are not aware that there

<sup>1</sup> The passages are given in the margin.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. App. D. It is

text more than one quotation of the Apocalypse, and perhaps an anonymous reference to the second Epistle of St Peter<sup>1</sup>. CHAP. II.

Johannes Damascenus, the last writer of the Syrian Church whom I shall notice, lived at a time when the Greek element had gained a preponderating influence in the East, and his writings in turn are commonly accepted as an authoritative exposition of the Greek faith. JOHANNES  
DAMAS-  
CENUS.

The Canon of the New Testament which he gives<sup>2</sup> contains all the books which we receive now, with the addition of the Canons of the Apostles. This singular insertion admits of a satisfactory explanation from the fact that the Apostolic Canons were sanctioned by the Quinisextine Council, and their canonicity might well seem a true corollary from the acknowledgment of their ecclesiastical authority<sup>3</sup>. † c. 750 A.C.

The Churches of Asia Minor, which are now even more desolate than the Churches of Syria, ii. The  
Churches of  
Asia Minor.

<sup>1</sup> Ephr. Syr. Opp. Syrr. ii. p. 332 c: Vidit in Apocalypsi sua Johannes librum magnum et admirabilem et septem sigillis munitum.... *id.* ii. p. 342: Dies Domini fur est. (Cf. 2 Pet. iii. 10.) Cf. Lardner, ii. c. cii.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. App. D.

<sup>3</sup> The Canons of Carthage were ratified by the Quinisextine Council as well as those of the Apostles, and of Laodicea. But the reservation in the Carthaginian decree on the Canonical Books makes the discrepancy between that and the Apostolic Catalogue less remarkable than that between the Laodicene and Apostolic Catalogues. But cf. p. 506.



Gregory, bishop of  
1 c. 389 A.C. rating the four (C  
Epistles of St Paul,  
Gregory adds: 'In  
spired books; if  
these, it is not amo  
and thus he exclud  
Eastern Church, a  
Epistles with the V  
logue which bears t  
monly (and rightly,  
contemporary Ampl  
This extends to a g  
mer. Beginning wi  
Gospels, of the A  
fourteen Epistles o  
' but some maintain  
brews is spurious,  
grace [it shows] is g  
remains? Of the (

AMPHILO-  
CHIUS.

one of John....The Apocalypse of John, again, CHAP. II.  
 some reckon among [the Scriptures]; but still  
 the majority say that it is spurious. This will  
 be the most truthful Canon of the inspired  
 Scriptures.'

The extant writings of Gregory do not  
 throw much additional light on his views on the  
 Canon. Though he admitted the canonicity of  
 the seven Catholic Epistles, he does not appear  
 to have ever quoted them by name, and I have  
 only found one or two anonymous references to  
 the Epistles of St James<sup>1</sup>. But on the contrary,  
 he once makes an obvious allusion to the Apo-  
 calypse, and in another place refers to it by  
 name with marked respect<sup>2</sup>. This silence of  
 Gregory with regard to the disputed books,  
 though he held them all to be canonical, at least  
 with the exception of the Apocalypse, which he  
 does quote, explains the like silence of Gregory  
 of Nyssa, and of his brother Basil of Cæsarea.  
 Basil refers only once to the Epistle of St James,  
 and once to the Apocalypse, as the work of the  
 Evangelist St John<sup>3</sup>. And Gregory twice refers

Incidental  
 evidence  
 from GREGORY  
 Naz.

GREGORY of  
 Nyssa, and  
 BASIL.

<sup>1</sup> Greg. Naz. Or. xxvi. 5 (p. 475); James ii. 20. Cf. Or. xl. 45.

<sup>2</sup> Greg. Naz. Or. xxix. p. 536; Apoc. i. 8; cf. Or. xl. 45; Apoc. i. 7; Id. Tom. i. p. 516 c (ed. Par. 1609): *πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἐφεστῶτας ἀγγέλους, πείβομαι γὰρ ἄλλους ἄλλης προστατεῖν ἐκκλησίας, ὡς Ἰωάννης διδάσκει με διὰ τῆς ἀποκαλύψεως....*

<sup>3</sup> Basil. Const. Monast. 26 (Ep. St James); adv. Eunom. ii. 14 (Apocalypse).

CHAP. II. to the Apocalypse as a writing of St John, and a part of Scripture; but makes no allusion to the disputed Catholic Epistles<sup>1</sup>. All these fathers, however, agree in using the Epistle to the Hebrews as an authoritative writing of St Paul<sup>2</sup>.

The *Apocalypse* received by

ANDREW of *Cæsarea*, and by

ARETHAS.

But whatever may have been the doubts as to the canonicity of the Apocalypse which were felt in Asia Minor at the close of the fourth century, they wholly disappeared afterwards. Andrew, bishop of Cæsarea, at the close of the fifth century wrote a commentary on it, prefacing his work with the statement that he need not attempt to prove the inspiration of the book, which was attested by the authority of Papias, Irenæus, Methodius, Hippolytus, and *Gregory the Divine* (of Nazianzus<sup>3</sup>). Arethas, who is supposed to have been a successor of Andrew in the see of Cæsarea, composed another commentary on the Apocalypse, and adds the name

<sup>1</sup> Greg. Nyss. *Or. in ordin. suam*, i. p. 876 (ed. Par. 1615): ἤκουσα τοῦ εὐαγγελιστοῦ Ἰωάννου ἐν ἀποκρύφους (in mysterious words) πρὸς τοὺς τοιοῦτους δι' αἰνίγματος λέγοντος.... Apoc. iii. 15; adv. Apoll. 37 (Gallandi, vi. 570 D): τῆς γραφῆς ὁ λόγος (Apoc.)

<sup>2</sup> The works attributed to Cæsarius (Gallandi, vi.) are not the works of the brother of Basil, but evidently belong to a later age. They contain references to St James (p. 5 D; p. 100 E), to 2 Peter (Πέτρος ὁ κλειδοῦχος τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν, p. 36 A) and to the Apocalypse, (p. 19 E.)

<sup>3</sup> Proleg. ad Comm. in Apoc. Routh, *Belliq.* i. p. 15.

Basil to the list of the witnesses to its canonicity given by Andrew<sup>1</sup>. CHAP. II.

In speaking of the Churches of Syria I omitted to notice that of Jerusalem because it was essentially Greek. Cyril, who presided over it during the middle of the fourth century, has left a catalogue of the books of the New Testament in his Catechetical Lectures which he composed at an early age<sup>2</sup>. In this he includes all the books which we receive, with the exception of the Apocalypse; and at the close of his list he says: 'But let all the rest be excluded [from the Canon, and be accounted] in the second rank. And all the books which are not read in the Churches, neither do thou [my scholar,] read by thyself, as thou hast heard.' Epiphanius, bishop of Salamis, in Cyprus, was a contemporary and countryman of Cyril. In his larger work against heresies he has given casually a Canon of the New Testament, exactly coinciding with our own<sup>3</sup>; and though he elsewhere mentions the doubts entertained about the Apocalypse, he uses it himself without hesitation as part of 'the spiritual gift of the holy Apostle<sup>4</sup>.'

iii. The Church of Jerusalem.

CYRIL.  
315—  
† 386 A.C.

EPIPHANIUS.

<sup>1</sup> Cramer, *Œcum. et Arethæ Comm. in Apoc.* p. 174, sp. Routh, l. c. p. 41. Yet the words *ὁ ἐν ἁγίοις Βασιλειος* are wanting in one MS.

<sup>2</sup> Cyr. Catech. iv. 33 (al. 22); cf. App. D.

<sup>3</sup> Epiph. adv. hæer. Lxxvi. 5. App. D.

<sup>4</sup> Epiph. adv. hæer. li. 35: *ὁ ἅγιος Ἰωάννης διὰ τοῦ εὐαγ-*

other books, and at the Apostles and the young converts, though in the Canon. The series of heretics—Athanasius takes no opinion as to the ‘apocryphal’ books: in his judgement. Cyril of Alexandria, at the beginning of the same book reserve. Somewhat a commentary on it though he states that Peter ‘was accounted

CYRIL.  
† 444 A.C.  
ISIDORE

† c. 440 A.C.

DIDYMOUS.

† c. 395 A.C.

γελίου καὶ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν κ  
ρίσματος τοῦ ἁγίου μεταδίδ

<sup>1</sup> Athanas. Ep. Fest.

App. D. The Catalogue  
contained in the *Synopsis* of  
works of Athanasius is

Canon, though it was publicly read<sup>1</sup>. And in CHAP. II.  
 the middle of the fifth century, as has been  
 already seen<sup>2</sup>, Euthalius published an edition of EUTHALIUS.  
 the fourteen Epistles of St Paul, and of the  
 seven Catholic Epistles, with the help of the  
 MSS. which he found in the library of Pamphilus  
 at Cæsarea<sup>3</sup>.

After the foundation of Constantinople the v. The  
Church of  
Constanti-  
nople.  
 new capital assumed in some degree the central

<sup>1</sup> Did. Alex. ap. Bibl. SS. Patr. vi. 650 x: Non est igitur ignorandum presentem epistolam esse falsatam (ὡς νοθεύεται, Euseb. H. E. iii. 23, of the Epistle of St James), quæ licet publicetur (δημοσιύεται, Euseb. l. c.) non tamen in canone est (οὐκ ἐνδιαθήκῃς ἐστίν. Euseb. H. E. iii. 3).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. pp. 449 sqq. There is no evidence to show what was the judgment of Euthalius on the Apocalypse.

<sup>3</sup> COSMOS, an Alexandrian of the sixth century, at first a merchant and afterwards a monk, has left a curious work On the World, in which, among other digressions he gives some account of the Holy Scriptures. He enumerates the four Gospels, the Acts, fourteen Epistles of St Paul, affirming that the Epistle to the Hebrews was originally written in Hebrew and translated into Greek by St Luke or Clement. His account of the Catholic Epistles is obscure and inaccurate. After answering an objection to one of his theories which might be drawn from ii. Peter iii. 12, he proceeds to say that the Church has looked upon them as of doubtful authority, that the Syrians only received three, that no commentator had written upon them. He says particularly that Ironæus only mentioned two, evidently mistaking Euseb. H. E. v. 8. Cosm. Indic. *de mundo*, vii. p. 135. Anal. Pp. Venet. 1781. In the works of DIONYSIUS, falsely called *the Areopagite*, which probably belong to the beginning of the sixth century, is a mystical enumeration of the books of Holy Scripture, which includes the Apocalypse.

**CHAP. II.** position of 'old' Rome; and Rome became more clearly and decidedly the representative of the Western Churches. The Church of Constantinople, like that of Rome in early times, was not fertile in great men. Strangers were attracted to the imperial court, but I do not remember any ecclesiastical writer of Constantinople earlier than Nicephorus and Photius in the ninth century. Chrysostom was trained at Antioch. Cassian had lived in Palestine, Egypt, and Gaul, as well as at Constantinople. Leontius, even if he were a Byzantine by birth, was trained in Palestine, and probably a bishop of Cyprus.

**CASSIAN.** Cassian's works contain quotations from all the canonical books of the New Testament, except the two shorter Epistles of St John; and there is no reason to suppose that he rejected these.

**LEONTIUS.** Leontius has left a catalogue of the Apostolic writings, 'received in the Church as canonical,' identical with our own<sup>1</sup>. A catalogue of the books of Scripture, with the addition of the number of verses in each book (Stichometria), is appended to the Chronographia of Nicephorus<sup>2</sup>.

**NICEPHORUS.** This contains all the books of the New Testament, with the exception of the Apocalypse, as

<sup>1</sup> Cf. App. D.

<sup>2</sup> Credner has examined the Stichometry of Nicephorus, (cf. App. D.) in connexion with the Festal Letter of Athanasius and the *Synopsis Sacrae Scripturae* (Zur Gesch. d. K. § iii.)

‘received by the Church and accounted canonical;’ but the Apocalypse is placed among the disputed writings, together with the Apocalypse of Peter, the Epistle of Barnabas, and the Gospel according to the Hebrews<sup>1</sup>. So far then the Canon of Nicephorus coincides with that of Gregory, of Cyril, and of Laodicea, and it is probable that he borrowed it, as it stands, from some earlier writer. Photius, again, who lived a little later than Nicephorus, takes no notice of the Apocalypse, though he certainly received all the other writings of the New Testament. And at a still later time it cannot be shown that either Œcumenius in Thessaly, or Theophylact in Bulgaria, looked upon the Apocalypse as Apostolic; but with this partial exception, the Canon of Constantinople was complete and pure<sup>2</sup>.

CHAP II.

PHOTIUS.  
† 891 A.C.ŒCUMENIUS.  
c. 850 A.C.  
THEOPHYLACT.  
† c. 1077 A.C.

<sup>1</sup> I have followed the text of Credner, a. a. O. p. 121.

<sup>2</sup> Two later writers of the Greek Church deserve mention as witnessing to the current belief of their times. NICEPHORUS CALLISTI, a monk of Constantinople, who wrote an Ecclesiastical History about 1325 A. C., enumerates all the books of the New Testament as we receive them. ‘Seven Catholic Epistles, he says, the Church has received of old time (*ἀνωθεν*), and reckons them most certainly (*ὡς μάλιστα*) among the books of the New Testament... The Apocalypse we know to have been handed down to the Church. The books besides these are spurious and falsely named.’ (H. E. ii. 45.) LEO ALLATIUS († 1669) keeper of the Vatican Library in the time of Alexander VII., says that ‘in his time the Catholic Epistles and Apocalypse were received as true



## CHAP. II.

v. The Churches of the West. Doubts as to the Epistle to the Hebrews. †636 A.C.

In the Western Churches the doubts as to the Epistle to the Hebrews continued to re-appear for some time. Isidore of Seville in reviewing the books of the New Testament says that the authorship of the Epistle was considered 'doubtful by very many (plerisque) Latin Christians on account of the difference of style<sup>1</sup>.' But this doubt was rather felt than declared; and its existence is shown by the absence of quotations from the Epistle, rather than by any open attacks upon its authority. It is not quoted, I believe, by Optatus of Milevis (Mileum) in Africa, by Phœbadius or Vincent of Lerins in Gaul, nor by Zeno of Verona<sup>2</sup>. Hilary of Rome and Pelagius wrote commentaries on thirteen Epistles of St Paul; but though they did not comment on the Epistle to the Hebrews, both speak of it as a work of the Apostle<sup>3</sup>. But the doubt as to the Epistle to the Hebrews was the

c. 370 A.C.

† c. 390 A.C.  
c. 425 A.C.

and genuine Scripture, and publicly read throughout all Greece like the other Scriptures.' Fabr. Bibl. Gr. V. App. p. 38.

<sup>1</sup> Isid. Proem. §§ 85—109. (V. 155 sqq. ed. Migne.) Cf. App. D.

<sup>2</sup> Pacian has been quoted as omitting all mention of the Epistle, but in fact he quotes it as St Paul's. Pac. Ep. iii. 13: Apostolus dicit...et iterum...Hebr. x. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Pelag. Comm. in Rom. i. 17 (Hieron. Opp. xi. 649, ed. Migne): Sicut et ipse ad Hebræos perhibens dicit... Hilar. Comm. in ii. Tim. i.: Nam simili modo et in epistola ad Hebræos scriptum est. Ambr. Opp. V. p. 411 (ed. 1567).

only one which remained<sup>1</sup>, and the influence of Jerome and Augustine did much to remove it. CHAP. II.

It was, indeed, impossible that the revised Latin Version of Jerome should fail to mould insensibly the judgment of the Western Churches. Jerome, who was well read in earlier fathers, was familiar with the doubts which had been raised as to part of the books of the New Testament, but in his letter to Paulinus, as well as in many other places, he clearly expresses his own conviction of the canonicity of them all<sup>2</sup>. With regard to the Epistle to the Hebrews and the Apocalypse, he professed 'to be influenced

The testimony of Jerome,

<sup>1</sup> At the Synod at Toledo (671 A.C.) a special decree was made affirming the authority of the Apocalypse: *Apocalypsin librum multorum conciliorum auctoritas, et synodica sanctorum præsulum Romanorum decreta Johannis evangelistæ esse scribunt, et inter divinos libros recipiendum constituerunt; et quia plurimi sunt qui ejus auctoritatem non recipiant, eumque in ecclesia Dei prædicare contemnant; si quis eum deinceps aut non receperit, aut a Pascha usque ad Pentecosten missarum tempore in ecclesia non prædicaverit, excommunicationis sententiam habebit.* (Concil. Tol. iv. 17.) These doubts are not, I believe, expressed by any Latin father.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. App. D. In his treatise 'On Hebrew Names' Jerome enumerates all the books of the New Testament in order, except the second Epistle of St John, which contains no name. The editions mark the names from the third Epistle (Diotrephes, Demetrius, Gaius) as belonging to the second. Cf. p. 435, n. 2. At the end, after noticing the Apocalypse, Jerome explains some names in the Epistle to Barnabas. This book was written about 390 A.C. The treatise 'On Illustrious Men' was written in 392 A.C.

not so much by the custom of his own time, as by the authority of the ancients, and so he received them both<sup>1</sup>. The Epistles of James and Jude, he says, gained authority in the course of time, having been at first disputed<sup>2</sup>; and

<sup>1</sup> Hieron. Ep. ad Dard. cxxix. § 3 (414 A. C.): Illud nostris dicendum est, hanc epistolam quæ inscribitur *ad Hebræos*, non solum ab ecclesiis orientis, sed ab omnibus retro ecclesiasticis Græci sermonis scriptoribus, quasi Pauli apostoli suscipi, licet plerique eam vel Barnabæ vel Clementis arbitrentur; et nihil interesse cujus sit, cum ecclesiastici viri sit et quotidie ecclesiarum lectione celebretur. Quod si eam Latinorum consuetudo non recipit inter scripturas canonicas, nec Græcorum quidem ecclesiæ Apocalypsin Joannis eadem libertate suscipiunt; et tamen nos utramque suscipimus, nequaquam hujus temporis consuetudinem sed veterum scriptorum auctoritatem sequentes, qui plerumque utriusque abutuntur testimoniis, non ut interdum de apocryphis facere solent quippe qui et gentilium litterarum raro utantur exemplis, sed quasi canonicis et ecclesiasticis. This very clear and important passage shows that when Jerome speaks of 'the Epistle to the Hebrews as not reckoned among St Paul's' in his letter to Paulinus (394 A. C.), we must suppose that the doubt applies to the authorship and not to the canonicity of the writing. The distinct and decisive reference to ancient and constant (*abutuntur*) testimony for the two disputed books deserves careful attention. Cf. Comm. in Eph. init.

<sup>2</sup> De Virr. Ill. 2: Jacobus, qui appellatur frater Domini, ... unam tantum scripsit epistolam, quæ de septem Catholicis est, quæ et ipsa ab alio quodam sub nomine ejus edita asseritur, licet paulatim tempore procedente obtinuerit auctoritatem.

De Virr. Ill. 4: Judas frater Jacobi parvam, quæ de septem Catholicis est, epistolam reliquit. Et quia de libro Enoch qui apocryphus est in ea assumit testimonium, a plerisque rejicitur, tamen auctoritatem vetustate jam et usu meruit et inter sanctas scripturas computatur.

he explains the different styles of the first and second Epistles of St Peter by the supposition that the Apostle was forced to employ different 'interpreters' in writing them<sup>1</sup>. Besides the canonical writings of the New Testament Jerome notices many other ecclesiastical and apocryphal books, but he never attributes to them canonical authority<sup>2</sup>. CHAP. II.

The testimony of Jerome may be considered as the testimony of the Roman Church; for not only was he educated at Rome, but his labours on the text of Scripture were undertaken at the request of Damasus bishop of Rome; and later popes republished the Canon which he recognized. Innocent<sup>3</sup> and Gelasius<sup>4</sup> both pronounced and of the  
Roman  
Church.  
405 A.C.  
492—496  
A.C.

<sup>1</sup> Hieron. quæst. ad Hedib. ii. (i. p. 1002, ed. Migne): Habebat ergo [Paulus] Titum interpretem (ii. Cor. ii. 12, 13); sicut et beatus Petrus Marcum, cujus evangelium, Petro narante et illo scribente, compositum est. Denique et duæ epistolæ quæ feruntur Petri, stylo inter se et caractere discrepant structuraque verborum. Ex quo intelligimus diversis cum usum interpretibus. Cf. de Virr. Ill. i.: Scripsit [Petrus] duæ epistolæ quæ Catholicæ nominantur; quarum secunda a plerisque ejus esse negatur propter styli cum priore dissonantiam. Sed et evangelium juxta Marcum, qui auditor ejus et interpretis fuit, hujus dicitur. Libri autem e quibus unus Actorum ejus inscribitur, alius Evangelii, tertius Prædicationis, quartus Apocalypseos, quintus Judicii [i. e. Hermæ Pastor], inter apocryphas scripturas repudiantur.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. App. B.

<sup>3</sup> Innoc. ad Exsuperium Tolos. Cf. App. D. The authenticity of this decretal has been called in question, but not, perhaps, on adequate grounds.

<sup>4</sup> Credner (Zur Gesch. d. K. § iv.) has examined at great

**CHAP. II.** all the books of the New Testament which we now receive, and these only, to be canonical. And the judgment which was accepted at Rome was current throughout Italy. Ambrose at Milan, Rufinus at Aquileia<sup>1</sup>, and Philastrius at Brescia<sup>2</sup>, completely confirm the same Canon<sup>3</sup>.

c. 340—397  
A.C.  
†410 A.C.  
†c. 387 A.C.

length the triple recension of the famous decretal *On Ecclesiastical Books*. His conclusion briefly is that (1) In its original form it was drawn up in the time of Gelasius, c. 500 A. C. (2) It was then enlarged in Spain, c. 500—700 A. C. (3) Next published as a decretal of Hormisdas (Pope, 514—523 A. C.) in Spain, with additions; (4) and lastly variously altered in later times. Credner, a. a. O. s. 153. Cf. App. D.

<sup>1</sup> Ruf. de Symb. Apost. § 36. Cf. App. D.

<sup>2</sup> Philastr. Hær. lx. lxi. 32. Cf. App. D.

<sup>3</sup> LUCIFER of Cagliari († 370 A. C.) in Sardinia quotes most of the books of the New Testament, including the Epistle to the Hebrews: Paulus dicit ad Hebræos...Hebr. iii. 5 sqq. (Lucif. de non Conv. c. hær. p. 782, B. ed. Migne.) To the testimony of Lucifer may be added that of one of his followers, FAUSTINUS, who frequently quotes the Epistle to the Hebrews as St Paul's: Paulus apostolus...ait in Epistola sua...Hebr. i. 13. (de Trin. ii. 13. Cf. id. iv. 2; lit. prec. ad Impp. 27.)

CASSIODORUS (or Cassiodorius, b. 468—† c. 560 A. C.), chief minister of Theodoric, in his treatise *De Institutione Divinarum Litterarum*, gives three Catalogues of the Holy Scriptures: (1) according to Jerome, (2) according to Augustine, (3) according to the 'ancient translation.' In the two former the Canon of the New Testament of course agrees with our own. The last (cf. App. D.) omits by mistake (?) the Epistle to the Ephesians; and only mentions *Joannis Epistola ad Parthos*. But the evidence of Cod. D. has been brought forward to show that the shorter Epistles of St John were included in the *Vetus Latina*. Cf. p. 284.

The influence of Augustine upon the Western Church was hardly inferior to that of Jerome; and both combined to support the received Canon of the New Testament<sup>1</sup>. Yet even in respect to this their characteristic differences appear. Jerome accepted the tacit judgment of the Church as a whole, and before that laid aside his doubts. Augustine, while receiving as Scripture the same apostolic writings as Jerome, admitted that the partial rejection of a book detracts from its authority<sup>2</sup>. He thus extended to others a certain freedom of judgment, and even exercised it himself. It is very probable that he did not regard the Epistle to the Hebrews as St Paul's; and, at least in his later works, he sedulously avoided calling it by the Apostle's name<sup>3</sup>. But while he hesitated as to

CHAP. II.

The Canon of Augustine.

<sup>1</sup> Augustine has given a list of the books of the New Testament exactly agreeing with our present Canon: *de doctr. Christ.* ii. 12 (8). Cf. App. D.

<sup>2</sup> Aug. l. c. Tenebit igitur hunc modum in Scripturis Canonicis, ut eas quæ ab omnibus accipiuntur Ecclesiis catholicis præponat eis quas quædam non accipiunt: in eis vero quæ non accipiuntur ab omnibus, præponat eas quas plures gravioresque accipiunt eis quas pauciores minorisque auctoritatis ecclesie tenent.

<sup>3</sup> This is well shown by Lardner, ch. cxvii. 17, 4. The quotations in the *Opus imperfectum c. Julianum* (written at the close of Augustine's life) are conclusive. Julian himself quotes the Epistle as the work of 'the Apostle,' (iii. 39; v. i; 23.) Augustine in reply uses the following circumlocutions: quod vidit qui scribens ad Hebræos dixit (i. 47; iv.

CHAP. II. the authorship of the Epistle, he had no scruples about its canonicity. And he uses all the other books of the New Testament, without reserve, alluding only once, as far as I know, to the doubts as to the Apocalypse<sup>1</sup>.

This Canon most widely spread throughout the West, and

The Canon of the New Testament which was supported by the learning of Jerome and the independent judgment of Augustine soon gained universal acceptance wherever Latin was spoken. It was received in Gaul and Spain, and even in Britain and Ireland. Eucherius of Lyons in the fifth century, Isidore of Seville at the close of the sixth century<sup>2</sup>, Bede at Wearmouth in the seventh century, and Sedulius in Ireland in the eighth or ninth century, witness to its reception throughout the West. And with the exceptions already noticed, all the evidence which can be gathered from other writers,—from Prudentius in Spain, and from Hilary, Sulpicius, Prosper, Salvian, and Gennadius in Gaul,—confirms their testimony.

undisputed to the era of the Reformation.

From this time the Canon of the New Testament in the West was no longer a problem,

104); Sancta scriptura (ii. 179); sicut scriptum est (iii. 38; iv. 76); cum legas ad Hebræos (iii. 151); illius sacræ auctor Epistolæ (vi. 22.)

<sup>1</sup> Serm. ccxcix. Et si forte tu, qui ista [Pelagii] sapis, hanc Scripturam (Apoc. xi. 3—12) non accepisti; aut si accipis et contemnis...

<sup>2</sup> Cf. App. D.

but a tradition. If old doubts were mentioned, it was rather as a display of erudition than as an effort of criticism<sup>1</sup>. And thus the question stood till the era of the Reformation. Then first a hasty decree of the Council of Trent confirming that of the Council of Florence, finally determined the Canon and text accepted by the Romish Church, and delivered it from what was felt to be the dangerous interference of scholars<sup>2</sup>. CHAP. II.

In the reformed Churches the authority of the Old Testament Apocrypha was strenuously disputed, but doubts as to the received Canon of the New Testament were only suggested by individuals, and never supported by any public sanction. Erasmus led the way in the controversy, but with characteristic timidity qualified the conclusions which seemed to follow from his premisses. He denied that the Epistle to the Hebrews, the second Epistle of St Peter, and the Apocalypse, were apostolic works; but he added that his doubts extended only to the authorship

The opinions of some Reformers on the New Testament Canon.

ERASMUS.

<sup>1</sup> Passages are given by Reuss, *Gesch. d. Heil. Schrift.* §§ 328 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Sarpi, *Hist. Concil. Trid.* ii. p. 125 (ed. MDCXX.) *Hic tametsi propositis difficultatibus (as to the interpretation of Scripture) in congregatione Patrum, de consensu prope omnium probata vulgata editio, in præsulum animos vehementi inde impressione facta, quod dicebatur grammaticos episcoporum et theologorum instituendorum potestatem sibi arrogaturos.*



CHAP. II.

LUTHER.

and not to the authority of the books<sup>1</sup>. Luther placed the Epistle to the Hebrews, the Epistles of St Jude and of St James, and the Apocalypse, at the end of his version, and on internal grounds expressed himself strongly against their canonicity<sup>2</sup>. A judgment so purely arbitrary could not easily be maintained; and though some of his followers extended his doubts to the seven Antilegomena<sup>3</sup>, they received no direct sanction from the symbolic books of the Lutheran Church, which admit the 'prophetic and apostolic writings of the Old and New Testament' as a whole without further definition. Yet the absence of any distinct ordinance on the subject seems to allow differences of opinion; and Lutheran theologians in later times have not hesitated to use the freedom thus conceded.

CARLSTADT.

In the Calvinistic Churches there was greater variety of opinion. Carlstadt undertook to form an entirely new classification of the Scriptures, but his attempt was not received with any marked favour<sup>4</sup>. Calvin himself did not believe that

CALVIN.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Pref. ad Antilegg. and the passages quoted by Reuss, a. a. O, § 331.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Reuss, a. a. O, § 335. Luther's Table Talk, pp. 272 f. (ed. Bogue.)

<sup>3</sup> e. g. Melancthon, Flacius, Gerhard.

<sup>4</sup> Andreas Bodenstein, or Carlstadt, was originally a friend of Luther, and afterwards of Bullinger, who describes

the Epistle to the Hebrews was St Paul's, and he doubted at least whether the second Epistle of St Peter was a writing of the Apostle, but still he did not reject those books as uncanonical<sup>1</sup>. Œcolampadius pronounced that the seven Antilegomena were not to be placed on the same footing with the other Scriptures, though they were received<sup>2</sup>. Zwingli denied that the Apocalypse had the character of a writing of St John<sup>2</sup>. But the Belgian and French confessions

him as 'virum eruditissimum et exercitatissimum in sacris, adde et profanis litteris ac disputationibus.' His Essay, *de Canonicis Scripturis*, was published first in 1520 while he was still intimate with Luther. He died at Zurich in 1541, being at that time Professor of Theology there. Credner has reprinted the Essay, *Zur Gesch. d. K.* § v. The division which Carlstadt proposed was this: (1) Ordo Primus, *Libri primæ notæ summæque dignitatis Ni. Ti. iv. Evangg.* (2) Secundus Ordo, *Volumina posterioris Instrumenti secundæ dignitatis hæc sunt: Pauli Epp. xiii. i. Petr. i. Joan.* (3) Tertius Ordo, *Ni. Ti. Codices tertixæ celebritatis et ultimæ sunt hi: Ep. ad Hebr. Jac. ii. Petr. Duæ senioris presbyteri. Jud. Apocalypsis. De his libris, aut, ut certius loquar, de auctoribus illarum epistolarum disceptatur, ideo in postremum locum digessimus. Credner, a. a. O. 410—12.*

It is worthy of notice that Carlstadt places the Gospels first, while Luther placed the Epistles of St Paul before the synoptic Gospels. (Table Talk, l. c.)

<sup>1</sup> Calv. *Pref. ad Hebr.* Inter apostolicas sine controversia amplector... Ut Paulum agnoscam auctorem adduci nequeo. Id. *Pref. ad ii. Petr.* Quia de auctore non constat, nunc Petri nunc apostoli nomine promiscue uti mihi permittam. He notices the doubts on the Epistles of St James and St Jude, but dismisses them without discussion. He does not notice ii, iii John.

<sup>2</sup> Reuss, § 335.

CHAP. II. enumerate as Canonical all the books of the New Testament as they stand at present<sup>1</sup>.

The teaching  
of the Ar-  
ticles of the  
English  
Church.

The authoritative teaching of the Church of England on the Canon of the New Testament is not removed beyond all question. In the Articles of 1552 it was affirmed that 'Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation,' but nothing was then said of the books included under that title. In the Elizabethan Articles of 1562 (and 1571) a definition was added: 'In the name of Holy Scripture we do understand those Canonical books of the Old and New Testament of whose authority was never any doubt in the Church.' Then follows a statement 'Of the names and number of the Canonical books,' in which the books of the Old Testament are enumerated at length. A list of the Old Testament Apocrypha is given next, imperfect in the Latin, but complete in the English; and at the end it is said: 'all the books of the New Testament, as they are commonly received, we do receive and account them for Canonical;' but no list is given<sup>2</sup>. A strict interpretation of the language of the article thus

<sup>1</sup> Conf. Belg. Art. iv. (1561—3 A. C.); conf. Gall. Art. iii. (1559 A. C.) Niemeyer, *Libri Symb. Eccl. Reform.* 361 sqq.; 314 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> Hardwick, *Hist. of Articles*, App. iii. p. 275. The Latin text (1562) only notices the Apocryphal *books*, without distinguishing the Apocryphal *additions* to Esther, Daniel, and Jeremiah.

leaves a difference between 'canonical books' CHAP. II. and 'such canonical books as have never been doubted in the Church<sup>1</sup>.' Nor is it a complete explanation of the omission of a catalogue, that the Articles were framed with a special reference to the Church of Rome, with which the Church of England had no controversy as to the New Testament; for the Catalogue of the New Testament books is given, not only in the French and Belgian articles, which alone of the foreign confessions contain any list of the books of Scripture, but also in the Westminster Confession and in the Irish Articles<sup>2</sup>.

But whatever may be the explanation of this ambiguity,—even if we admit that the framers of our Articles were willing to allow a certain freedom of opinion on a question which was left undecided, not only by the Lutheran, but by many Calvinistic Churches,—there can be no doubt as to the general reception of all the books of the New Testament as they now stand by our chief reformers. Tyndale in his pro-THE OPINIONS OF THE ENGLISH REFORMERS. logues notices the doubts as to the Apostolical authority of the Epistles of St Jude and St TYNDALE.

<sup>1</sup> Some light may be perhaps thrown upon this strange ambiguity, which, as far as I know, is not noticed in any history of the Articles.

<sup>2</sup> Confess. Fid. Cap. i; Niemeyer, ii. 1 ff; Hardwick, Hist. of Art. App. vi.

**CHAP. II.** James, and of the Epistle to the Hebrews ; but he adds, that 'he sees no reason why they should not be accounted parts of Holy Scripture<sup>1</sup>.'

**JEWEL.** Bishop Jewel rebuts Stapleton's charge that he rejected the Epistle of St James on the author-

**BULLINGER.** ity of Calvin<sup>2</sup>. Bullinger's Decades contain a

**WHITAKER.** list of all the books of the New Testament in 'the roll of the Divine Scriptures<sup>3</sup>.' Whitaker

1588.

affirms that our Church receives 'the same books of the New Testament, and those only, as were enumerated at the Council of Trent;'

though he notices the doubts of the Lutherans and of Caietan, in particular, as to the seven

Antilegomena<sup>4</sup>. Fulke, again, in his answer to

**FULKE.**  
1583.

Martin, states that the Holy Scriptures, according to the acknowledgment of the English

Church, are 'all and every one of equal credit and authority, as being all inspired of God<sup>5</sup>...'

But it is useless to multiply quotations, for I am not aware that the judgment of the English

Church, as expressed by her theologians, has ever varied as to the canonical authority of any

of the books of the New Testament. If she

<sup>1</sup> He makes no preface to the Apocalypse.

<sup>2</sup> Jewel, Defence of Apology, Pt. II. ix. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Bullinger, Decades, i. p. 54, (ed. Park. Soc.)

<sup>4</sup> Whitaker, Disp. on Scripture, c. xvi. p. 105, (ed. Park. Soc.)

<sup>5</sup> Fulke, Defence of the Translation of the Bible, p. 8, (ed. Park. Soc.)

left her sons at liberty to test the worth of their inheritance, they have learnt to value more highly what they have proved more fully. The same Apostolic books as gave life and strength to the early Churches, quicken our own. And they are recognized in the same way, by familiar and reverent use, and not by any formal decree.

CON-  
CLUSION.

*Conclusion.*

Little now remains to be added on a retrospect of the history of the Canon. That whole history is itself a striking lesson in the character and conduct of the Providential government of the Church. The recognition of the Apostolic writings as authoritative and complete was partial and progressive, like the formulizing of doctrine, and the settling of ecclesiastical order. But each successive step was virtually implied in that which preceded; and the principle by which they were all directed was acknowledged from the first.

Thus it is that it is impossible to point to any period as marking the date at which our present Canon was determined. When it first appears, it is presented not as a novelty, but as an ancient tradition. Its limits were fixed in the earliest times by use rather than by criticism; and this use itself was based on immediate knowledge.

CON-  
CLUSION.

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For it is of the utmost importance to remember that the Canon was never referred in the first ages to the authority of Fathers or Councils. The appeal was made not to the judgment of men but to that of Churches, and of those particularly which were most nearly interested in the authenticity of separate writings. And thus it is found that while all the Canonical books are supported by the concurrent testimony of all, or at least of many Churches, no more than isolated opinions of private men can be brought forward in support of the authority of any other writings. For the New Testament Apocrypha can hold a place by the side of the Apostolic books only so long as our view is limited to a narrow range: a comprehensive survey of their general relations shows the real interval by which they are separated.

And this holds true even of those books which are exposed to the most serious doubts. The Canonicity of the second Epistle of St Peter, which on purely historical grounds cannot be pronounced certainly authentic, is yet supported by evidence incomparably more weighty than can be alleged in favour of that of the Epistle of Barnabas, or of the Shepherd of Hermas, the best attested of apocryphal writings. Nor must it be forgotten that in the fourth century numerous sources of information

were still open to which we can no longer have recourse. And how important these may have been for the history of the Canon can be rightly estimated by the results which have followed from some recent discoveries, which have tended without exception to remove specious difficulties and to confirm the traditional judgments of the Church.

CON-  
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But though external evidence is the proper proof both of the authenticity and authority of the New Testament, it is supported by powerful internal testimony drawn from the relations of the books to one another and to the early developments of Christian doctrine. Subjective criticism when used as an independent guide is always uncertain, and often treacherous; but when it is confined to the interpretation and comparison of historic data, it confirms as well as illustrates. And no one perhaps can read the New Testament as a whole, even in the pursuit of some particular investigation, without gaining a conviction of its unity not less real because it cannot be expressed or transferred. But while this must be matter of personal experience, the connexion of the Apostolic writings with the characteristic forms of early doctrine is clearer and more tangible. Something has been said already on this subject, and it offers a wide field for future investigation. For the New



CON-  
CLUSION.

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Testament is not only a complete spring of Christian truth; it is also a perfect key to the history of the Christian Church.

To the last, however, it will be impossible to close up every avenue of doubt, and the Canon, like all else that has a moral value, can be determined only with practical and not with demonstrative certainty. But to estimate the comparative value of this proof, let any one contrast the evidence on which we receive the writings of St Paul or St John with that which we regard as satisfactory in the case of the letters of Cicero or Pliny. The result is as striking as it is for the most part unnoticed. Yet the record of divine revelation when committed to human care, is not, at least apparently, exempted from the accidents and caprices which affect the transmission of ordinary books. And if the evidence by which its authenticity is supported is more complete, more varied, more continuous, than can be brought forward for any other book, it is because it appeals with universal power to the conscience of mankind,—because the same Spirit in the Church which first recognized in it the law of its constitution has never failed to seek in it afresh guidance and strength.

## APPENDIX A.

### ON THE HISTORY OF THE WORD ΚΑΝΩΝ<sup>1</sup>.

THE original meaning of κανὼν (connected with קנה, κανη, κάννα, *canna*, [*canalis, channel*], *cane, cannon*) is a straight rod, as a ruler, or (rarely) the beam of a balance; and this with the secondary notion either (1) of keeping anything straight, as the rods of a shield, or the rod (*liciatorium*) used in weaving; or (2) of testing straightness, as a carpenter's rule, and even (improperly) a plumbline.

From the sense of literal measurement naturally followed the metaphorical use of κανὼν (like *regula, norma, rule*) to express that which serves to measure or determine anything; whether in Ethics, as the good man (Ar. Eth. Nic. iii. 4, 5); or in Art, as the Doryphorus of Polycletus (ὁ κανών); or in Language, as the 'Canons' of Grammar<sup>2</sup>.

With a slight variation in meaning, *great epochs* which served as landmarks of history, were called κανόνες χρονικοί; and κανὼν was used for a summary account of the contents of a work—the rule, as it were, by which its composition was determined<sup>3</sup>.

One instance of the metaphorical use of the word requires special notice. The Alexandrine grammarians spoke of the classic Greek authors, as a whole, as ὁ κανών, the

<sup>1</sup> Credner has investigated the early meanings of the word at considerable length, but I cannot accept all his conclusions. (Zur Gesch. d. k. 3—68.)

<sup>2</sup> References for all these meanings are given in the Lexicons.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Credner, p. 10. To this sense must be referred the *Paschal Canons* of various authors, and the *Eusebian Canons* of the New Testament.

APPENDIX  
A.

A. The Classical use of κανών.  
1. Literally.

2. Metaphorically.

APPENDIX absolute standard of pure language, the perfect model of  
 A. composition<sup>1</sup>.

3. Passively. By a common transition in the history of words, κανών, as that which measures, was afterwards used for that which is so measured. Thus a certain space at Olympia was called κανών; and in late Greek κανών (canon) was used for a fixed tax, as of corn<sup>2</sup>. So also in Music, a canon is a composition in which a given melody is the model on which all the parts are strictly formed.

B. The Ecclesiastical use of the word.

So far we have traced the common use of κανών; and at first sight the application of the word to the collection of classic authors seems to offer a complete explanation of its use in relation to Holy Scripture; but the ecclesiastical history of the word lends no support to such an hypothesis.

1. In the LXX.

The word occurs in its literal sense in Judith xiii. 6 (LXX.) for the rod at the head of a couch; and again in Job xxxviii. 5 (Aqu.) for a measuring line (ἡρ, σπαρτίου, LXX. *linea*, Vulg.)<sup>3</sup>

2. In the New Testament.

In the New Testament it is used in two passages of St Paul's Epistles. In one (Gal. vi. 16, ὅσοι τῷ κανόνι (*regula*, Vulg.) τούτῳ στοιχήσουσι) the abstract idea of the Christian rule of faith is connected by the verb with the primary notion of an outward measure. In the second (ii. Cor x. 13—16, κατὰ τὸ μέτρον τοῦ κανόνος (*regulæ*, Vulg.) κατὰ τὸν κανόνα ἡμῶν ἐν ἀλλοτρίῳ κανόνι) the transition from an active to a passive sense is very clearly marked.

3. In Patristic writings:  
 i. Generally:  
 (a) As a rule in the widest sense.

In later Christian writers the metaphorical use of κανών is very frequent, both in a general sense (Clem. R. *ad Corinth.* 1, ὁ κανών τῆς ὑποταγῆς, c. 7; ὁ εὐκλεῆς καὶ σεμνὸς τῆς ἀγίας κλήσεως κανών); and also in reference to a definite rule (id. c. 41, ὁ ὠρισμένος τῆς λειτουργίας κανών<sup>4</sup>). One

<sup>1</sup> Redepenning, Origines, i. 12.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Forcellinus and Du Cange, s. v. Canon.

<sup>3</sup> The word is used by Philo in connexion with παράγγελμα, δρος and νόμος. Credner, ss. 11 f.

<sup>4</sup> Credner (s. 15) thinks that the word even here describes an ideal standard.

use of the word, however, rose into peculiar prominence, and is of great importance with regard to the history of Holy Scripture. Hegesippus (cf. pp. 228 sqq.), according to the narration of Eusebius, spoke of those who tried to corrupt 'the sound rule (τὸν ὑγιῆ κανόνα) of the saving proclamation;' and whether the words be exactly quoted or not, they are fully supported by the authority of subsequent writers<sup>1</sup>. The early fathers, from the time of Irenæus, continually appeal to *the Rule* of Christian teaching, —variously modified in the different phrases the *Rule of the Church*, the *Rule of Truth*, the *Rule of Faith*<sup>2</sup>,—in their

APPENDIX  
A.

(B) The rule  
of truth,  
whether

<sup>1</sup> In the Clementine Homilies the word κανὼν is of frequent occurrence. Thus the principle of a duality in nature and revelation is described as ὁ λόγος τοῦ προφητικοῦ κανόνος, ὁ κανὼν τῆς συζυγίας (Hom. ii. 15; 18, 33). In like manner mention is made of "the Rule of the Church" and of "the Rule of Truth;" and it was by this Rule that apparent discrepancies of Scripture were to be reconciled, by this that the unity of the Jewish nation was preserved (Clem. ad Jac. 2, 19; Petr. ad Jac. 3; Petr. ad Jac. 1). Cf. Credner, ss. 17 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Each of these three phrases possesses a peculiar meaning corresponding to the notions of 'the Church,' 'the Truth,' 'the Faith.'

i. Ὁ κανὼν τῆς ἐκκλησίας expresses that Rule or governing principle by which the Church of God, in its widest sense, is truly held together, and yet gradually unfolded in the different stages of its growth. In early Christian writers it specially described that which was the common ground of the Old and New Testaments. Cf. Clem. Al. Str. vii. 16, § 105; Orig. de Princ. iv. 9. But it is no less applied to the peculiar Rule and order of the Christian Church; yet still to that Rule as being one, and not as made up of many rules. Cf. Corn. ap. Euseb. H. E. vi. 43. So also we find κανὼν ἐκκλησιαστικός, Synod. Ant. Routh, Rell. iii. 291; Concil. Nic. Cann. 2, 6, &c. And as applied to details, ὁ κανὼν: Conc. Neocæs. Can. 14. Cf. Routh, iv. 208. Yet cf. Syn. Ant. Routh, iii. 305.

ii. Ὁ κανὼν τῆς ἀληθείας. As the Rule of the Church regarded the outward embodiment of divine teaching in a society, so the Rule of Truth had reference to the informing life by which it is inspired. Clem. Al. vii. 16. For the Christian this Rule was the expression of the fundamental articles of his creed. Cf. Iren. adv. Hær. i. 9, 4; 22, 1; Novat. de Trin. 21; Firm. Ep. (Cypr.) LXXV.

iii. Ὁ κανὼν τῆς πίστεως. The Rule of Truth, when viewed in this concrete form, became the Rule of Faith. The phrase first occurs in the letter of Polycrates (Euseb. H. E. v. 24), and repeatedly in Tertullian (e. g. de Vel. Virg. 1.)

Credner has discussed these various phrases with his usual care and research; but it is surprising to find a scholar speaking repeatedly of ὁ κανὼν ἐκκλησιαστικός (a. a. O. ss. 20—58).

## 544 ON THE HISTORY OF THE WORD KANON.

APPENDIX controversy with heretics ; and from the first, as it seems,  
 A.  
 Abstract, or \_\_\_\_\_ it was regarded in a double form. At one time it is an  
 Abstract, or \_\_\_\_\_ abstract, ideal, standard, handed down to successive gene-  
 Concrete (the Creed.) \_\_\_\_\_ rations, the inner law, as it were, which regulated the  
 growth and action of the Church, felt rather than expressed,  
 realized rather than defined. At another time it is a con-  
 crete form, a set creed, embodying the great principles  
 which characterized the doctrine and practice of the Ca-  
 tholic Church. Thus Clement speaks of the 'Ecclesiastical  
 Canon' as consisting in 'the harmonious concord of the  
 Law and the Prophets with the dispensation (διαθήκη)  
 given to men at the presence of the Lord among them'.  
 In other words, the Rule which determined the progress  
 of the Church was seen in that principle of unity by which  
 its several parts were bound together, 'in virtue of the  
 appropriate dispensations [granted at successive periods],  
 or rather in virtue of one dispensation adapted to the wants  
 of different times'. But this principle of unity found a  
 clear expression 'in the one, unchangeable rule of faith',  
 the apostolic enunciation of the great facts of the Incar-  
 nation, in which all earlier revelations and later hopes  
 found their explanation and fulfilment.

(γ) The rule  
of discipline.

At the beginning of the fourth century the word re-  
 ceived a still more definite and restricted meaning, without  
 losing the original idea involved in it. The standard of  
 revealed truth was the measure of practice no less than  
 of belief; and synodical decisions were regarded in detail

<sup>1</sup> Clem. Al. Str. vi. 15, §. 125: κανὼν ἐκκλησιαστικὸς ἡ συμφωνία καὶ ἡ συμφωνία νόμου τε καὶ προφητῶν τῇ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Κυρίου παρουσίαν παραδιδόμενη διαθήκη. Cf. p. 548, n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Clem. Al. Str. vii. 17, § 107: κατὰ τε οὖν ὑπόστασιν κατὰ τε ἐπίνοιαν κατὰ τε ἀρχὴν κατὰ τε ἐξοχὴν μόνην εἶναι φάμεν τὴν ἀρχαίαν καὶ καθολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν, εἰς ἐνότητα πίστεως μᾶς κατὰ τὰς οἰκείας διαθήκας, μᾶλλον δὲ κατὰ τὴν διαθήκην τὴν μίαν διαφόροις τοῖς χρόνοις, ἐνὸς (τοῦ θεοῦ) τῷ βουλευμάτι δι' ἐνὸς (τοῦ κυρίου), συνάγουσαν τοὺς ἤδη κατατεταγμένους, οὓς προώρισεν ὁ θεὸς δικαίους ἐσομένους πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου ἐγνωκῶς.

<sup>3</sup> Tertull. de Vel. Virg. 1.

as 'Canons' of Christian action<sup>1</sup>. In particular the sum of such decisions affecting those specially devoted to the ministry in holy things was the 'Rule' by which they were bound; and they were described simply as 'those included in or belonging to the Rule,' just as we now speak of 'ordination' and 'orders'<sup>2</sup>.

It was a further stage in the history of the word when it assumed a definitely passive meaning, as when applied to the fixed psalms appointed for festivals, or to the 'Canon,' the invariable element of the Roman Liturgy, in the course of which the dead were commemorated or 'canonized'<sup>3</sup>.

APPENDIX  
A.

(δ) Canon in a passive sense.

<sup>1</sup> The ordinances of Gregory of Neo-Cæsarea (c. 262, A. C.) and those of Peter of Alexandria (c. 306, A. C.), taken from his work *περὶ μετανοίας* (Routh, iii. 256 ff.; iv. 23 ff.), are called 'Canons,' but it is probable that the title was given to them at a later time. The first Council which gave the name of Canons to its decrees was that of Antioch (341, A. C.): in the earlier Councils they were called *δόγματα* or *δρῶν*. Cf. Credner, p. 51 n.

<sup>2</sup> The earliest instance of this use of the word with which I am acquainted occurs in the Nicene decrees: Can. 16: *πρεσβύτεροι ἢ διάκονοι ἢ ὄλως ἐν τῷ κανόνι ἐξεταζόμενοι*. Can. 17: *πολλοὶ ἐν τῷ κανόνι ἐξεταζόμενοι*. Can. 19: *...περὶ τῶν διακονισσῶν καὶ ὄλως τῶν ἐν τῷ κανόνι (all. κλήρω) ἐξεταζομένων*. Cf. Conc. Ant. can. 6: *ὁ αὐτὸς δὲ δρῶς ἐπὶ λαϊκῶν καὶ πρεσβυτέρων καὶ διακόνων καὶ πάντων τῶν ἐν τῷ κανόνι (al. ἐν τῷ κλήρω καταλεγομένων)*. Conc. Chalc. 2: *ἢ ὄλως τινὰ τοῦ κανόνος*. But this *κανὼν* must not be confounded with the *κατάλογος*, though the same persons might be described as *ἐν τῷ καταλόγῳ* and *ἐν τῷ κανόνι*. Thus the two are joined, Conc. Trull. 5: *μηδεὶς τῶν ἐν ἱερατικῷ καταλόγῳ τῶν ἐν τῷ κανόνι...* Again, Conc. Tol. iii. 5: *qui vero sub canone ecclesiastico jacuerint...* Athanas. (?) de Virgin. i. p. 1052: *οὐαὶ παρθένῳ τῇ μὴ ὄσση ὑπὸ κανόνα*. Cf. Conc. Ant. 1. The word *κανονικοὶ* first occurs in Cyril (Catech. Pref. 3, cf. Conc. Laod. 15; Concil. Constant. 1, 6), and is found frequently in later writers. Du Cange (s. v.) quotes a passage which illustrates very well the origin of the word: *Canonici secundum canones*—an earlier writer would have said *canonem*—*regulares secundum regulam vivant*.

Bingham (Antiq. i. 5, 10) and Credner (p. 56), though with hesitation, identify the *κανὼν* and the *κατάλογος*, but the passages quoted are, I think, conclusive against the identification.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Suicer, s. v.

The interchange of *κανονικός* and *καθολικός*, not only in the title of the seven catholic epistles but elsewhere, is a singular proof of the supposed universality of an authoritative judgment of the Church. Cf. Euseb. H. E. iii. 5; Concil. Carthag. xxiv. (Int. Gr.)

There is a curious account of *κανονική*—the mathematical basis of music—in Aulus Gellius, N. A. xvi. 18; and in other Roman scientific

## APPENDIX

A.

ii. As applied to Holy Scripture. The derivatives of *κανών* were thus used first,

but not commonly till after the persecution of Diocletian.

Hitherto no instance of the application of the word *κανών* to the Holy Scriptures has been noticed, and the earliest with which I am acquainted occurs in Athanasius; but the derivatives *κανονικός*, *κανονίζω*, occur in Origen<sup>1</sup>, though these words did not come into common use till the beginning of the fourth century. In the interval Diocletian had attempted to destroy the 'Scriptures of the Christian Law;' and as far as his efforts tended to make a more complete separation of authoritative from unauthoritative books, they were likely to fix upon the former a popular and simple title. Yet even after the persecution of Diocletian the word *canonical* was not universally current. Eusebius, I believe, nowhere applies it to the Holy Scriptures; and its reappearance in the writings of Athanasius seems to show that it was originally employed in the school of Alexandria, and thence passed into the general dialect of the Church.

(a) *κανονικός*.

The original meaning of the whole class of words, *canonical*, *canonize*, *canon*, in reference to the Scriptures is

writers the word *canonicus* is used to express that which is determined by definite rules, as the phenomena of the heavens. Cf. August. de Civ. D. iii. 15, 1, and Forcellinus, s. v.

<sup>1</sup> Orig. de Princ. iv. 33, in Scripturis Canonicis nusquam ad præsens invenimus. *Id.* Prol. in Cantic. s. f. Illud tamen palam est multa vel ab apostolis vel ab evangelistis exempla esse prolata et Novo Testamento inserta, quæ in his Scripturis quas Canonicas habemus, nunquam legimus, in apocryphis tamen inveniuntur et evidenter ex ipsis ostenduntur assumpta. *Id.* Comm. in Matt. § 117. In nullo *regulari* libro hoc positum invenitur. *Id.* Comm. in Matt. § 28. Nec enim fuimus in libris canonizatis historiam de Janne et Jambre resistantibus Mosi. Just before Rufinus says: Fertur ergo in Scripturis *non manifestis* (i. e. apocryphis, as he elsewhere translates the word.) The phrase, Prol. in Cantic. s. f. cum neque apud Hebræos... amplius *habeatur in Canone*, is probably only a rendering of *καταλιθῆναι*.

Since these words are found in works which survive only in the Latin version, they have been suspected by Redepenning (Origines, i. 239) to be due to Rufinus, and not to Origen. Credner follows Redepenning without reserve. But I can see no ground for the suspicion. The fact that in one place we have *regularis* and in another *canonicus* to express the same idea marks a translation.

necessarily to be sought in that of the word first used. APPENDIX  
 But κανονικός, like κανών, was employed both in an active A.  
 and in a passive sense. Letters which contained rules, and  
 letters composed according to rule, were alike called Canon-  
 ical<sup>1</sup>; and so the name may have been given to the Apo-  
 stolic writings either as containing the standard of doctrine  
 or as ratified by the decision of the Church. Popular  
 opinion favours the first interpretation<sup>2</sup>: the prevalent usage  
 of the word, however, is decidedly in favour of the second.  
 Thus the Latin equivalent of κανονικός, *regularis*, points  
 to a passive sense, even though the analogy be imperfect.  
 Ecclesiastics, again, of every grade were called *Canonici*,  
 as bound by a common rule; and in later times we com-  
 monly read of canonical obedience, a canonical allowance,  
 and canonical hours of prayer.

The application of κανονίζω (βιβλία κανονιζόμενα, κεκα- (3) κανονίζω.  
 νονισμένα, ἀκανόνιστα) to the Holy Scriptures confirms the  
 belief that they were called *canonical* in a passive sense.  
 In classical Greek the word means to measure or form  
 according to a fixed standard<sup>3</sup>. As in similar terms the  
 notion of approval was added to that of trial; and those  
 writings might fitly be said to be *canonized* which were  
 ratified by an authoritative rule. Thus Origen says that  
 ‘no one should use for the proof of doctrine books not

<sup>1</sup> The canonical letter of Gregory of Cæsarea (c. 262, A. C.) is an instance of the first kind (Routh, iii. 256 ff). On the *litteræ formatae* or *canonicae*, cf. Bingham, ii. 4, 5.

<sup>2</sup> Even Credner has sanctioned this view: ‘The Scriptures of the *Canon* (γραφαὶ κανόνος) are,’ he says, ‘the Scriptures of the Law: those writings are *canonical* which obtain the force of Law: those writings are *canonized* which are included among them’ (p. 67). Credner does not quote any instance of the phrase γραφαὶ κανόνος, nor do I know one; but he supports his view by reference to the words *scripturæ legis* in the Acts of Felix (cf. p. 473), and to *litteræ fidei* in Tertullian (de Præscr. 14.)

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Ar. Eth. N. ii. 3, 8, κανονίζομεν δὲ καὶ τὰς πράξεις... ἡδονῆ καὶ λύπῃ. In later times the word was used to express regular gram-  
 matical inflexion. Schol. ad Hom. Odys. ix. 347: τὸ δὲ τῇ πόθει κανονίζεται;



APPENDIX included among the canonized Scriptures<sup>1</sup>.  
 ▲  
 again speaks of 'books which are canonized (κανονίζουσα) and have been handed down' from former time<sup>2</sup>. The Canon of [Laodicea] forbade the public reading of 'books which had not been canonized (ἀκανόνιστα).' And at a later time we read 'of books used in the Church and which have been canonized<sup>3</sup>.'

(γ) κανών.  
 The first use  
 of this word.

The clearest instance in early times of the application of the word κανών to the Scriptures occurs at the end of the enumeration of the books of the Old and New Testaments commonly attributed to Amphilochius. 'This,' he says, 'would be the most unerring Canon of the Inspired Scriptures.' The measure, that is, by which the contents of the Bible might be tried, and so approximately an index or catalogue, of its constituent books<sup>4</sup>. But the use of the word was not confined within these limits. It was natural that the rule of written, no less than of traditional teaching, should be regarded in a concrete form. The idea of the New Testament and the Creed grew out of the same circumstances and were fixed by the same authority. Thus Athanasius and later writers speak of books 'without the Canon,' where the Canon is no longer the measure of Scripture, but Scripture as fixed and measured, the definite collection of books received by the Church as authoritative. In this sense the word soon found general acceptance. The Canon was the measured field of the theologian, marked out like that of the athlete or of the Apostle by adequate authority.

Its later  
 meaning.

But though this was, as I believe, the true meaning of the word, instances are not wanting in which the Scriptures are called a Rule, as being in themselves the measure

<sup>1</sup> Orig. Comm. in Matt. § 28 : Nemo uti debet ad confirmationem dogmatum libris qui sunt extra canonizatas scripturas.

<sup>2</sup> Athan. Ep. Fest. App. D. The same phrase occurs in Leontius.

<sup>3</sup> Niceph. Stichometria, App. D.

<sup>4</sup> Amphil. Iamb. ad Sel. App. D.

of Christian truth; for they possess an inherent authority APPENDIX  
A. though it was needful that they should be ratified by an outward sanction. At the beginning of the fifth century Isidore of Pelusium calls 'the divine Scriptures the rule of truth'<sup>1</sup>; and it is useless to multiply examples from later ages. Time proved the worth of the Apostolic words. The ideal Rule preceded the material Rule; but after a long trial the Church recognized in the Bible the full enunciation of that law which was embodied in her formularies and epitomized in her Creeds.

<sup>1</sup> Isid. Pelus. Ep. cxiv. *ὁ κανὼν τῆς ἀληθείας αἱ θεῖαι γραφαί.*

## APPENDIX B.

### ON THE USE OF APOCRYPHAL WRITINGS IN THE EARLY CHURCH.

APPENDIX  
B.

Two classes  
of writings  
called Apo-  
cryphal.

Two different classes of writings may be described as apocryphal in respect to their claims to be admitted among the Canonical Scriptures of the New Testament. The first consists of the scanty remains of the works of the immediate successors of the Apostles: the second, of books professing either to be written by Apostles or to contain an authoritative record of their teaching. The history of the first class consequently illustrates the limits by which the idea of canonicity was confined; while the history of the second class offers a criterion of the critical tact by which the true and the false were distinguished by the early Church. The two classes together offer an instructive contrast to the New Testament, as a whole, no less in their outward fortunes than in their inward character.

i. Writings  
of Apostolic  
men.

It would not have been surprising if the writings of the Apostolic Fathers had been invested with something of Apostolic authority, not indeed in accordance with their own claims<sup>1</sup>, but by the pardonable reverence of a later age for all those who had looked on the Truth at its dawning. Yet a few questionable epithets alone remain to witness to the existence of such a feeling; and no more than three books of this class obtained a partial ecclesiastical currency, through which they were not clearly separated at first from the disputed writings of the New Testament.

The *Epistle  
of Clement.*

The Epistle of Clement, the earliest and best authenticated of uncanonical Christian writings, is quoted by Irenæus, by Clement of Alexandria, and by Origen, without

<sup>1</sup> Cf. pp. 66 ff.

anything to show that they regarded it as an inspired book<sup>1</sup>. Eusebius omits all mention of it in his famous Catalogue of writings which claimed to be authoritative<sup>2</sup>; and though many later writers were acquainted with it, no one, I believe, favours its reception among the Canonical Scriptures.

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B.

The Epistle of Barnabas, in consideration of the name of the 'Apostle,' and of the peculiar character of its teaching, gained a position at Alexandria which it does not appear to have ever held in any other place<sup>3</sup>. Eusebius classes it among the 'spurious' books; and Jerome calls it 'Apocryphal<sup>4</sup>.'

The Epistle  
of Barnabas.

The Shepherd of Hermas, again, which approximates in form and manner most closely to the pattern of Holy Scriptures, though commonly quoted with respect by the Greek fathers, is expressly stated by Tertullian to have been excluded from the New Testament 'by every council of the Churches,' Catholic or schismatic<sup>5</sup>.

The Shepherd  
of Hermas.

Nor was it a mere accident that these three writings occupied a peculiar position. They were supposed to be written by men who were honoured by direct Apostolic testimony. But the letters of Polycarp and Ignatius, on whose names the New Testament is silent, were never put

Honoured in  
consideration  
of a supposed  
apostolic  
sanction.

<sup>1</sup> Clem. Al. Str. i. 7, § 38; iv. 17, § 107 (ὁ ἀπόστολος Κλήμης); vi. 8, § 65. Cf. Str. v. 12, § 81. Orig. de Princ. ii. 3, 6; Sel. in Ezech. viii. Cf. in Joan. T. vi. 36.

<sup>2</sup> Euseb. H. E. iii. 25. Cf. p. 482. This is the more remarkable because he elsewhere mentions the Epistle with great respect, iii. 16 (μεγάλη καὶ θαυμασία ἐπιστολή). Cf. H. E. vi. 13.

<sup>3</sup> Clem. Al. Str. ii. 6, § 31: εἰκότως οὖν ὁ ἀπόστολος Βαρνάβας...; id. 7, § 35; ii. 20, § 116: οὐ μοι δεῖ πλειόνων λόγων παραθεμένῳ μάρτυν τὸν ἀποστολικὸν Βαρνάβαν, ὁ δὲ τῶν ἑβδομήκοντα ἦν καὶ συνεργὸς τοῦ Παύλου... Cf. Str. ii. 15, § 67; id. 18, § 84; v. 8, § 52; id. 10, § 64.

Orig. c. Cels. i. 63: γέγραπται ἐν τῇ Βαρνάβα καθολικῇ ἐπιστολῇ. Comm. in Rom. i. 24: ...in multis Scripturæ locis... Cf. de Princ. iii. 2, 4.

<sup>4</sup> Euseb. H. E. iii. 25. Hieron. de Virr. Ill. 6: Barnabas Cyprius... epistolam composuit, quæ inter apocryphas Scripturas legitur.

<sup>5</sup> Tert. de Pudic. 10 and 20. Cf. Hieron. in Hab. i. (i. 14.) The references of Irenæus and Origen to the Shepherd have been noticed already, pp. 436, 410 nn.

APPENDIX forward as claiming Canonical authority<sup>1</sup>. And thus the  
 B. high estimation in which the works of Clement and Barnabas and Hermas were held, becomes an indirect evidence of the implicit reverence paid to the Apostolic words, and of the Apostolic basis of the Canon.

But no where publicly received into the Canon.

The usage of the Churches interprets and corrects the judgment of individual writers. The Epistle of Barnabas was read in the time of Jerome, but among the Apocryphal Scriptures. The Epistle of Clement was publicly read in the Church at Corinth and elsewhere<sup>2</sup>; and it was even included (with the second spurious Epistle) in the Alexandrine MS. of the Bible<sup>3</sup>; but it was placed there after the Apocalypse; and so in both respects it occupied a position similar to that of the Apocryphal books of the Old Testament, according to the judgment of our own Church. The Shepherd, again, was long regarded as a book useful for purposes of instruction; but it was definitely excluded from the Canon by Eusebius, Athanasius and Jerome, who record its partial reception<sup>4</sup>. And, in a word, no one of these writings is reckoned among the Canonical books in any catalogue of the Scriptures<sup>5</sup>.

The writings of the Apostolic Fathers never reckoned canonical.

If then it be admitted, and this is the utmost that can be urged, that these books were ever ranged with the Antilegomena of the New Testament<sup>6</sup>, it is evident that

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Hieron. v. I. 17 [Polyc. ad Phil. Ep.] in conventu Asiæ legitur.

<sup>2</sup> Euseb. H. E. iii. 16; iv. 23. Hieron. de Virr. Ill. 15.

<sup>3</sup> The fact that this is the only copy of the Epistle now in existence is in itself a proof of its comparatively limited circulation.

<sup>4</sup> Euseb. H. E. iii. 25; Athanas. Ep. Fest. T. i. 767.

<sup>5</sup> The Catalogue at the end of the Apostolic Canons may seem an exception to this statement, since it ratifies the two Epistles and Constitutions of Clement; but it has been shown already that the peculiarities of this Catalogue received no conciliar sanction. Cf. p. 506.

<sup>6</sup> According to the old text of the Stichometry of Nicephorus, the Apocalypse is classed with the writings of the Apostolic Fathers as Apocryphal; but the truer text places it with the Apocalypse of Peter, the Gospel according to the Hebrews and the Epistle of Barnabas as disputed, while the remaining writings of the Apostolic Fathers, with some other books, are Apocryphal.

they occupied that position in virtue of a supposed indirect APPENDIX  
B. Apostolic authority, just as the other books were disputed, because their claims to Apostolicity were also supposed to be indirect<sup>1</sup>. And it is equally certain that those who expressed the judgment of the Church, when a decision was first called for, unanimously excluded them from the Canon, while with scarcely less unanimity they included in it the Epistles of St James and St Jude, the Epistle to the Hebrews, and the Apocalypse and shorter Epistles of St John. The ecclesiastical use of the writings of the Apostolic fathers was partial and reserved from the first, and it became gradually less frequent till it ceased entirely. Wider knowledge and longer experience denied to them the sanction which it accorded to the doubtful books of the New Testament.

Of Apocryphal writings directly claiming Apostolic ii. Apocry-  
phal writings. authority, four only deserve particular notice, the Gospel according to the Hebrews, and the Gospels, the Preaching, and the Apocalypse of St Peter. The Gospel according to the Egyptians<sup>2</sup>, and the Acts of Paul and Thecla, never obtained any marked authority; and still less so the various Gospels and Acts which date from the close of the second century, and are popularly attributed to the inventive industry of Leucius<sup>3</sup>.

One passage which occurred in the Gospel according to The Gospel  
according to  
the Hebrews. the Hebrews is found in a letter of Ignatius, who does not, however, quote the words as written, but only on traditional authority<sup>4</sup>. Papias, again, related a story 'of a woman accused of many crimes before our Lord, which was contained in the Gospel according to the Hebrews,'

<sup>1</sup> The second Epistle of St Peter is the only exception to this statement; and that is beset with peculiar historical difficulties on every side.

<sup>2</sup> Clem. Str. iii. 9, § 63; id. 13, § 93: *πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ἐν τοῖς παραδεδομένοις ἡμῖν τέτταρσιν εὐαγγελίοις οὐκ ἔχομεν τὸ ῥητόν, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ κατ' Αἰγυπτίους.* Cf. [Clem.] Ep. ii. 12.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. p. 461.

<sup>4</sup> Ign. ad Smyrn. 3. Cf. Jacobson, l. c.

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B.

but the words of Eusebius seem to imply that he did not refer to that book as the source of the narrative<sup>1</sup>. The evangelic quotations of Justin Martyr offer no support to the notion that he used it as a coordinate authority with the Canonical Gospels, but on the contrary distinguish a detail which it contained from that which was written in the Apostolic memoirs<sup>2</sup>. Hegesippus is the first author who was certainly acquainted with it; but there is nothing to show that he attributed to it any peculiar authority<sup>3</sup>. Clement of Alexandria and Origen both quote the book, but both distinctly affirm that the four Canonical Gospels stood alone as acknowledged records of the Lord's life<sup>4</sup>. Epiphanius regarded 'the Hebrew Gospel' as a heretical work based on St Matthew. Jerome has referred to it several times<sup>5</sup>, and he translated it into Latin, but he nowhere attributes to it any peculiar authority, and calls St John expressly the fourth and last Evangelist. Yet the fact that he appealed to the book as giving the testimony of antiquity furnished occasion for an adversary to charge him with making 'a fifth Gospel<sup>6</sup>;' and at a later time, in deference to Jerome's judgment, Bede reckoned it among the 'ecclesiastical' rather than the 'apocryphal writings<sup>7</sup>.'

<sup>1</sup> Euseb. H. E. iii. 39. Cf. Routh, *Reliq.* i. 39.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. pp. 191 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Heges. ap. Euseb. H. E. iv. 22; Routh, *Reliq.* i. 277; *supr.* pp. 233 f.

<sup>4</sup> Clem. Str. ii. 9, § 45; Orig. Comm. Hom. in Jer. 15, § 4.

<sup>5</sup> Dial. adv. Pelag. iii. 2: In Evangelio *juxta Hebræos*, quod Chaldaico quidem Syroque sermone, sed Hebraicis litteris scriptum est, quo utuntur usque hodie Nazareni, *secundum apostolos*, sive ut plerique autumant, *juxta Matthæum*, quod et in Cæsariensi habetur bibliotheca, narrat historia... Quibus testimoniis, si non uteris ad auctoritatem, utere saltem ad antiquitatem, quid omnes ecclesiastici viri senserint. Cf. de Virr. Ill. 2; in Isai. iv. c. xi.; id. xi. c. xl.; in Ezech. iv. c. xvi.; in Mich. ii. c. vii. (quoted with the Song of Solomon, yet with hesitation); Comm. in Matt. i. c. vi. 11; id. ii. c. xii. 13; id. iv. c. xxvii. 51; Comm. in Eph. iii. c. v. 4. Credner (*Beitr.* i. 395 ff.) gives these and the remaining passages at length.

<sup>6</sup> Julian, Pelag. ap. August. Op. imperf. iv. 88.

<sup>7</sup> Bede, *Comm. in Luc. init.* quoted on Hieron. *adv. Pelag.* iii. 2.

The Gospel of Peter has been already noticed. How far this Gospel was connected with the 'Preaching of Peter,' which is quoted frequently by Clement of Alexandria<sup>1</sup>, and once by Gregory of Nazianzus<sup>2</sup>, is very uncertain<sup>3</sup>. There is indeed nothing in the fragments of the preaching which remain which requires a severer censure than Serapion passed on the Gospel. And it seems very likely that both books contained memoirs of the Apostle's teaching based in a great measure on authentic traditions.

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B.

*The Gospel and Preaching of Peter*

It has been already shown that it is uncertain whether the Gospel of Peter was regarded as Canonical at Rhossus<sup>4</sup>; and even if it had been so, the custom of an obscure town, which was at once corrected by superior authority, cannot be set against the silence of the other early Churches, and the condemnation of the book by every later writer who mentions it. The preaching of Peter, as Origen expressly states, was 'not accounted an ecclesiastical book,' and Eusebius repeats the same judgment<sup>5</sup>. Nor am I aware that it was ever supposed to be a Canonical book.

not canonical.

The Canonicity of the Apocalypse of Peter is supported by more important authority. The doubtful testimony of the Muratorian Canon has been considered before<sup>6</sup>. In addition to this, Clement of Alexandria wrote short notes upon it, as well as upon the Catholic Epistles and upon

*The Apocalypse of Peter.*

<sup>1</sup> Clem. Alex. Str. i. 29, § 182; vi. 5, §§ 39 ff; id. 6, § 48; id. 15, § 128.

<sup>2</sup> Greg. Naz. Ep. ad Cæsar. i. Credner, Beitr. i. 353, 359.

<sup>3</sup> Some have argued that the Acts, the Preaching, the Doctrine and the Apocalypse of Peter, the Preaching and Acts of Paul, and the Preaching of Peter and Paul, were only different recensions of the same work. It is perhaps nearer the truth to say that they were all built on a common oral tradition. The variety of titles and forms is in itself a conclusive argument against their general and public reception. Cf. Reuss, § 253.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. pp. 444 sq.

<sup>5</sup> Orig. de Princ. Pref. 8; cf. Comm. in John xiii. 17. Euseb. H. E. iii. 3.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. p. 243.



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the Epistle of Barnabas<sup>1</sup>. But the book was rejected by Eusebius<sup>2</sup>, and, I believe, by every later writer.

Peculiarities  
of some MSS.  
of the New  
Testament.

Mention has been made already of the insertion of the two Epistles of Clement in the Alexandrine MS. Two other MSS. contain notices of Apocryphal writings which are curious, though they are not of importance. At the end of the *Codex Boernerianus* (G.) a MS. of the ninth century, which contains the thirteen Epistles of St Paul with some lacunæ, after a vacant space occur the words: 'The Epistle to Laodiceans begins [*προς λαουδακησας (laodicensis, g.) αρχεται*<sup>3</sup>]. This addition is not found in the *Codex Augiensis* (F.) which was derived from the same original as (G.), nor is there any trace of the Epistle itself. Haimo of Halberstadt, in the ninth century, mentions the Latin cento of Pauline phrases, which now bears the title, 'as useful, though not Canonical<sup>4</sup>,' and the inscription in (G.) probably refers to the same compilation.

*Cod. Boerner.**Cod. Claromont.*

In the *Codex Claromontanus*, (D.) again, after the Epistle to Philemon, occurs a Stichometry of the books of the Old and New Testament, obviously imperfect and corrupt, and then follows, after a vacant space, the Epistle to the Hebrews. This Stichometry omits the Epistles to the Philippians, to the Thessalonians (i. ii.), and to the Hebrews; and after mentioning the Epistle to Jude thus concludes: 'the Epistle of Barnabas, the Apocalypse of John, the Acts of the Apostles, the Shepherd, the Acts of Paul, the Revelation of Peter<sup>5</sup>.' But Stichometries are no more than tables of contents; and both the contents and the arrangement of the different books in a MS. may have been influenced by many causes.

<sup>1</sup> Euseb. H. E. vi. 14.<sup>2</sup> Ib. iii. 23.<sup>3</sup> Tischdf. N. T. p. 687.<sup>4</sup> Reuss, § 271.<sup>5</sup> Tischdf. Cod. Clarom. p. 468. Prolegg. xi. Cf. App. D.

## APPENDIX C.

### THE MURATORIAN FRAGMENT ON THE CANON.

FOR a long time after the first publication of the frag- APPENDIX  
C.  
ment on the Canon by Muratori, his edition was the only authority for the text, but during the last few years three independent collations of the original MS. have been made<sup>1</sup>, which fully confirm his judgment on 'the unskilfulness of the transcribers' by which it has been defaced, and, though slightly inconsistent, leave nothing more to be gained by a fresh examination of its marvellous blunders. It is, perhaps, impossible to restore the true text by the help of a single corrupt MS.; and I have accordingly given the fragment as it stands in the MS. on one page<sup>2</sup>, and on the opposite side I have introduced those emendations which seem tolerably certain, and marked such passages as seem to me to have received no satisfactory explanation.

<sup>1</sup> The first by Mr G. F. Nott (N), used partially by Dr Routh in the second edition of his *Reliquiae*, i. 403 ff; the second by Prof. F. Wieseler, published by his brother, Prof. K. Wieseler (W), in the *Studien und Kritiken*, 1847, pp. 816 ff.; the third by D. Hertz (H), published by Chev. Bunsen in his *Analecta Ante-Nicæna*, i. pp. 137 sqq. Credner (*Zur Gesch. d. K.* s. 73) simply reproduced the text of Muratori (M).

<sup>2</sup> I have marked the lines of the original MS. and printed in *Italic capitals* the words which are written in red ink. The fragment is written in capitals and without stops, except in the few cases in which they are inserted; but both in respect of these stops and of several other small points the careful collations of Wieseler and Hertz do not agree. Even Bunsen (B) differs from Hertz, I suppose, by inadvertence.

## I.

quibus<sup>1</sup> tamen interfuit et ita posuit | *TERTIO EVAN-*  
*GELII LIBRUM SECUNDO LUCAN*<sup>2</sup> | Lucas iste medicus  
 post ascensum  $\overline{\chi\rho\iota}$ . | cum eo Paulus quasi ut juris  
 5 studiosum | secundum adsumsisset numeni suo | ex opi-  
 nione concribset<sup>3</sup>  $\overline{\text{Dm}}$ n tamen nec ipse | vidit in carne et  
 ide<sup>4</sup> prout asequi potuit. | ita et ab<sup>4</sup> nativitate Johannis  
 incipet dicere. | *QUARTI EVANGELIORUM JOHANNIS XI*  
 10 *DECIPOLIS*<sup>5</sup> | Cohortantibus condecipulis<sup>6</sup> et  $\overline{\text{eps}}$  suis |  
 dixit conjejunate mihi<sup>7</sup>. odie triduo et quid | cuique  
 fuerit revelatum alterutrum | nobis ennarremus eadem  
 nocte reve | latum Andreæ ex apostolis ut recognis |  
 15 centibus cuntis Johannis suo nomine | cuncta describeret  
 et ideo licit<sup>8</sup> varia | singulis evangeliorum libris<sup>9</sup> prin-  
 cipia | doceantur nihil tamen differt creden | tium fidei  
 20 cum uno ac principali  $\overline{\text{spu}}$  de | clarata sint in omnibus  
 omnia de nativi | tate de passione de resurrectione | de  
 conversatione cum decipulis suis | ac<sup>10</sup> de gemino ejus  
 25 adventu<sup>11</sup> | primo in humilitate dispectus quod fo. | se-  
 cundum<sup>12</sup> potestate<sup>13</sup> regali pre | clarum quod foturum  
 est. quid ergo | mirum si Johannes tam constanter |  
 sincula<sup>14</sup> etiam in epistulis suis proferam<sup>15</sup> | dicens in  
 30 semetipsu<sup>16</sup> quæ vidimus oculis | nostris et auribus

<sup>1</sup> Das Fragment fängt nach einer längern Lücke etwa mitten auf der Seite an (W).

<sup>2</sup> *Lucan*, H. *Lucam*, M. W.

<sup>3</sup> *Concribset*, W. N. ; *conscribset et concriisset*, M. (Routh, p. 405); *concricset* (!) H. ; *concriset*, B.

<sup>4</sup> *ad*, H. ; *ab*, W. ; *a*, M. Cf. vv. 38, 47.

<sup>5</sup> *decipulis*, W.

<sup>6</sup> *condescipulis*, H.

<sup>7</sup> om. W.

<sup>8</sup> W. — *licit*, H.

<sup>9</sup> om. *libris*, W.

<sup>10</sup> *et*, M. B. ; *ac*, W. H.

<sup>11</sup> Spatium undecim fere litterarum vacuum manet, H.

<sup>12</sup> *Fore*, N. H. ? W. ? litteræ in init. lin. fere evanidæ, H.

<sup>13</sup> Duæ vel tres litteræ, h. l. (ante *præcl.* W.) erasæ, H.

<sup>14</sup> H. — *singula*, W. B.

<sup>15</sup> *proferat*, M. W.

<sup>16</sup> *inæmeipsu*, W.

## II.

APPENDIX  
C.

...quibus tamen<sup>a</sup> interfuit [et] ita<sup>b</sup> posuit. Tertium Evangelii librum secundum Lucam Lucas iste medicus post ascensum Christi, cum eum Paulus quasi tut juris studiosum<sup>c</sup> secum<sup>d</sup> adsumsisset nomine suo ex ordine<sup>e</sup> conscripsit (Dominum tamen nec ipse vidit in carne); et idem<sup>f</sup> prout assequi potuit, ita et a nativitate Johannis incepit<sup>g</sup> dicere. Quartum Evangeliorum Johannis<sup>h</sup> ex discipulis. Cohortantibus<sup>i</sup> condiscipulis et episcopis suis, dixit: Conjejunate mihi hodie triduum, et quid cuique<sup>k</sup> fuerit revelatum alterutrum nobis enarremus. Eadem nocte revelatum Andreæ ex apostolis, ut recognoscentibus cunctis, Johannes suo nomine cuncta describeret—Et ideo licet varia<sup>l</sup> singulis evangeliorum libris principia doceantur nihil tamen differt credentium fidei<sup>m</sup>, cum uno ac principali spiritu declarata sint in omnibus omnia de [domini] nativitate, de passione, de resurrectione, de conversatione<sup>n</sup> cum discipulis suis<sup>o</sup>, ac de gemino ejus adventu<sup>p</sup>..... primum in humilitate despectûs, quod fuit, secundum potestate regali præclarum, quod futurum est<sup>p</sup>—Quid ergo mirum si Johannes tam constanter<sup>q</sup> singula etiam in epistolis suis<sup>r</sup> proferat dicens in semetipso<sup>s</sup>: *quæ vidimus oculis nostris, et auribus audivimus, et manus*

<sup>a</sup> + ipse non, B.<sup>b</sup> ita et, B.<sup>c</sup> *Itineris socium*, B. *Ut stare non potest: et*, R. An Legendum *virtutis studiosum?*<sup>d</sup> *Secum*. Cf. Act. xv. 37, R.<sup>e</sup> Luc. i. 3.<sup>f</sup> *Ideo*, B.<sup>g</sup> All. *incipit*.<sup>h</sup> *Johannes*, sc. conscripsit, W.<sup>i</sup> + is, R. B.<sup>k</sup> An *quodcumque?*<sup>l</sup> + a, B. male.<sup>m</sup> *fides*, Fr. W.<sup>n</sup> + *Domini*, R. B.<sup>o</sup> = *suis*, C. male.<sup>p</sup> B. *primo—despecto*; *Despectum* (v. *despectui*) *quod foret*, R.; *Primo—quod ratum est*, C.; *secundo—præclaro*, R. C. B. *Primus—dispectus—secundus—præclarus—quod futurus*, W.<sup>q</sup> B. *instante*.<sup>r</sup> B. *epistola sua*.<sup>s</sup> B. *semetipsum*.

APPENDIX  
C.

audivimus et manus | nostræ palpaverunt hæc scripsimus<sup>1</sup>,  
 sic enim non solum visurem sed et auditorem | sed et  
 scriptorem omnium mirabilium dñs<sup>2</sup> per ordi | non  
 35 profetetur<sup>1</sup> Acta autem omnium apostolorum | sub uno  
 libro scribta sunt Lucas obtime Theofi | le<sup>3</sup> conprindit  
 quia sub præsentia ejus singula | gerebantur sicut<sup>4</sup> et  
 semote passionem Petri | evidenter declarat sed et<sup>5</sup> pro-  
 fectionem Pauli ab<sup>6</sup> ur | be<sup>7</sup> ad Spaniam proficescentis  
 40 Epistulæ autem | Pauli quæ a quo loco vel qua ex caus  
 directe | sint volentibus<sup>8</sup> intellegere ipse declarat<sup>9</sup>;  
 primum omnium Corintheis scysme heresis in | terdi-  
 cens deinceps<sup>10</sup> Callætis circumcissione | Romanis autem  
 45 ordine<sup>11</sup> scripturarum sed et<sup>12</sup> | principium earum<sup>13</sup> esse  
 χρστ<sup>14</sup> intimans<sup>15</sup> | prolexius scripsit de quibus sincolis  
 neces | se est ab<sup>16</sup> nobis desputari cum ipse beatus  
 apostolus Paulus sequens prodecessoris<sup>17</sup> sui | Johannis  
 50 ordinem nonnisi nomenatim sempte | ecclesiis scribat  
 ordine tali acorenthios | prima ad Efesius<sup>18</sup> secunda ad  
 Philippinses<sup>19</sup> ter | tia ad Colosensis<sup>20</sup> quarta ad Calatas  
 quin | ta ad Tensaolenecinsis sexta<sup>21</sup> ad Romanus<sup>22</sup> | sep-  
 55 tima verum Corenthois et Thesaolecen | sibus<sup>23</sup> licet pro  
 correptione iteretur una | tamen per omnem orbem  
 terræ ecclesia | deffusa esse denoscitur et Johannis enim

<sup>1</sup> W. Incipit pag. b. H.<sup>2</sup> s atramento maculatus sed satis bene dignoscendus, H.<sup>3</sup> *Theophile*, W.<sup>4</sup> *sicuti*, W. *sicute* (?) H.<sup>5</sup> om. et, W.<sup>6</sup> ad in rasurâ, H.<sup>7</sup> MS. *urbes*, s. *eraso*, H.<sup>8</sup> MS. *voluntatibus* in *volentibus* correctum, H.<sup>9</sup> . B. <sup>10</sup> H. Cf. W.<sup>11</sup> Ex *ornidine* corr.<sup>12</sup> et corr. in ras. H. später geschrieben, W.<sup>13</sup> Tres litteræ (*sed* ?) h. l. *erasæ*, H.<sup>14</sup> *XPM*. B.<sup>15</sup> Quatuor fere litt. spat. vacuum relictum, H.<sup>16</sup> ad, H.<sup>17</sup> *predecessoris*, W. *prodecessuris* ut vid. H.<sup>18</sup> *Efesios*, W.<sup>19</sup> *Philippensis* corr. H.<sup>20</sup> *Colosenses*, W.<sup>21</sup> . W.<sup>22</sup> us videtur potius quam *os*, H. *Romanos*, W.<sup>23</sup> H.—*Tensaolecensibus* ursprünglich *Tesaolecensibus*, W.

*nostræ palpaverunt, hæc scripsimus?* Sic enim non solum visorem [se], sed<sup>a</sup> et auditorem, sed et scriptorem omnium mirabilium domini per ordinem profitetur. APPENDIX  
C.

- 35 Acta autem omnium apostolorum sub uno libro scripta sunt<sup>b</sup>. Lucas optime Theophilo comprehendit, quia<sup>c</sup> sub præsentia ejus singula gerebantur, sicut et semota<sup>d</sup> passione Petri evidenter declarat, sed et profectio Pauli ab urbe ad Spaniam proficiscentis<sup>e</sup>. Epistolæ
- 40 autem Pauli, quæ, a quo loco, vel qua ex causa directæ sint, volentibus intelligere ipsæ declarant<sup>f</sup>. Primum omnium Corinthiis schisma hæresis interdicens, deinceps Galatis circumcisionem, Romanis autem ordinem scrip-
- 45 turarum, sed et principium earum esse Christum intimans<sup>g</sup>, prolixius scripsit; de quibus singulis<sup>h</sup> necesse est a nobis disputari, cum<sup>i</sup> ipse beatus apostolus Paulus, sequens prædecessoris sui Johannis ordinem, nonnisi
- 50 nominatim septem ecclesiis scribat ordine tali: ad Corinthios prima<sup>k</sup>, ad Ephesios secunda, ad Philippenses tertia, ad Colossenses quarta, ad Galatas quinta, ad Thessalonicenses sexta, ad Romanos septima. Verum
- 55 Corinthiis et Thessalonicensibus licet<sup>l</sup> pro correptione iteretur<sup>m</sup>, una tamen per omnem orbem terræ ecclesia diffusa esse dignoscitur; et Johannes enim in Apocalypsi, licet septem ecclesiis scribat, tamen omnibus dicit.
- 60 Verum ad Philemonem unam<sup>n</sup> et ad Titum unam, et ad Timotheum duas pro affectu et dilectione; in honorem<sup>o</sup> tamen ecclesiæ catholicæ in ordinatione<sup>p</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *se*, R. B. C. Ut nos, W.

<sup>b</sup> = sunt. B. et in seqq. *optimo* (C. W.), *quoad...Optime ea*, R.

<sup>c</sup> *quæ*, C. W.

<sup>d</sup> *deesse non modo*, B. *Remota...declarant*, R. *Semota...declarant*,

C. *Passionem...profectionem*, R. C. B. W. *Semote*, W.

<sup>e</sup> + *omittit*, W.

<sup>f</sup> R. B. *ipse declarat*.

<sup>g</sup> + *Paulus*, W.

<sup>h</sup> + *non*, B.

<sup>i</sup> *cur*, B.

<sup>k</sup> *primam*, &c., B. fortasse rectius. *primo*, &c., R.

<sup>l</sup> *scilicet*, C.

<sup>m</sup> *iteratur*, W.

<sup>n</sup> *una...duæ*, B. All.

<sup>o</sup> *honore*, C.

<sup>p</sup> *ordinationem*, B.

APPENDIX  
C.

in a | pocalebsy licet septem eccleseis scribat | tamen  
 60 omnibus dicit verum ad Filemonem<sup>1</sup> una<sup>2</sup> | et attitu  
 una et ad Tymotheum duas pro affec | to et dilectione  
 in honore tamen ecclesiae ca | tholice in ordinatione  
 ecclesiastica<sup>3</sup> | descepline scificate sunt fertur etiam ad |  
 65 Laudecenses alia ad Alexandrinos Pauli no | mine  
 fincte<sup>4</sup> ad heresem Marcionis et alia plu | ra quæ in  
 catholicam ecclesiam<sup>5</sup> recepi non | potest fel enim cum  
 melle misceri non con | cruit<sup>6</sup> epistola sane Jude et  
 superscriptio Johannis duas in catholica habentur et  
 70 sapi | entia ab amicis Salomonis in honorem ipsius | scripta  
 apocalapse etiam Johannis et Pe | tri tantum recipimus<sup>7</sup>  
 quam quidam ex nos | tris legi in ecclesia<sup>8</sup> nolunt pæ  
 torem vero | nuperrim e<sup>9</sup> temporibus nostris in urbe |  
 75 Roma Herma conscripsit sedente cathe | tra urbis  
 Romæ aeclesiae<sup>10</sup> pio eps fratre | ejus et ideo legi eum  
 quidem oportet se pu | plicare vero in ecclesia<sup>8</sup> populo  
 neque inter | profetas<sup>11</sup> completum numero neque inter |  
 80 apostolos in finem temporum potest<sup>12</sup>. | Arsinoi autem  
 seu Valentini vel Mitiadis<sup>13</sup> | nihil in totum recipemus<sup>14</sup>  
 qui etiam novum | psalmorum librum Marcioni con  
 85 scripse | runt una cum Basilido assianum catafry | cum  
 constitutorem

<sup>1</sup> *Philemonem*, W.<sup>2</sup> *una'*, H. *una*, B.<sup>3</sup> In fin. lin. et pag. sex fere litt. spat. vacuum relictum, H.<sup>4</sup> *finctæ*, W.<sup>5</sup> *ecclesiam*, W. Cf. vv. 73, 76.<sup>6</sup> *congruit*, W.<sup>7</sup> *recipimus*: i ex e corr. H.<sup>8</sup> *ecclesia*, W.<sup>9</sup> *et*: t erasum, H.<sup>10</sup> *aecclésiæ*, W.<sup>11</sup> *profetas*, W. *profestas*: s in litura, H.<sup>12</sup> In fin. lin. spat. quinque litt. vacuum relictum, H.<sup>13</sup> Mihi videtur *mitiadis* correctum ex *motiaces*, H. *Valentini*, B.<sup>14</sup> *recipimus*, W.

ecclesiasticæ disciplinæ sanctificatæ sunt. Fertur etiam APPENDIX  
C.  
 65 ad Laodicenses<sup>a</sup>, alia ad Alexandrinos, Pauli nomine  
 fictæ ad hæresem<sup>b</sup> Marcionis, et alia plura quæ in  
 catholicam ecclesiam recipi non potest<sup>c</sup>: fel enim cum  
 melle misceri non congruit. Epistola sane Judæ et  
 superscripti<sup>d</sup> Johannis duæ in catholicis<sup>e</sup> habentur;  
 70 †et<sup>f</sup> sapientia ab amicis Salomonis in honorem ipsius  
 scripta. Apocalypses etiam Johannis<sup>g</sup> et Petri tantum  
 recipimus, quam quidam ex nostris legi in ecclesia  
 nolunt. Pastorem vero nuperrime temporibus nostris  
 75 in urbe Roma Hermas<sup>h</sup> conscripsit, sedente<sup>i</sup> cathedra  
 urbis Romæ ecclesiæ Pio episcopo fratre ejus; et ideo  
 legi eum quidem oportet, se publicare<sup>k</sup> vero in ecclesia  
 populo, neque inter prophetas, completo<sup>l</sup> numero, neque  
 80 inter apostolos, in finem temporum potest. Arsinoei<sup>m</sup>  
 autem seu Valentini, vel †Miltiadis<sup>n</sup> nihil in totum  
 recipimus. Qui<sup>o</sup> etiam novum psalmorum librum  
 Marcioni<sup>p</sup> conscripserunt, una cum Basilide, [et] Asi-  
 85 anûm Cataphrygum<sup>q</sup> constitutorem...

<sup>a</sup> + alia, R.<sup>b</sup> hæresim ? R.<sup>c</sup> possunt, W.<sup>d</sup> supra scripti, B. superscriptæ, C.<sup>e</sup> Catholicis, B. Catholica, cæteri.<sup>f</sup> ut, C. W.<sup>g</sup> Apocalypsis etiam Johannis. Et Petri...quem...(W.)<sup>h</sup> Herma, C.<sup>i</sup> + in, R? B.<sup>k</sup> sed publicari, R. B.<sup>l</sup> completo, B. completos, R. C. W.<sup>m</sup> Arsinoi, B. Arsinoetum, R. Arsinoi, C. W.<sup>n</sup> vel Milt. transp. post Basilide, B. qui legit in seqq. conscripsit, Asiani, constitutoris.<sup>o</sup> quin, C.<sup>p</sup> Marciani, C. fortasse rectius.<sup>q</sup> Asianorum Cataphrygum, R. W. qui + rejicimus.



APPENDIX  
C.

As I have already given (pp. 238 sqq.) a general view of what I believe to be the purpose and connexion of the fragment, little need be added here except to justify the few changes which I have introduced into the text.

- v. 1. *tamen* and *et* cannot stand together. Bunsen's transposition removes the difficulty in part, but the *et* seems to have arisen from the repetition of the final or initial *it*. The reference is evidently to Papias' account: Euseb. H. E. iii. 39.
4. *quasi ut juris*. Though I believe that this is corrupt, Routh's note is worthy of attention.
8. *inceptit. ἤρξατο*.
- 16—26. *Et ideo...futurum est*. This passage comes in very abruptly, and it is not easy to see the exact force of *ideo* and *ergo* in the next clause. In addition to this there is a lacuna in v. 23, which points to some compression of the original text.
29. The quotation (i. John i. 1) is not verbal, but the word *palpaverunt* for *contrectaverunt* (*trectaverunt, tentaverunt*) is to be noticed. *Palpare* occurs as the translation of  $\psi\eta\lambda\alpha\phi\acute{\alpha}\nu$ , Luc. xxiv. 39; but Tertullian twice quotes the present verse with the Vulg. rendering.
61. Sub. *scripsit*. *Tamen* in the next clause requires some such distinct opposition.
69. Dr Tregelles has an interesting paper on this passage, *Journal of Classical and Sacred Philology*, iv. April, 1855; but I believe that the text is hopelessly corrupt.

## APPENDIX D.

### THE CHIEF CATALOGUES OF THE BOOKS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT DURING THE FIRST EIGHT CENTURIES.

	No.	APPENDIX D.
A. Catalogues ratified by Conciliar authority :		
1. The Laodicene Catalogue .....	i.	<hr/>
2. The Carthaginian Catalogues; and .....	ii.	
3. The Apostolic Catalogue: both ratified at the Quinisextine Council, Can. 2. ....	iii.	
B. Catalogues proceeding from the Eastern Church:		
1. Syria.		
Junilius .....	iv.	
Johannes Damascenus .....	v.	
Ebed Jesu .....	vi.	
2. Palestine.		
Eusebius.....	vii.	
Cyril of Jerusalem.....	viii.	
Epiphanius.....	ix.	
3. Alexandria.		
Origen .....	x.	
Athanasius.....	xi.	
4. Asia Minor.		
Gregory of Nazianzus. ....	xii.	
Amphilochius.....	xiii.	
5. Constantinople.		
Chrysostom. Synopsis .....	xiv.	
Leontius. ....	xv.	
Nicephorus .....	xvi.	

## 566 CATALOGUES OF BOOKS OF NEW TESTAMENT

APPENDIX  
D.

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### C. Catalogues proceeding from the Western Church :

#### 1. Africa.

Stich. ap. Cod. Clarom.....	xvi.
Augustine. ....	xvii.

#### 2. Italy.

Muratorian Canon .....	xviii.
Philastrius .....	xix.
Jerome.....	xx.
Rufinus .....	xxi.
Innocent.....	xxii.
[Gelasius].....	xxiii.
Cassiodorus. ....	xxiv.

#### 3. Spain.

Isidoro. ....	xxv.
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### I.

CONCILIUM  
LAODICE-  
NUM<sup>1</sup>.  
363 A.C.

*Can. LIX.*<sup>2</sup> (Cf. Bickell, *Stud. u. Krit.* iii. ss. 611 ff.; supr. pp. 498 sqq.)

νθ'. "Ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ἰδιωτικῶν ψαλμοὺς λέγεσθαι ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, οὐδὲ ἀκανόνιστα βιβλία, ἀλλὰ μόνα τὰ κανονικὰ τῆς καινῆς καὶ παλαιᾶς<sup>3</sup> διαθήκης. Ὅσα δὲ βιβλία

*Idem Latine*<sup>1</sup>. (VERS. ISIDOR.<sup>2</sup>)

*Can. LIX. Non oportet ab idiotis psalmos compositos et vulgares in ecclesiis dici, neque libros qui sunt extra canonem legere, nisi solos canonicos novi et veteris testamenti.*

<sup>1</sup> *Idem Canon, nisi quod Baruch, Lamentationes et Epistola omittuntur, habetur in Capitular. Aquisgran. c. xx. (Labbé, xiii. App. 161, ed. Flor. 1767), hoc titulo præposito: De libris Canonicis. Sacerdotibus. Lectt. varr. littera A notavi.*

<sup>2</sup> *E cod. Bibl. Univ. Cant. EE. iv. 29. Coll. cod. Arund. 533 Mus. Brit. (Ar.)*

<sup>3</sup> *Ar. τῆς π. καὶ κ.*

<sup>1</sup> *E cod. reg. Mus. Brit. II. D. iv.*

<sup>2</sup> *Dionys. Exig. hæc tantum habet: Non oportet plebeios psalmos in ecclesia cantari, nec libros præter canonem legi, sed sola sacra volumina novi testamenti vel veteris. Cui consentt. intt. Synt. Codd. Mus. Brit. 14, 526, 14, 528, 14, 529.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ecclesia Bick. dici in ecclesiis A.*

ἀναγινώσκεσθαι<sup>1</sup> παλαιᾶς δια-  
θήκης· α' Γένεσις, κόσμου,  
κ. τ. λ.... καινῆς διαθήκης<sup>2</sup>.  
εὐαγγέλια δ', κατὰ Ματθαῖον,  
κατὰ Μάρκον, κατὰ Λουκᾶν,  
κατὰ Ἰωάννην· πράξεις ἀπο-  
στόλων· ἐπιστολαὶ καθολικαὶ  
ἐπτὰ· οὕτως<sup>3</sup>. Ἰακώβον α'.  
Πέτρον α'. β'. Ἰωάννον α'. β'.  
γ'<sup>4</sup>. Ἰούδα α'. ἐπιστολαὶ  
Παύλου ιδ'<sup>5</sup>. πρὸς Ῥωμαίους  
α'. πρὸς Κορινθίους α'. β'.  
πρὸς Γαλάτας α'. πρὸς Ἐφε-  
σίους α'. πρὸς Φιλιππησίους  
α'. πρὸς Κολασσαεῖς α'. πρὸς  
Θεσσαλονικεῖς α'. β'. πρὸς  
Ἑβραίους α'. πρὸς Τιμόθεον  
α'. β'. πρὸς Τίτον α'. πρὸς  
Φιλήμονα α'.

<sup>1</sup> Ag. all. + τῆς.

<sup>2</sup> Bick. all. τὰ δὲ τῆς κ. δ.  
ταῦτα. τῆς δὲ κ. δ. ταῦτα. Ag.

<sup>3</sup> Bev. = οὕτως. Ag. = ἐ. οὐ.

<sup>4</sup> Cod. Cant. α'. β'. Ag. γ.

<sup>5</sup> Bick. + οὕτως.

<sup>6</sup> Bev. Ag. + καί.

Quæ autem oporteat legi **APPENDIX**  
et in auctoritatem recipi hæc<sup>1</sup> **D.**  
sunt: Genesis...Novi Testa-  
menti: Evangelium secun-  
dum Matthæum, secundum  
Marcum, secundum Lucam,  
secundum Johannem. Actus  
Apostolorum. Epistolæ Ca-  
nonicæ<sup>2</sup> septem: Jacobi  
una<sup>3</sup>; Petri duæ, i. et ii.<sup>4</sup>;  
Joannis tres, i. et ii. et iii.<sup>5</sup>;  
Judæ una. Epistolæ Pauli  
numero<sup>6</sup> xiv.: ad Romanos<sup>7</sup>;  
ad Corinthios duæ<sup>8</sup>, i. et ii.;  
ad Galatas; ad Ephesios;  
ad Philippenses; ad Colos-  
senses; ad Thessalonicenses  
duæ<sup>9</sup>, i. et ii.; ad Timo-  
theum duæ, i. et ii.; ad  
Titum; ad Philemonem; ad  
Hebræos<sup>9</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Cod. hæ.

<sup>2</sup> All. et A. *Evangelia quatuor.*

<sup>3</sup> All. *Catholicæ. A. Catholicæ*  
*epistola.*

<sup>4</sup> *Petri ii. Jac. i. A.*

<sup>5</sup> All. = *prima et sec.—pr. et*  
*sec. et tert.*

<sup>6</sup> All. et A. = *numero.*

<sup>7</sup> Cod. + *et.*

<sup>8</sup> All. = *duæ.*

<sup>9</sup> Coll. Theod. et MS. Dis-  
sensus ap. Amort. + *Apocalypsis*  
*Johannis.* Cf. Spittler, p. 107.

APPENDIX  
D.

CONCILIUM  
CARTHAGI-  
NENSE,  
iii. m.<sup>1</sup>  
397 A.C.

## II.

*Can. 39, (ita B. C. Can. 47.  
Labbé, ii. 1177. Cf.  
supr. pp. 508 seqq.)*

Item placuit ut præter  
Scripturas canonicas, nihil  
in ecclesia legatur sub nomi-  
ne divinarum Scripturarum.  
Sunt autem Canonicæ Scrip-  
turæ hæ<sup>2</sup>: Genesis...Novi  
autem Testamenti, evangeli-  
orum libri quatuor, Actuum  
Apostolorum liber unus,  
Epistolæ Pauli Apostoli<sup>3</sup>  
xiii., ejusdem ad Hebræos  
una, Petri apostoli duæ, Jo-  
hannis<sup>4</sup> tres, Jacobi i., Judæ  
i.<sup>5</sup>, Apocalypsis Johannis li-  
ber unus<sup>6</sup>. Hoc etiam fratri  
et consacerdoti<sup>7</sup> nostro Bo-  
nifacio, vel aliis earum par-  
tium Episcopis, pro confir-

<sup>1</sup> E cod. Coll. SS. Trin.  
Cant. B. xiv. 44, sæc. xii. in quo  
ordo canonum hic est: i.-xxxvii.  
xlix. xlvii. xlviii. (*Placuit—mi-  
nistri*), xlvi. (*Quibus—fin.*) +  
xxxviii. &c. Collatis Codd.  
Mus. Brit. (B) Cott. Claud. D.  
9, sæc. xi.; (C) Reg. 9, B. xii.

<sup>2</sup> Labbé = hæ.

<sup>3</sup> c. B. C.—L. *Pauli ap. ep.*

<sup>4</sup> L. + *apostoli* = B. C.

<sup>5</sup> L. *Judæ apostoli una et Jac.  
una.*

<sup>6</sup> L. 'Quidam vetustus codex  
sic habet: De confirmando isto  
canone transmarina ecclesia con-  
sulatur.'

<sup>7</sup> B. *coepiscopo.*

*Idem Græce<sup>1</sup>:*

ὥστε ἐκτὸς τῶν καθολικῶν  
γραφῶν μηδὲν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλη-  
σίᾳ ἀναγινώσκεσθαι. Ὁμοίως  
ἐκτὸς τῶν<sup>2</sup> κανονικῶν γραφῶν  
μηδὲν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀναγι-  
νώσκηται ἐπ' ὀνόματι τῶν  
θείων γραφῶν· εἰσὶ δὲ κανον-  
καὶ<sup>3</sup> γραφαὶ γένεσις· κ. τ. λ.  
τῆς νέας διαθήκης. Εὐαγγέ-  
λια δ'· πράξεων τῶν ἀποστό-  
λων βίβλος μία· ἐπιστολαὶ  
Παύλου δεκατέσσαρες· Πέ-  
τρου ἀποστόλου δύο· Ἰουῶ  
ἀποστόλου α'. Ἰωάννου ἀπο-  
στόλου γ'. Ἰακώβου ἀπο-  
στόλου μία· ἀποκάλυψις  
Ἰωάννου βίβλος μία· τοῦτο<sup>4</sup>  
δὲ τῶ<sup>5</sup> ἀδελφῶ καὶ συλλει-  
τουργῶ ἡμῶν Βονιφατίῳ καὶ  
τοῖς ἄλλοις τῶν αὐτῶν μερῶν  
ἐπισκόποις πρὸς Βεβαίῳσιν

<sup>1</sup> E cod. Bibl. Univ. Cant.  
EE. iv. 29. Huic canonis neque  
numerus præfigitur neque miniatæ  
litteræ; in serie autem est xxiv<sup>m</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Bev. = τῶν.

<sup>3</sup> Bev. + αὶ.

<sup>4</sup> Cod. male τούτω.

<sup>5</sup> Bev. = τῶ.

<sup>6</sup> Cod. add. τούτεστι duar.  
locutt. cominixt.

mando isto canone innotescat, quia a patribus ista accepimus in ecclesia legenda<sup>1</sup>. Liceat autem<sup>2</sup> legi passionum martyrum cum anniversariis eorum dies celebrantur<sup>3</sup>.

τοῦ προκειμένου κανόνος γνω-  
ρισθῆ, ἐπειδὴ παρὰ τῶν πα-  
τέρων ταῦτα ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ  
ἀναγνωστέα παρελάβομεν.

APPENDIX  
D.

<sup>1</sup> C. agenda vitiose.

<sup>2</sup> C. etiam.

<sup>3</sup> B. dies cel. eor. C. dies eor. celebr.

### III.

Can. LXXVI. (all. LXXXV.) (Bunsen, Anal. Ante-Nic. ii. p. 30)<sup>1</sup>: Ἔστω δὲ ὑμῖν πᾶσι κληρικοῖς καὶ λαϊκοῖς βιβλία σεβάσμια καὶ ἅγια· τῆς μὲν παλαιᾶς διαθήκης... ἡμέτερα δέ, τουτέστι τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης, εὐαγγέλια τέσσαρα<sup>2</sup>, Ματθαίου, Μάρκου, Λουκᾶ, Ἰωάννου· Παύλου ἐπιστολαὶ δεκατέσσαρες· Πέτρου ἐπιστολαὶ δύο· Ἰωάννου τρεῖς· Ἰακώβου μία· Ἰούδα μία<sup>3</sup>. Κλήμεντος ἐπιστολαὶ<sup>4</sup> δύο, καὶ αἱ διαταγαὶ ὑμῖν<sup>5</sup> τοῖς ἐπισκόποις δι' ἐμοῦ Κλήμεντος ἐν ὀκτῶ βιβλίοις προσπεφωνημένοι, ὡς οὐ χρὴ δημοσιεύειν ἐπὶ πάντων, διὰ τὰ ἐν αὐταῖς μυστικά· καὶ αἱ πράξεις ἡμῶν τῶν ἀποστόλων.

CAK. APOST.

### IV.

*De partibus divinæ legis*<sup>6</sup>, Lib. i. c. 2, (Gallandi, xii. 79 seqq.) Species [scripturæ]... aut historica est, aut prophetica, aut proverbialis, aut simpliciter docens.

JUBILUS,  
Ep. Afric.  
c. 550 A.C.

<sup>1</sup> Hic Catal. integer exstat in Codd. Syrr. (Mus. Brit.) 14, 526, 14, 527, sæc. vi. vel vii.; non autem in MS. Arab. 7207. Dion. Exig. Canones tantum L. vertit.

<sup>2</sup> Syr. + quæ antea memoravimus.

<sup>3</sup> I. μ. om. cod. Bodl. ap. Bev. (Ueltzen.)

<sup>4</sup> Syr. duæ epp. meæ Clementis.

<sup>5</sup> Bunsen ὑμῶν! err. typ.

<sup>6</sup> Ad Primasium Episcopum (c. 553 A. C.) Pref. ... [vidi] quendam Paullum nomine, Persam genere, qui in Syrorum schola in Nisibi urbe est edoctus, ubi divina lex per magistros publicos, sicut apud nos in mundanis studiis Grammatica et Rhetorica, ordine ac regulariter traditur... ejus... regulas quasdam... in duos brevissimos libellos... collegi...

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- APPENDIX C. 3. *De historia... Discipulus.* In quibus libris divina continetur historia? *Magister.* In septemdecim. Gen. i., Exod. i., Levit. i., Num. i., Deuter. i., Jesu Nave i., Judicum i., Ruth i., Regum, secundum nos iv., secundum Hebræos ii., Evangeliorum iv., secundum Matthæum, secundum Marcum, secundum Lucam, secundum Joannem, Actuum Apostolorum i. *D.* Nulli alii Libri ad divinam Historiam pertinent? *M.* Adjungunt plures: Paralipomenon ii., Tob. i., Esdræ ii., Judith i., Hester i., Maccab. ii. ....
- c. 4. *De Prophetia... D.* In quibus libris prophetia suscipitur? *M.* In septemdecim. Psalmorum cl. lib. i., Osæ lib. i., Esaïæ lib. i., Joel lib. i., Amos lib. i., Abdie lib. i., Jonæ lib. i., Michææ lib. i., Naum. lib. i., Sophoniæ lib. i., Habacuc lib. i., Jeremiæ lib. i., Ezechiel lib. i., Malachiæ lib. i. Cæterum de Joannis Apocalypsi apud orientales admodum dubitatur. ....
- c. 5. *De proverbiiis.*
- c. 6. *De simplici doctrina... D.* Qui libri ad simplicem doctrinam pertinent? *M.* Canonici sexdecim; id est; Eccles. lib. i.; et Epist. Pauli Apostoli ad Rom. i. ad Corinth. ii. ad Gal. i. ad Ephes. i. ad Philip. i. ad Coloss. i. ad Thessal. ii. ad Timoth. ii. ad Titum i. ad Philem. i. ad Hebr. i. Beati Petri ad gentes i.; et beati Joannis prima. *D.* Nulli alii libri ad simplicem doctrinam pertinent? *M.* Adjungunt quamplurimi quinque alias quæ Apostolorum Canonicæ nuncupantur; id est: Jacobi i. Petri secundam, Judæ unam, Joannis duas. ....
- c. 7. *De auctoritate Scripturarum.* *D.* Quomodo divinorum librorum consideratur auctoritas? *M.* Quia quidam perfectæ auctoritatis sunt, quidam mediæ, quidam nullius. *D.* Qui sunt perfectæ auctoritatis? *M.* Quos canonicos in singulis speciebus absolute numeravimus. *D.* Qui mediæ? *M.* Quos adjungi a plu-

ribus diximus. *D.* Qui nullius auctoritatis sunt? *M.* Reliqui omnes. *D.* In omnibus speciebus hæ differentiæ inveniuntur? *M.* In historia et simplici doctrina<sup>1</sup> omnes; namque in prophetia mediæ auctoritatis libri non præter Apocalypsim reperiuntur; neque in proverbiali specie omnino cessata.

APPENDIX  
D.

V.

*De fide Orthodoxa*, iv. 17<sup>2</sup>. Ἰστέον δὲ ὡς εἴκοσι καὶ δύο βίβλοι εἰσὶ τῆς παλαιᾶς διαθήκης κατὰ τὰ στοιχεῖα τῆς Ἑβραϊδος φωνῆς.....τῆς δὲ νέας διαθήκης εὐαγγέλια<sup>3</sup> τέσσαρα· τὸ<sup>4</sup> κατὰ Ματθαῖον, τὸ κατὰ Μάρκον, τὸ κατὰ Λουκᾶν<sup>5</sup>, τὸ κατὰ Ἰωάννην. Πράξεις τῶν ἀγίων ἀποστόλων διαὶ Λουκᾶ τοῦ εὐαγγελιστοῦ. Καθολικαὶ<sup>6</sup> ἐπιστολαὶ ἑπτὰ· Ἰακώβου μία, Πέτρου<sup>7</sup> δύο, Ἰωάννου τρεῖς, Ἰούδα μία. Παύλου ἀποστόλου ἐπιστολαὶ<sup>8</sup> δεκατέσσαρες. Ἀποκάλυψις<sup>9</sup> Ἰωάννου εὐαγγελιστοῦ. Κανόνες τῶν ἀγίων ἀποστόλων<sup>10</sup> διαὶ Κλήμεντος.

JOANNES  
DAMASCENUS.  
† 750 A.C.

VI.

*Catal. Libr. omn. Ecclesiasticorum* (Assemani, *Bibl. Or.* iii. pp. 3 seqq.)

EBED JESU.  
† 1318 A.C.

Cap. ii. Nunc absoluto veteri

Aggrediamur jam novum *Testamentum*:  
Cujus caput est Matthæus, qui Hebraice  
In Palæstina scripsit.

<sup>1</sup> Gallandii pravum interpunctionem correxi: *doctrina: omnes namque...*

<sup>2</sup> Ex edit. Lequien, Paris, 1713; collata vers. Lat. Joannis Burgundionis (c. 1180 A. C.), civis Pisani, ex codd. Mus. Brit. Reg. 6, B, xii. (α); 5, D, x. (β); add. 15, 407 (γ).

<sup>3</sup> *Evangelistæ* γ.

<sup>4</sup> quod sec. M. &c. β. γ.

<sup>5</sup> τὸ κ. Λ. = β.

<sup>6</sup> *Canonicæ* α. *Catholicæ* β. γ.

<sup>7</sup> + *tertius* punctis suppos. γ.

<sup>8</sup> = *epistolæ* γ. sed man. sec. add.

<sup>9</sup> *Apocalypsis* γ.

<sup>10</sup> R. 2428 καὶ ἐπιστολαὶ δύο διὰ Κλήμεντος, sed interpolatum varie huncce codicem esse monuimus (Leq.)



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### APPENDIX D.

- Post hunc Marcus, qui Romane  
Locutus est in celeberrima Roma :  
Et Lucas, qui Alexandriæ  
Græce dixit scripsitque :  
Et Joannes, qui Ephesi  
Græco sermone exaravit Evangelium.  
Actus quoque Apostolorum,  
Quos Lucas Theophilo inscripsit.  
Tres etiam Epistolæ quæ inscribuntur  
Apostolis in omni codice et lingua,  
Jacobo scilicet et Petro et Joanni ;  
Et Catholicæ nuncupantur.  
Apostoli autem Pauli magni  
Epistolæ quatuordecim<sup>1</sup>.....
- Cap. iii. Evangelium, quod compilavit  
Vir Alexandrinus  
Ammonius, qui, et Tatianus,  
Illudque Diatessaron appellavit.
- Cap. iv. Libri quoque quorum Auctores sunt  
Discipuli Apostolorum.  
Liber Dionysi, &c.

### VII.

EUSEBIUS,  
† 340 A.C.

(H. E. iii. 25.) Cf. supr. pp. 481 seqq.

### VIII.

CYRILLUS,  
Ep. Hierosol.  
349.  
† 386 A.C.

*Catech.* iv. 33 (22 ed. Mill.) περί τῶν θειῶν γραφῶν.  
Φιλομαθῶς ἐπίγνωθι παρά τῆς ἐκκλησίας ποῖαι μὲν εἰσιν αἱ  
τῆς παλαιᾶς διαθήκης βίβλοι, ποῖαι δὲ τῆς καινῆς.....πολύ  
σου φρονιμώτεροι ἦσαν οἱ Ἀπόστολοι καὶ οἱ ἀρχαῖοι ἐπί-  
σκοποι, οἱ τῆς ἐκκλησίας προστάται, οἱ ταύτας παραδόντες·  
σὺ οὖν τέκνον τῆς ἐκκλησίας μὴ παραχάραττε τοὺς θεσμούς  
.....τῆς δὲ καινῆς διαθήκης τὰ τέσσαρα εὐαγγέλια· τὰ δὲ  
λοιπὰ ψευδεπίγραφα καὶ βλαβερά τυγχάνει· ἔγραψαν καὶ

<sup>1</sup> Ep. ad Hebræos locum ultimum obtinet.

Μαριχαῖσι κατὰ Θωμᾶν εὐαγγέλιον, ὅπερ, ὡς περ εὐαγγέλια τῆς APPENDIX  
D.  
εὐαγγελικῆς προσωνμίας, διαφθείρει τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν ἀπλου-  
στέρων. δέχον δὲ καὶ τὰς πράξεις τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων·  
πρὸς τούτοις δὲ καὶ τὰς ἑπτὰ Ἰακώβου καὶ Πέτρου, Ἰωάννου  
καὶ Ἰούδα, καθολικαῖς ἐπιστολαῖς· ἐπισφράγισμα δὲ τῶν  
πάντων καὶ μαθητῶν τὸ τελευταῖον, τὰς Παύλου δεκατέσσαρας  
ἐπιστολαῖς· τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ πάντα ἔξω κείσθω ἐν δευτέρῳ. καὶ  
ὅσα μὲν ἐν ἐκκλησίαις μὴ ἀναγινώσκειται, ταῦτα μηδὲ κατὰ  
σαντὸν ἀναγίνωσκε καθὼς ἤκουσας.....

## IX.

Adv. hær. lxxvi. 5. Ed. Colon. 1682. Εἰ γὰρ ἦς ἐξ ΕΥΣΕΒΙΟΥΣ,  
Ep. Cyp.  
† c. 403 A.C.  
ἀγίου πνεύματος γεγεννημένος καὶ προφήταις καὶ ἀποστόλοις  
μεμαθητευσμένος, ἔδει σε διελθόντα ἀπ' ἀρχῆς γενέσεως κόσμου  
ἄχρι τῶν Αἰσθηρ χρόνων ἐν εἴκοσι καὶ ἑπτὰ βίβλοις παλαιᾶς  
διαθήκης, εἴκοσι δύο ἀριθμουμένοις, τέτταρσι δὲ ἀγίοις εὐαγγε-  
λίοις, καὶ ἐν τεσσαρσικαῖδεκα ἐπιστολαῖς τοῦ ἀγίου ἀποστό-  
λου Παύλου, καὶ ἐν ταῖς πρὸ τούτων, καὶ σὺν ταῖς ἐν τοῖς  
αὐτῶν χρόνοις Πράξεσι τῶν ἀποστόλων, καθολικαῖς ἐπι-  
στολαῖς Ἰακώβου καὶ Πέτρου καὶ Ἰωάννου καὶ Ἰούδα, καὶ  
ἐν τῇ τοῦ Ἰωάννου Ἀποκαλύψει, ἐν τε ταῖς Σοφίαις, Σολο-  
μῶντός τε φημὶ καὶ νιοῦ Σιράχ, καὶ πάσαις ἀπλῶς γραφαῖς  
θείαις.....

## X.

Ap. Euseb. H. E. vi. 25. Cf. pp. 402 seqq.

ORIGENES.  
† 253 A.C.

## XI.

Ex Epist. Fest. xxix. Ap. Theodorum Balsamonem ΔΥΣΚΑΒΙΟΥΣ,  
Ep. Alex. 395.  
† 378.  
in "Scholiis in Canones<sup>1</sup>:" T. i. 767. Ed. Bened. Par.  
1777. Μέλλον δὲ τούτων [sc. τῶν θειῶν γραφῶν] μνημο-  
νεῖν χρήσομαι πρὸς σύστασιν τῆς ἑαυτοῦ τόλμης τῷ τύπῳ

<sup>1</sup> Eadem epistola exstat in Vers. Syr. Mus. Brit., (Cod. 12, 168. sec. vii. v. viii.), quam nuper Anglicè reddidit vir reverendus, cui mihi pro singulari ejus humanitate gratias agendum sunt: *The Festal Letters of Athanasius, translated from the Syriac by the Rev. H. Burgess, Ph. D.* p. 137.

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του̅ εὐαγγελιστοῦ Λουκᾶ, λέγων καὶ αὐτός, ἐπειδήτις  
τινὲς ἐπεχείρησαν ἀνατάξασθαι ἑαυτοῖς τὰ λεγόμενα  
ἀπόκρυφα καὶ ἐπιμίξαι ταῦτα τῇ θεοπνεύστῃ γραφῇ, περὶ  
ἧς ἐπληρορήθημεν, καθὼς παρέδοσαν τοῖς πατέρε-  
σιν οἱ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς αὐτόπται καὶ ὑπηρέται γενόμενοι  
του̅ λόγου, ἔδοξε καμοὶ προτραπέντι παρὰ γησίω  
ἀδελφῶν, καὶ μαθόντι ἄνωθεν ἐξῆς ἐκθέσθαι τὰ κατορθώματα  
καὶ παραδοθέντα, πιστευθέντα τε θεῖα εἶναι βιβλία, ἵνα ἕκα-  
στος, εἰ μὲν ἠπατήθη, καταγνῶ τῶν πλανησάντων, ὁ δὲ  
καθαρὸς διαμείνας χαίρη πάλιν ὑπομιμησκόμενος. ἔστι  
τοῖνυν τῆς μὲν παλαιᾶς διαθήκης βιβλία τῷ ἀριθμῷ πέντε  
πάντα εἰκοσιδύο.....τὰ δὲ τῆς καινῆς [διαθήκης βιβλία] οὐκ  
ὀκνητέον εἰπεῖν· ἐστὶ γὰρ ταῦτα· Εὐαγγέλια τέσσαρα· κατὰ  
Ματθαῖον, κατὰ Μάρκον, κατὰ Λουκᾶν, κατὰ Ἰωάννην. Εἶτα  
μετὰ ταῦτα Πράξεις Ἀποστόλων, καὶ ἐπιστολαὶ καθολικαὶ  
καλούμεναι τῶν ἀποστόλων ἑπτὰ· οὕτως. Ἰακώβου μὲν α',  
Πέτρου δὲ β', εἶτα Ἰωάννου γ', καὶ μετὰ ταύτας Ἰούδα α'.  
Πρὸς τούτοις Παύλου ἀποστόλου εἰσὶν ἐπιστολαὶ δεκατέσ-  
σαρες, τῇ τάξει γραφόμεναι<sup>2</sup> οὕτως<sup>3</sup>.....καὶ πάλιν Ἰωάννου  
ἀποκάλυψις· ταῦτα πηγαὶ τοῦ σωτηρίου, ὥστε τὸν  
διψῶντα ἐμφορεῖσθαι τῶν ἐν τούτοις λυγίων· ἐν τούτοις  
μόνοις τὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας διδασκαλεῖον εὐαγγελίζεται. Μηδὲκ  
τούτοις ἐπιβαλλέτω, μηδὲ τούτων ἀφαιρέσθω τι.

### XII.

GREGORIUS  
NAZIANZEN-  
SUS.  
† 391 A.C.

*Car. m.* xii. 31 (Ed. Benedict. Par. 1840). (περὶ τῶν  
γησίων βιβλίων τῆς θεοπνεύστου γραφῆς.)

Ματθαῖος μὲν ἔγραψεν Ἑβραίοις θαύματα Χριστοῦ

Μάρκος δ' Ἰταλίῃ, Λουκᾶς Ἀχαιῖαδι.

Πᾶσι δ' Ἰωάννης κῆρυξ μέγας, οὐρανοφοίτης<sup>4</sup>.

Ἔπειτα Πράξεις τῶν σοφῶν ἀποστόλων.

<sup>1</sup> Syt. = καθολικαί.

<sup>2</sup> Syt. = γραφόμεναι.

<sup>3</sup> Idem est ordo qui in editt. vulgg.

<sup>4</sup> Metra Gregorius nullo certo ordine commiscet ; quod lectores monitos velim, ne quis Apocalypsim versu proxime sequenti olim commemoratam fuisse suspicetur.

Δέκα δὲ Παύλου τέσσαρες τ' ἐπιστολαί.  
 Ἑπτὰ δὲ καθολίχ', ἃν Ἰακώβου μία,  
 Δύω δὲ Πέτρου, τρεῖς δ' Ἰωάννου πάλιν.  
 Ἰουδα δ' ἐστὶν ἑβδόμη. Πάσαι ἔχει.  
 Εἴ τις δὲ τούτων ἐκτός, οὐκ ἐν γνησίοις.

APPENDIX  
 D.

## XIII.

*Iambi ad Seleucum.* Ap. Gregor. Nazianz. Cf. Ap-  
 philoch. ed. Combef. p. 132.

ΔΑΡΤΗΛΟ-  
 ΣΤΙΥΣ, ΕΡΙΘΑ,  
 ΙΕΘΝ.  
 C. 380 A. C.

Καινῆς Διαθήκης ὄρα μοι βίβλουε λέγειν  
 Εὐαγγελιστὰς τέσσαρα δέχου μόνουε,  
 Ματθαῖον, εἶτα Μάρκον, ἢ Λουκᾶν τρίτον  
 Προσθεῖς ἀριθμει, τὸν δ' Ἰωάννην χρόνῳ  
 Τέταρτον, ἀλλὰ πρῶτον ὑψει δογματῶν·  
 Βροντῆε γὰρ υἱὸν τοῦτον εἰκότως καλῶ  
 Μέγιστον ἠχῆσαντα τῷ Θεοῦ λόγῳ.  
 Δέχου δὲ βίβλον Λούκα καὶ τὴν δευτέραν,  
 Τὴν τῶν Καθολικῶν Πράξεων ἀποστόλων.  
 Τὸ σκεῦος ἐξῆς προστίθει τῆς ἐκλογῆς,  
 Τὸν τῶν ἔθνῶν κήρυκα, τὸν τ' ἀπόστολον  
 Παῦλον, σοφῶε γράψαντα ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις  
 Ἐπιστολάε δις ἑπτὰ.....

Τινὲς δὲ φασὶ τὴν πρὸς Ἑβραίους νόθον,  
 Οὐκ εὖ λέγοντες· γνησίᾳ γὰρ ἡ χάριε.  
 Εἰεν· τί λοιπόν; Καθολικῶν ἐπιστολῶν  
 Τινὲς μὲν ἑπτὰ φασίν, οἱ δὲ τρεῖε μόνουε  
 Χρῆναι δέχεσθαι, τὴν Ἰακώβου μίαν,  
 Μίαν δὲ Πέτρου, τὴν τ' Ἰωάννου μίαν,  
 Τινὲς δὲ τὰε τρεῖε, καὶ πρὸε αὐταῖε τὰε δύο  
 Πέτρου δέχονταε, τὴν Ἰουδα δ' ἑβδόμην·  
 Τὴν δ' Ἀποκάλυψιν τὴν Ἰωάννου πάλιν  
 Τινὲς μὲν ἐγκρίνουσιν, οἱ πλείουε δὲ γε  
 Νόθον λέγουσιν. Οὗτοε ἀψευδέστατοε  
 Κανὼν ἂν εἴη τῶν θεοπνεῦστων γραφῶν.....

<sup>1</sup> i. e. καθολικαί. All. ἑπτὰ δὲ τὰ καθολίχ'...Λουκάε, Δέκα, ἑπτὰ,  
 Ἰουδα, εἰ ἐν σαρκι. πορ. ὄρα, Λουκά, relinqueret quam corrigere maluit.

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APPENDIX  
D.

### XIV.

*Synopsis Sacr. Script.* Ap. Chrys. Tom. vi. p. 318 A.  
Ed. Bened.: Ἔστι δὲ καὶ τῆς καινῆς βιβλία, αἱ ἐπιστολαὶ αἱ δεκατέσσαρες Παύλου, τὰ εὐαγγέλια τὰ τέσσαρα, δύο μὲν τῶν μαθητῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ Ἰωάννου καὶ Ματθαίου· δύο δὲ Λουκᾶ καὶ Μάρκου· ὧν ὁ μὲν τοῦ Πέτρου, ὁ δὲ τοῦ Παύλου γεγόνασι μαθηταί. οἱ μὲν γὰρ αὐτοπταὶ ἦσαν γεγενημένοι, καὶ συγγενόμενοι τῷ Χριστῷ· οἱ δὲ παρ' ἐκείνων διαδεξάμενοι εἰς ἑτέρους ἐξήνεγκαν· καὶ τὸ τῶν πράξεων δὲ βιβλίον, καὶ αὐτὸ Λουκᾶ, ἱστορήσαντος τὰ γενόμενα· καὶ τῶν καθολικῶν ἐπιστολαὶ τρεῖς.

### XV.

LEONTIUS,  
c. 500 A.C.

*De Sectis Act.* ii. (Gallandi, xii. 625 seqq.) ... ἀπαριθμησώμεθα τὰ ἐκκλησιαστικὰ βιβλία. τῶν τοίνυν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν βιβλίων τὰ μὲν τῆς παλαιᾶς εἰσὶ γραφῆς· τὰ δὲ τῆς νέας... τῆς μὲν οὖν παλαιᾶς βιβλία εἰσὶ κβ'... τῆς δὲ νέας ἕξ εἰσι βιβλία, ὧν δύο περιέχει τοὺς τέσσαρας εὐαγγελιστάς· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἔχει Ματθαῖον καὶ Μάρκον, τὸ δὲ ἕτερον Λουκᾶν καὶ Ἰωάννην. τρίτον ἐστὶν αἱ πράξεις τῶν ἀποστόλων. τέταρτον αἱ καθολικαὶ ἐπιστολαὶ οὖσαι ἑπτὰ· ὧν πρώτη τοῦ Ἰακώβου ἐστὶ ἡ β'. καὶ ἡ γ'. Πέτρου· ἡ δ'. καὶ ε'. καὶ στ'. τοῦ Ἰωάννου· ἡ δὲ ζ'. τοῦ Ἰουδα. καθολικαὶ δὲ ἐκλήθησαν ἐπειδὴ οὐ πρὸς ἓν ἔθνος ἐγράφησαν ὡς αἱ τοῦ Παύλου, ἀλλὰ καθόλου πρὸς πάντα. πέμπτον βιβλίον αἱ ιδ'. τοῦ ἀγίου Παύλου ἐπιστολαί. ἕκτον ἐστὶν ἡ ἀποκάλυψις τοῦ ἀγίου Ἰωάννου.

ταῦτά ἐστι τὰ κανονιζόμενα βιβλία ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ παλαιὰ καὶ νέα, ὧν τὰ παλαιὰ πάντα δέχονται οἱ Ἑβραῖοι.

### XVI.

NICERHOBUS,  
Patr. Const.  
806—815  
A.C.

Cf. Credner, *Zur Gesch. d. K.* ss. 119 ff.<sup>1</sup>

§ i. Ὅσαι εἰσὶ θεῖαι γραφαὶ ἐκκλησιαζόμεναι καὶ

<sup>1</sup> Lectt. varr. vers. Lat. Anastasii (c. 870 A. C.) apposui e Cod. Burn. (Mus. Brit.) 284, sæc. xii. v. xiii. f. 283.

κεκατονομημένοι. καὶ ἡ τούτων στιχομετρία, οὕτως<sup>1</sup>... § II. APPENDIX D.

τῆς νέας διαθήκης.

- α'. Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Ματθαῖον στίχοι βφ'.
- β'. Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Μάρκον στίχοι β'.
- γ'. Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Λουκᾶν στίχοι βχ'.
- δ'. Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Ἰωάννην στίχοι βτ'.
- ε'. Πράξεις τῶν ἀποστόλων στίχοι βω'.
- ς'. Παύλον ἐπιστολαὶ ιδ' στίχοι ετ'.
- ζ. Καθολικαὶ<sup>2</sup> ζ. Ἰακώβου α'. Πέτρου β'. Ἰωάννου γ'. Ἰούδα α'.<sup>4</sup>

Ὅμοῦ τῆς νέας διαθήκης βιβλία κς'.<sup>5</sup>

§ IV. Καὶ ὅσαι τῆς νέας ἀντιλέγονται.<sup>6</sup>

- α'. Ἀποκάλυψις Ἰωάννου στίχοι ,αυ'.
- β'. Ἀποκάλυψις Πέτρου στίχοι τ'.<sup>7</sup>
- γ'. Βαρνάβα ἐπιστολὴ στίχοι ,ατζ'.<sup>8</sup>
- δ'. Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Ἑβραίους στίχοι βς'.<sup>10</sup>

§ VI. Καὶ ὅσα τῆς νέας ἀπόκριφα.

- α'. Ἡ περίοδος Πέτρου στίχοι βψν'.
- β'. Περίοδος Ἰωάννου στίχοι βχ'.<sup>12</sup>
- γ'. Περίοδος Θωμᾶ στίχοι ,αψ'.
- δ'. Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Θωμᾶν στίχοι ,ατ'.<sup>13</sup>
- ε'. Διδαχὴ ἀποστόλων στίχοι ε'.
- ς'. Κλήμεντος α'. β' στίχοι, βχ'.<sup>14</sup>
- ζ. Ἰγνατίου, Πολυκάρπου, [Ποιμένος καὶ] Ἐρμά στίχοι.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cod. *Hæ sunt divina scriptura quæ recipiuntur ad ecclesia et canonizantur. Harumque veterum numerus ut subjicitur....Hi autem sunt novi Testamenti.*

<sup>2</sup> Cod. II DCCO.

<sup>3</sup> Cod. + *Epistola.*

<sup>4</sup> Cod. + *Simul septem: veteris no ICCC.*

<sup>5</sup> Cod. *Simul veteris quidem Testamenti libri xxii et novi vii.*

<sup>6</sup> Cod. *Et quibus novi contradicitur.*

<sup>7</sup> Cod. IV.

<sup>8</sup> Cod. III DCCO.

<sup>9</sup> Cod. I CXXVI.

<sup>10</sup> Cod. II CC.

<sup>11</sup> Cod. + *Itinerarium Pauli. ver. II DC.*

<sup>12</sup> Cod. II D.

<sup>13</sup> Cod. Coisl. ap. Montf. p. 204: ἡ ἀποκάλυψις Ἰωάννου...στίχοι

<sup>14</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Cod. *Clementis xxii.*

<sup>15</sup> Cod. *Pastoris...!*

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XVI.

Cod. Clarom.  
Sæc. vii.

*Versus Scribaturarum Sanctarum*<sup>1</sup>. . . Evangelia iii. Matthæum ver. iīdc. Johannes ver. ii. Marcus ver. idc. Lucam ver. iīdcccc. Epistulas Pauli ad Romanos ver. ixl. ad Chorintios .i. ver. iīlx. ad Chorintios .ii. ver. lxx. ad Galatas ver. cccl. ad Efesios ver. cccclxxv. ad Timotheum .i. ver. ccviii. ad Timotheum .ii. ver. cclxxxviii. ad Titum ver. cxl. ad Colossenses ver. ccli. ad Filimonem ver. l. ad (sic) Petrum prima cc. ad Petrum .ii. ver. cxl. Jacobi ver. ccxx. Pr. Johanni Epist. ccxx. Johanni Epistula .ii. xx. Johanni Epistula .iii. xx. Judæ Epistula ver. lx. <sup>2</sup> Barnabæ Epist. ver. dccccl. Johannis Revelatio icc. Actus Apostolorum iīdc. <sup>3</sup> Pastoris versi iiii. <sup>3</sup> Actus Pauli ver. iīdcx. <sup>3</sup> Revelatio Petri cclxx.

XVII.

AUGUSTINUS,  
Ep. Hippon.  
356.  
† 430 A.O.

*De doctr. Christiana* ii. 12 (viii.) (ed. Bened. Par. 1836). Erit igitur divinarum scripturarum solertissimus indagator, qui primo totas legerit notasque habuerit, et si nondum intellectu, jam tamen lectione duntaxat eas quæ appellantur Canonice. Nam cæteras securius leget fide veritatis instructus, ne præoccupent imbecillum animum, et periculosus mendaciis atque phantasmatis eludentes præjudicent aliquid contra sanam intelligentiam. In canonicis autem Scripturis, ecclesiarum Catholicarum quamplurimum auctoritatem sequatur; inter quas sane illæ sint, quæ apostolicas sedes habere et epistolas accipere meruerunt. Tenebit igitur hunc modum in Scripturis Canonicis, ut eas

<sup>1</sup> Ex edit. Tischdf. p. 468 sq. Nihil est in Græco Cod. textu quod stichometrisæ respondeat, quam e codice Latino Scriba Græcus (? Alexandrinus). Equidem e Latina, seu potius ex Africana origine deductam esse crediderim, et certe sæculo quarto antiquiorem. Neque aliter censet Tischdf. Proleg. p. xviii.

<sup>2</sup> His quatuor versibus ..manu satis recenti præpositi sunt obeli. (Tisch. p. 589.)

quæ ab omnibus accipiuntur ecclesiis Catholicis præponat eis quas quædam non accipiunt: in eis vero quæ non accipiuntur ab omnibus, præponat eas quas plures gravioresque accipiunt eis quas pauciores minorisque auctoritatis ecclesiæ tenent. Si autem alias invenerit a pluribus, alias a gravioribus haberi, quanquam hoc facile invenire non possit, æqualis tamen auctoritatis eas habendas puto. 13. Totus autem Canon Scripturarum in quo istam considerationem versandam dicimus, his libris continetur: Quinque Moyseos ... His quadraginta quatuor libris Testamenti Veteris terminatur auctoritas: Novi autem, quatuor libris Evangelii, secundum Matthæum, secundum Marcum, secundum Lucam, secundum Joannem; quatuordecim Epistolis Pauli Apostoli, ad Romanos, ad Corinthios duabus, ad Galatas, ad Ephesios, ad Philippenses, ad Thessalonicenses duabus, ad Colossenses, ad Timotheum duabus, ad Titum, ad Philemonem, ad Hebræos; Petri duabus; tribus Joannis; una Judæ et una Jacobi; Actibus Apostolorum libro uno, et Apocalypsi Joannis libro uno. 14 (ix) In his omnibus libris timentes Deum et pietate mansueti, quærunt voluntatem Dei.

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XVIII.

Cf. App. B.

Can. Murat.

XIX.

*Hær. LX.* (Gallandi, vii. 480 sqq.)... Statutum est ab apostolis et eorum successoribus non aliud legi in ecclesia debere catholica nisi legem et prophetas et Evangelia et Actus Apostolorum, et Pauli tredecim epistolas, et septem alias, Petri duas, Joannis tres, Judæ unam, et unam Jacobi, quæ septem Actibus Apostolorum conjunctæ sunt...

PHILASTRIUS.  
† c. 387 A.C.

*Hær. LXI.* Sunt alii quoque [hæretici] qui Epistolam Pauli ad Hebræos non asserunt esse ipsius, sed dicunt aut Barnabæ esse Apostoli aut Clementis de urbe Roma episcopi; alii autem Lucæ Evangelistæ aiunt Epistolam, etiam



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ad Laodicenses scriptam<sup>1</sup>. Et quia addiderunt in ea quaedam non bene sentientes inde non legitur in ecclesia; et si legitur a quibusdam, non tamen in ecclesia legitur populo, nisi tredecim epistolæ ipsius et ad Hebræos interdundum...quia factum Christum dicit in ea inde non legitur; de poenitentia autem propter Novatianos æque.

*Hær. xxxii...*sunt hæretici qui Evangelium secundum Joannem et Apocalypsim ipsius non accipiunt, et...in hæresi permanent pereuntes ut etiam Cerinthi illius hæretici esse audeant dicere, et Apocalypsim itidem non beati Joannis Evangelistæ et Apostoli sed Cerinthi hæretici...

## XX.

HIBRONY-  
MUS.  
394 A.D.

Ad Paul. Ep. liii. § 8. (i. p. 548 ed. Migne).

Cernis me Scripturarum amore raptum excessisse modum epistolæ, et tamen non implese quod volui.....Targam et novum breviter Testamentum. Matthæus, Marcus, Lucas, et Johannes, quadriga Domini et verum Cherubim, quod interpretatur scientiæ multitudo, per totum corpus oculati sunt, scintillæ emicant, discurrunt fulgura, pedes habent rectos et in sublime tendentes, terga pennata et ubique volitantia. Tenent se mutuo, et quasi rota in rota volvuntur, et pergunt quocumque eos flatus Sancti Spiritus perduxerit. Paulus Apostolus ad septem ecclesias scribit, octava enim ad Hebræos a plerisque extra numerum ponitur, Timotheum instruit ac Titum, Philemonem pro fugitivo famulo (Onesimo) deprecatur. Super quo tacere melius puto quam pauca scribere. Actus Apostolorum nudam quidem sonare videntur historiam et nascentis Ecclesiam infantiam texere; sed si noverimus scriptorem eorum Lucam esse medicum, *cujus laus est in Evangelio*, animadvertemus pariter omnia verba illius animæ languentis esse medicinam. Jacobus, Petrus, Joannes, Judas, Apostoli, septem epistolas ediderunt tam mysticas quam

<sup>1</sup> Gall. aiunt, *Epistolam etiam correxi.*

succinctas, et breves pariter et longas: breves in verbis, longas in sententiis, ut rarus sit qui non in earum lectione cæcutiat. Apocalypsis Joannis tot habet sacramenta quot verba. Parum dixi pro merito voluminis. Laus omnis inferior est: in verbis singulis multiplices latent intelligentiæ.

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## XXI.

*Comm. in Symb. Apost. § 36. (Ed. Migne, Paris, 1849.)* RUFINUS.  
c. 410 A.C.  
...Hic igitur Spiritus Sanctus est qui in veteri Testamento Legem et Prophetas, in novo Evangelia et Apostolos inspiravit. Unde et Apostolus dicit: ii Tim. 3. Et ideo quæ sunt novi ac veteris Testamenti volumina, quæ secundum majorum traditionem per ipsum Spiritum Sanctum inspirata creduntur, et ecclesiis Christi tradita, competens videtur hoc in loco evidenti numero, sicut ex patrum monumentis accepimus, designare.

§ 37. Itaque veteris Testamenti, omnium primo Moysi quinque libri sunt traditi...

Novi vero quatuor Evangelia, Matthæi, Marci, Lucæ, et Joannis. Actus Apostolorum quos describit Lucas. Pauli apostoli epistolæ quatuordecim. Petri apostoli duæ. Jacobi fratris domini et apostoli una. Judæ una. Joannis tres. Apocalypsis Joannis.

Hæc sunt quæ patres intra Canonem concluderunt, et ex quibus fidei nostræ assertiones constare voluerunt.

§ 38. Sciendum tamen est quod et alii libri sunt qui non canonici sed Ecclesiastici a majoribus appellati sunt, id est Sapiencia, quæ dicitur Salomonis, et alia Sapiencia, quæ dicitur filii Sirach.....Ejusdem vero ordinis libellus est Tobię et Judith: et Machabæorum libri.

In novo vero Testamento libellus qui dicitur Pastoris seu Hermas, qui appellatur duæ viæ vel judicium Petri. Quæ omnia legi quidem in ecclesiis voluerunt, non tamen proferri ad auctoritatem ex his fidei confirmandam.

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**APPENDIX** **D.** *Cæteras vero Scripturas Apocryphas nominarunt, quas in Ecclesiis legi noluerunt.*

Hæc nobis a patribus tradita sunt, quæ (ut dixi) opportunum visum est hoc in loco designare, ad instructionem eorum qui prima sibi ecclesiæ ac fidei elementa suscipiunt, ut sciant, ex quibus sibi fontibus verbi Dei haurienda sint pocula.

### XXII.

**INNOCENTIUS,**  
Ep. Rom  
† 416 A.C.

*Ad Exsuperium ep. Tolosanum*<sup>1</sup> (Gallandi, Bibl. Pp. viii. 561 seqq.) Hæc sunt ergo<sup>2</sup> quæ desiderata moneri voluisti: Moysi libri quinque.....Item Novi Testamenti: Evangeliorum libri iiii; Pauli Apostoli Epistolæ xiiii: Epistolæ Johannis tres: Epistolæ Petri duæ: Epistola Judæ: Epistola Jacobi: Actus Apostolorum: Apocalypsis Johannis. Cætera autem quæ vel sub nomine Matthiæ, sive Jacobi minoris, vel sub nomine Petri et Johannis, quæ & quodam Leucio scripta sunt, vel sub nomine Andreae, quæ a Nexocharide<sup>3</sup> et Leonida philosophis, vel sub nomine Thomæ, et si qua sunt talia<sup>4</sup>, non solum repudianda verum etiam noveris esse damnanda. [Data x kal. Mart. Stilichone ii. et Anthemio virr. clarr. coss<sup>5</sup>.] (A. C. 405.)

### XXIII.

**GELASIUS.**

*Decretum de libris recipiendis et non recipiendis.* (Credner, Zur Gesch. d. K. p. 195 sqq. § 4. *Item ordo Scripturarum Novi Testamenti, quem Sancta Catholica Romana*

<sup>1</sup> E cod. Coll. SS. Trin. (A) collatis, B. (Cf. p. 568, n. 1) et Cotton. Claud. E, V (D).

<sup>2</sup> BD; = ergo A Gall.

<sup>4</sup> ABD—*alia* Gall.

<sup>3</sup> *anexocharide*, B.

<sup>5</sup> = ABD.

*suscipit et veneratur ecclesia*<sup>1</sup>. Evangeliorum<sup>2</sup> libri iv, id est<sup>3</sup> sec. Matthæum lib. 1. sec. Marcum lib. 1. sec. Lucam lib. 1. sec. Joannem lib. 1. Item Actuum Apostolorum liber unus<sup>4</sup>. APPENDIX  
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§ 5. Epistolæ Pauli Apostoli num. xiiii<sup>5</sup>.

§ 6. Apocalypsis<sup>6</sup> liber i. Apostolicæ epistolæ<sup>7</sup> numero vii. Petro apostoli numero<sup>8</sup> ii. Jacobi apostoli numero<sup>8</sup> i. Joannis apostoli iii<sup>9</sup>. Judæ Zelotis<sup>10</sup>.

#### XXIV.

*De instit. div. Litt.* cap. xiv<sup>11</sup>. Scriptura Sancta secundum antiquam translationem in Testamenta duo ita dividitur, id est in Vetus et in Novum<sup>12</sup>. In Genesim..... Evangelia quatuor<sup>13</sup>, id est Matthæi, Marci, Lucæ, Johan-

CASSIODORUS.  
c. 470—565  
A.C.

<sup>1</sup> Recensionum quæ Damasi (D) et Hormisdæ (H) nomina præ se ferunt lectt. varr. apposui; singulas quasque Codd. lectiones Credner dabit. Id vero minime prætermittendum esse credo duos Mus. Brit. codices decretum Gelasii de libris apocryphis continere, nullo librorum S. Scripturæ canone præposito; quorum alter (Cotton. Vesp. B, 13, 12) ita incipit: *Post propheticas et evangelicas scripturas atque apostolicas scripturas vel veteris vel novi testamenti, quas regulariter suscipimus, sancta Romana ecclesia has non prohibet suscipi. Sanctam Synodum Nicænam...* Alter vero (Add. 15, 222, sæc. xi.) eundem fere quem cod. L. (Credner, p. 178) textum exhibet, alio tamen titulo: *Incipit decretum Gelasii papæ quem (sic) in urbe Roma cum LXX. eruditissimis episcopis conscripsit.* Equidem, ut verum fatear, librorum ecclesiasticorum et apocryphorum indicem multo majoris auctoritatis esse quam SS. Scripturarum canonem existimo.

<sup>2</sup> *Evangelium*, D.

<sup>3</sup> = *id est*, H.

<sup>4</sup> D. *Actus Apostolorum liber i.* post Apocalypsim ponit.

<sup>5</sup> Credner, XIII. nulla variatione notata; sed quum quatuordecim in Codd. fere XIII. scribatur, vereor ne Areval., cujus collationem Cod. A. sequitur, eum in errorem induxerit. *Epp. Pauli (+ apostoli H) numero xiv.* D. H. indice addito.

<sup>6</sup> *Item Apocalypsis Joannis (+ apostoli D) lib. i.* DH.

<sup>7</sup> *Item epistolæ canonicæ D item cann. epp. H.*

<sup>8</sup> = numero DH.

<sup>9</sup> *Joannis Apost. ep. i. Alterius Joannis. Presbyteri epp. ii.* D.

<sup>10</sup> + *epistola i* D. + *apostoli epistola* H.

<sup>11</sup> E cod. Reg. Mus. Brit. 13 A, xxi. 7 (a): collatis codd. Cotton. Claud. B, 13, 8 (β); Reg. 10 B, xv. 2 (γ); 5 B, viii. 6 (δ).

<sup>12</sup> Edd. = *in*.

<sup>13</sup> *Evangeliorum quatuor Matthæus, &c. βγδ; Evangelistæ quatuor, edd.*

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APPENDIX D. nis: Actus Apostolorum: Epistolæ Petri ad gentes<sup>1</sup>: Jacobi<sup>2</sup>: Johannis ad Parthos: Epistolæ Pauli ad Romanos una, ad Corinthios<sup>3</sup> duæ, ad Galatas<sup>4</sup> una, ad Philippenses una, ad Ephesios una<sup>5</sup>, ad Colossenses una, ad Hebræos una, ad Thessalonicenses<sup>6</sup> duæ, ad Timotheum duæ, ad Titum una<sup>7</sup>, ad Philemonem una: Apocalypsis<sup>8</sup> Johannis.

XXV.

ISIDORUS,  
Ep. Hispal.  
† 633 A.C.

*De ordine Librorum S. Scripturæ* init<sup>9</sup>. Hinc occurrit Testamentum Novum, cujus primum Evangeliorum libri sunt quatuor, Matthæus<sup>10</sup> et Marcus, Lucas et Johannes. Sequuntur deinde Epistolæ Pauli apostoli xiiii. id est, ad Romanos, ad Corinthios duæ, ad Galatas<sup>11</sup>, ad Ephesios, ad Philippenses<sup>12</sup>, et ad Thessalonicenses duæ, ad Colossenses, ad Timotheum duæ, ad Titum vero et ad Philemonem et ad Hebræos singulæ epistolæ, Jacobi apostoli una<sup>13</sup>, Petri duæ, Johannis iii.<sup>14</sup> Judæ una. Actus etiam Apostolorum a Luca Evangelista conscriptus; et Apocalypsis Johannis apostoli...quicquid extra hos fuerit inter hæc sacra et divina nullatenus recipiendum<sup>15</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Edd. + *Judæ*. Sed omm. *αβγδ*.

<sup>2</sup> Edd. + *ad duodecim tribus*.

<sup>3</sup> Chorinthios *γ*.

<sup>4</sup> *Galathas αγδ*.

<sup>5</sup> Edd. = *ad Ephesios una* err. typ. ? *ad Ephesios duæ δ*.

<sup>6</sup> *Thessalonicenses γδ*.

<sup>7</sup> *ad Tit. u. ad Tim. duæ β*.

<sup>8</sup> *Apocalypsin δ*.

<sup>9</sup> E Cod. Reg. (Mus. Brit.) 5 B. viii. (a); coll. Cod. Cotton. Vesp. B. xiii. (b).—Cf. Isid. Proem. §§ 86—109.

<sup>10</sup> + *quoque b*.

<sup>11</sup> *Galathas ab*.

<sup>12</sup> *Philippenses a*.

<sup>13</sup> = *una a*.

<sup>14</sup> *iiii or a*.

<sup>15</sup> *recipienda b*.

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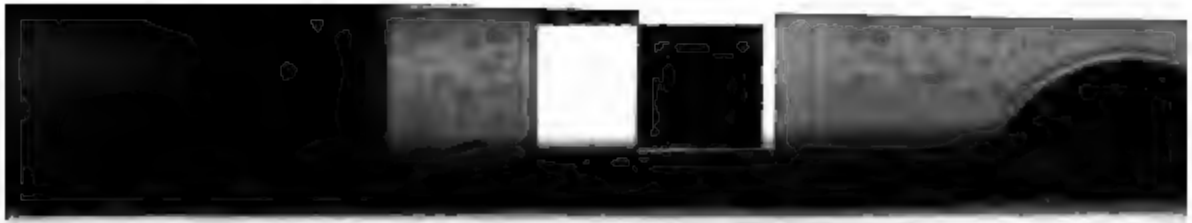
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