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Harry DeQuincey Smith Jr

Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, ir_smithh@csl.edu

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A STUDY OF THE CANON

AT 170 A. D.

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

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

by
Harry DeQuincey Smith, Jr.

May 1948

Approved by: Martin H. Fraumour

W. Arndt.

A STUDY OF THE CANON OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

(Outline)

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1. To discover, so far as possible, which books of the New Testament were in the possession of Christians at the beginning of the 2nd century A.D.

2. To discover what kind of evidence the writings of the 2nd century gave to their canon.

3. To determine whether any books were added to the New Testament after the 2nd century.

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A STUDY OF THE CANON AT 170 A. D.

(Outline)

Controlling Purpose: 1. To discover, as far as possible, which books of our New Testament were in the possession of Christians up to approximately the year 170 A. D.

2. To discover what kind of authority the Christians up to this date gave to these books.

3. To determine whether any books other than those of our New Testament were given an equal authority.

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FOREWORD

The study of the formation of the New Testament Canon holds a fascination for the Christian. He eagerly desires to look back into the history of those books which mean so much to him. He wonders how the God of history assured to these books the unique position they have held and hold. He wants to find the historical "certainty of those things" wherein he has "been instructed."¹

So it is that a man will search into the history of the apostolic days and of the times immediately following. In the search he will find that there is very early testimony, and a sufficient amount of it, that every book except the Second Epistle of Peter was to be found in use at some place in the churches of the first and second centuries. Some churches even made a list of them, as we find the Roman Church doing in the Muratorian Fragment. He will also find that these books were held in very high esteem by the possessors of them. They placed them in an equal position with the Old Testament Scriptures. They called them "The Scriptures," "The Divine Word," "The Oracles of the Lord." When referring to passages from them, they said "as it is written," or "as it is said," expressions used in referring to the Old Testament books. The Christians of the early times used them as the standard for doctrines, and believed that the books were in truth bearers of the Holy Spirit to people.

1. Luke 1:4.

So it is that the searcher will find the people cherishing the books as inspired. Furthermore, he will find that the so-called apocryphal books were not so held. Yet as he continues his search there is one thing that he will not find. He will never discover the reason why these early Christians held these books to be inspired. In the end he must come to the same conclusion as Athanasius did in his yearly letter (Ep. Fest. 39), 367 A.D., "I thought it well . . . to put down in order the canonised books of which we not only have learned from tradition but also believe [upon the evidence of our own hearts] that they are divine.¹ It will be necessary for a man to conclude those books inspired which give Christ to him--in the words of Luther "was Christum treibet."

Therefore in this study, I purpose to consider but the first three of these questions. It shall be my endeavor to discover the historical information as to:

1. which books of our New Testament were in the possession of Christians up to approximately the year 170 A.D.;
2. what kind of authority the Christians up to this date gave to these books; and,
3. whether any books other than those of our New Testament were given an equal authority.

1. Casper Rene Gregory, Canon and Text of the New Testament, p. 19.

A STUDY OF THE CANON AT 170 A. D.

I. The Age of the Apostolic Fathers A.D. 70-120

As we pursue our study into the age of the Apostolic Fathers, or that period immediately following the writing of the books of the New Testament by the Apostles and their followers, there is one observation we must keep in mind. Many people were living who had heard the Apostles preach. They knew by heart a sizeable number of the teachings of the Disciples of our Lord, the "men whose eyes had seen the King."¹ Hence there was not a great demand for the written Word. When speaking to each other, there was felt no need of mentioning book, verse, and chapter of a New Testament writing. They remembered the doctrines of the New Testament Teachers. Nevertheless, as we look into this period, we are going to find that they did use these books. They were read in the public services of the churches. Perhaps some individual copies were made, and the people read them at home. At any rate, this familiarity with the New Testament books will show itself in the words of the fragments of this period that we do have. We are going to find attestation here for the majority of our canonical books. Westcott

1. Mary C. Gates, "Send Thou, O Lord, to Every Place," The Lutheran Hymnal, no. 506, v. 2, l. 1.

sums up the testimony of the Apostolic Fathers in these words, "Within the compass of a few brief letters they show that the writings of Apostles were regarded from the first as invested with singular authority, as the true expression, if not the original source, of Christian doctrine and Christian practice."² In outlining this period, I have chosen a somewhat arbitrary chronological listing of witnesses, but it will serve our study, in affording the testimony which we are seeking.

Clement of Rome

Let us first consider the testimony of Clement of Rome. We may wonder who this man was who left such a great impression on the early Christian Church. He is sometimes believed to have been the Clement, of whom St. Paul speaks in his Epistle to the Philippians.³ Yet the distance from Rome seems to be too great for this to have been the Clement with which we are concerned. Paul asked for help for women who had assisted Clement. These women would hardly have gone to Rome to render aid, and it is doubtful that Clement of Rome had ever worked in the territory of Philippi. Furthermore, the assumed date of Clement, as we shall see, is approximately 30 years after Paul. This would seem to argue against Clement's having been active in the ministry with Paul. Charteris offers us another possible addition to our historical knowledge of Clement. He believes, "It is by no means improbable that

2. Brooke Foss Westcott, A General Survey of the History of the New Testament, pp. 20, 21.

3. Philippians 4:3. "And I entreat thee also, true yokefellow, help those women which labored with me in the gospel, with Clement also, and with other my fellow labourers, whose names are in the book of life."

Clement, Bishop of Rome and writer of this Epistle, is the same as Clement, nephew of Vespasian, and consul of the city, who was slain in the year 96 A.D."⁴ At any rate, there is ample testimony that Clement was Bishop at Rome before the turn of the second century, and that as such he exerted great influence over the churches of Italy. Westcott adds that it is uncertain whether this man was of Jewish or heathen descent.⁵ It is certain that his mind followed the Roman bent toward law and order, for it appears that he set up a definite constitution for churches and an ecclesiastical discipline. He draws a parallel between the Levitical and Christian priesthood.

Quite a few literary works have been ascribed to him, doubtlessly because of the mythical dignity which surrounded his name. Several Epistles, Homilies, Recognitions, a Liturgy, and the Apostolic Canons and Constitutions bear his name. Yet Charteris concludes that, "There is now little doubt that the only one of those works which can be fairly reckoned as his is the epistle from 'the Church at Rome to the Church at Corinth,' commonly known as the First Epistle of Clement."⁶ Hegesippus seems to have read this epistle when he was at Corinth, headed for Rome, Pius being bishop at Rome. There is no reason for doubting that he speaks of it as Clement's.

The date of the writing of this epistle is set by Gregory as the year 95 A.D.⁷ Charteris gives us three reasons why he concludes the writing not to be earlier than 80 A.D. nor later than 100 A.D. He notes

4. A.H. Charteris, Canonicity, p. xi.

5. Westcott, op. cit., p. 22.

6. Charteris, op. cit., p. viii.

7. Gregory, op. cit., p. 62.

that no mention is made in the letter as to Gnostic errors propounded by Gnostic teachers, who came to Rome at the beginning of the second century. No widespread persecution is mentioned, and this was the situation under Trajan (A.D. 115). Also, there is no mention of a controversy over the relations between bishop and presbyter.⁸ Uhlhorn tells us that a persecution is mentioned at the outset of the letter, and that Harnack, together with others, feels that this was the persecution at the end of Domitian's reign (ca. 96 A.D.).⁹ Lightfoot corroborates our findings when he writes, "Its date was nearly simultaneous with the close of Domitian's persecution, when the Emperor's cousin, Flavius Clement, the namesake of the writer, perished during or immediately after the year of his consulate (A.D. 95), and his wife, Domitilla, Domitian's own niece, was driven into banishment on charges apparently connected with Christianity."¹⁰

The true importance of this letter to our study is the reference made to various books of our New Testament in use at that time. Clement's method of quoting is rather free. No need was felt to be exact, and the procedure involved so much difficulty if a person tried to be exact. One had to work with long scrolls, rolling and unrolling them. Hence a person would use his memory as much as possible. We can be certain of the method used by Clement if we will look at his Old Testament quotations. "Out of fifty-seven quotations from the Old Testament only seventeen are exact; and some of the others are so

8. Charteris, *op. cit.*, p. xi.

9. Johann Gerhard Wilhelm Uhlhorn, "Clement of Rome," The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge, 1912 ed., III, 140.

10. J. B. Lightfoot, The Apostolic Fathers, p. 3.

widely variant as to make it doubtful whether even a treacherous memory could be the cause of the divergence."¹¹ Let us look at some of the New Testament books echoed by Clement. Gregory demonstrates Clement's indications that the synoptic Gospels were known. He states that Clement:

quotes, and that clearly from memory, and mixes up into one, two passages from Matthew, one of which is also found in Mark and Luke. It is not another text, it is a free quotation, introduced by the words . . . 'Remember the words of Jesus our Lord; for He said: Woe to that man. It would have been better for him not to have been born than to offend one of My elect; it would have been better for him to have been bound round with a millstone and have been sunk into the sea than to offend one of My little ones.' In another place he makes a thorough combination of various verses from Matthew, partly found also in Luke. He introduces the passage thus . . . 'Especially remembering the words of the Lord Jesus, which he uttered while teaching meekness and longsuffering.' It was indeed 'remembering,' but not accurately. Clement continues: 'For he spoke thus; Be merciful, that ye may be mercifully treated; forgive, that ye may be forgiven. As ye do, so will be done to you. As ye give, so shall be given to you. As ye judge, so shall ye be judged. As ye show mildness, so shall ye be mildly treated. With what measure ye mete, with it shall be measured for you.'¹²

Westcott says it is possible to trace in Clement "the beginnings of modes of thought which are characteristic of St John, e.g., "The blood of Christ gained for the whole world the offer of the grace of repentance."¹³ First Corinthians is alluded to when Clement says . . . , "Take up the Epistles of St. Paul the apostle. What did he first write to you at the beginning of the gospel? In truth, he wrote to you spiritually both about himself and Cephas and Apollos, because even then there were parties among you."¹⁴ Ephesians and First Corinthians

11. Charteris, op. cit., p. xiii.

12. Clement of Rome, First Epistle of Clement, chaps. 46, 13, quoted in Gregory, op. cit., pp. 64, 65.

13. Clement, op. cit., chap. 7, quoted in Westcott, op. cit., p. 26.

14. Clement, op. cit., chap. 47, quoted in Gregory, op. cit., p. 64.

must have been in Clement's mind when he used the following words . . . , "Or have we not one God and one Christ, and one spirit of grace shed upon us, and one calling in Christ?"¹⁵

The most interesting thing about Clement is his close acquaintance with the Epistle to the Hebrews. If we could only know all about it that he knew. He uses its words, sometimes he quotes the Old Testament with its help, sometimes he follows its order of thought, sometimes he changes the thought. . . . Clement was suggested by someone before Origen as the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews. The man who proposed that was doubtless impelled by the contemplation of this free and intimate use of the Epistle. But we have no reason to suppose that Clement wrote it.¹⁶

Clement was so familiar with the epistle that he had made the language his own. The spirit of St. James is evidenced when Clement says, "Let us then work from our whole heart the work of righteousness."¹⁷ Listen to these words which show the influence of both Paul and James' writings:

Through faith and hospitality (διὰ πίστευ καὶ φιλοξενίᾳ) a son was given to Abraham in old age, and by obedience (δι' ὑπακοῆς) he offered him a sacrifice to God. Through faith and hospitality Rahab was saved (ἐσώθη).¹⁸ 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), . . .¹⁹

First Timothy seems echoed by Clement when he speaks of "what is pleasing, good, and acceptable, before Him that made us." Touching First Peter, Clement says, "Love covereth a multitude of sins."²⁰

15. Ibid, chap. 46, quoted in Gregory, op. cit., p. 63.
16. Gregory, op. cit., p. 65.
17. Clement, op. cit., chap. 33, quoted in Westcott, op. cit., p. 25.
18. Lightfoot thinks the use of this word an allusion to Paul's Epistle to the Galatians, Lightfoot, Ep. to Galatians, pp. 151 ff., quoted in Westcott, loc. cit., n. 2.
19. Clement, op. cit., chaps. 10, 12, 32, quoted in Westcott, loc. cit.
20. Ibid, chap. 49, quoted in Gregory, op. cit., p. 63.

"With his plea for subjection to other Christians he coincides with Titus and First Peter and Ephesians."²¹

We see that Clement, who stood near the time of Apostles, (he may have been thirty when Paul died) alludes to nearly all the books of our New Testament. This is amazing in that it occurs within this one letter. It could not be expected that he would mention all of the books. It is difficult to determine just how Clement viewed these books he quotes. He indeed believes that the Gospels contain the true words of Christ as has been seen from the quotations cited, yet did he view the book itself as inspired? There may be a hint when he says of Paul, as has also been noted, "Take up the Epistles of Saint Paul the apostle . . . In truth he wrote to you spiritually." Does this mean "inspired by the Holy Ghost?" It is extremely difficult to answer.

We might also wonder whether any uncanonical books are traceable in Clement's letter. Gregory says, "Do we find in this letter any traces of other writings that seem to have been of the same character as the New Testament books? No."²² Gregory further states that if there were as many apocryphal books in circulation as some would have us believe, it would have been impossible for Clement not to have quoted them, and furthermore all the uncertain quotations mentioned appear to have come from the Old Testament Apocrypha.²³ Charteris charges that if some want to assign these quotations to any apocryphal

21. Gregory, loc. cit.

22. Ibid., p. 65.

23. Ibid., p. 66.

book they would have to admit to a freedom in quoting; if they admit this, our case stands.²⁴ It is evident that Clement places no other books on a level with the books of the New Testament referred to by him.

I should like to quote a paragraph from Farrar evaluating this letter of Clement. He opines:

The Epistle of St. Clement is thoroughly eclectic, but the eclecticism is as devoid of genius and originality as an ordinary modern sermon. It consists in a free usage of phrases borrowed promiscuously from each of the great Apostles, rather than in a real assimilation of their views. The piety and receptivity of the writer is very beautiful, but it cannot be said that it is vivified by a singled luminous or informing idea.²⁵

Comparing Clement with St. Paul on the resurrection from the dead, Farrar criticizes:

. . . when St. Clement speaks of the Resurrection, we see how immeasurably his theology has retrograded behind that of St. Paul. He does not connect it immediately and necessarily with the Resurrection of Christ, but proves it by Old Testament quotations, and illustrates its possibility by natural analogies, especially by the existence and history of the Phoenix! How much would our estimate of inspiration have been lowered--how loud would have been the scornful laugh of modern materialists --had faith in the Resurrection been founded in the New Testament on such arguments as these! Tacitus, too, believed in the Phoenix; but Tacitus does not refer to the fable of its reappearance by way of founding on it an inestimable truth. We are not comparing St. Clement with Tacitus; we love his gentleness and respect his piety; we are only endeavoring to show how far he stands below the level of St. John and of St. Paul.²⁶

Westcott speaks more of the value of the testimony for the establishing of the canon when he observes that the kind of testimony found in Clement is beyond all suspicion of design and above all contradiction.²⁷

24. Charteris, *op. cit.*, p. xv.

25. F. W. Farrar, The Early Days of Christianity, p. 57.

26. Ibid.

27. Westcott, op. cit., p. 27.

List of New Testament books testified to:

Matthew	Romans	I Timothy
Mark	I & II Corinthians	Titus
Luke	Galatians	Hebrews ✓
John	Ephesians	James
		I Peter

Ignatius

Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch, is logically the next witness after Clement to the canon of the New Testament. This is shown in the arguments of these two men for an organized ministry. Clement had compared it to the Levitical priesthood thus showing the early dependence of the Christians upon the Old Testament. Ignatius used Paul's argument for unity based on the idea of the body of Christ, thus illustrating the tendency of the later Christians to lean on the New Testament writings. Westcott puts it this way:

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 . . . the letters of Ignatius complete the history of one feature of Christianity. The Epistles [sic] of St Paul to the Ephesians, his Pastoral Epistles, and the Epistles of Clement and Ignatius, when taken together make a harmonious progression in the development of the idea of a Church.²⁸

The actual years of Ignatius' life must be shortly after the death of Christ. We derive this from the many traditions which place his martyrdom in the reign of Trajan, A.D. 115.²⁹ Gregory places the death at some time between 107 and 117 A.D.³⁰

There is some question as to which epistles of Ignatius are genuine. At the present time we feel sure of seven, yet even these are found in several recensions. Eusebius mentions the seven.³¹

28. Westcott, op. cit., pp. 31, 32.

29. Charteris, op. cit., p. xxvi.

30. Gregory, op. cit., p. 71.

31. Eusebius, H. E., III, 36, quoted in Charteris, op. cit., p. xxvi.

Charteris tells us about the recensions. There are two in Greek, a longer and a shorter. Calvin denounced the longer recension as spurious. Later the shorter from of six epistles was published by Voss and the seventh by Ruinart. In 1845 Dr. Cureton found in the Syriac language only three of these, and they were in a still more concise form. These last were claimed "by the upholders of the Curetonian Epistles" to be the translation from the true Greek original. Now the latest theory, held by Zahn,³² surmises that the seven letters in the shorter from were translated into Syriac; the Curetonian Epistles are merely an extract from this translation; and, the longer form originated from the interpolating of a pseudo-Ignatius ca. 360-380 A.D.³³

Westcott avers that the testimony of Ignatius is not invalidated in spite of this dispute. For, if any part of the epistles is acknowledged as authentic, the argument that they presuppose the Epistles of Paul still stands, because the argument is drawn from the general character of these letters.³⁴ Furthermore, many of the references to New Testament books are found in all three recensions. The chief writer of the New Testament to whom Ignatius refers is the Apostle Paul, and he refers to him almost exclusively. Paul appears to have been constantly before Ignatius as a model. With one allegory Ignatius definitely exhibits this. He takes Paul's figure of Christ

32. Charteris, op. cit., p. xxvii, n. 2.

33. Ibid., p. xxvii.

34. Westcott, op. cit., pp. 29, 30.

as the Head and us as the members of His body and elaborates on it.³⁵ Similarly we find him speaking out against Judaism fully as strongly as Paul:

Judaism . . . is 'An evil leaven that has grown old and sour.' 'To use the name of Jesus Christ and yet observe Jewish customs is unnatural (ἄτοπον).' 'To live according to Judaism is to confess that we have not received grace.' At the same time, like St Paul, Ignatius regards Christianity as the completion, and not the negation, of the Old 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 Word, having proceeded from Silence, ' . . . 'who in all things well-pleased Him that sent Him'³⁶

It is natural that this Bishop of Antioch³⁷ should feel so strongly attached to Paul, for Paul had made the city of Antioch his starting

35. Westcott brings this out clearly: "The Ignatian doctrine of the unity of the Church, which in its construction shews the mind of St Peter (I Pet. 2:4-8, 25.), is really based upon the cardinal passage of St Paul (Eph. 5:23 sqq.). Christians individually are members of Christ, who is their great Spiritual 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 (Ad Eph. vi.),' and 'a partaker of the judgment of Christ, even as Christ was of the judgment of the Father (Ad Eph. iii.),' while the Church is united to Christ as He is united to the Father (Ad Eph. v.); 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 (Ad Magn. iii.).' Believers are subject to the Bishop as to God's grace, and to the presbytery as to Christ's law (Ad Magn. ii.); 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 (Ad Magn. vi.),'" Westcott, *op. cit.*, pp. 34, 35.

36. Ignatius, *Ad Magn.*, chaps. 10,8, quoted in Westcott, *op. cit.*, pp. 33, 34.

37. Ignatius uses the name *Χριστιανισμός* when contrasting the New Religion with Judaism--a possible reference to Acts 11:26, Ignatius, *Ad Rom.*, chap. 3 etc., quoted in Westcott, *op. cit.*, p. 53, n. 2.

place on each on his missionary journeys. It was, so to speak, the base of his operations.

For a similar reason it was natural for Ignatius to be influenced by the Apostle John. The latter had spent many years in Ephesus, which was near Antioch. I should like to list some of Ignatius' allusions to John, found in Westcott:

Love is 'the stamp of the Christian.' 'Faith is the beginning, and love the end of life.' 'Faith is our guide upward (*ἀνιγωγεύς*), but love is the road that leads to God.' 'The Word is the manifestation of God,' 'the door (*θύρα*) by which we come to the Father' 'and without Him we have not the principle of true life.' 'The Spirit (*πνεῦμα*) is not led astray, as being from God. For it knoweth whence it cometh and whither it goeth, and testeth (*ἐλέγχει*) that which is hidden.' 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.' He has no love of this life; 'his love has been crucified, and he has 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.' Meanwhile his enemy is the enemy of his Master, even 'the ruler of this age.'³⁸

Now that we have seen the close association of this testimony to books of the New Testament we may wonder just how Ignatius viewed these books. Zahn enlightens us on this subject. He shows us that Ignatius refused to derive his doctrines from various writings of bishops of his time. Instead he found them in the New Testament writings. These he placed on a par with the Old Testament writings

38. Ignatius, Ad Magn., chap. 5, Ad Eph., chaps. 14, 9 (So Syr.), Ad Magn., chap. 8, Ad Philad., chap. 9, Ad Trall., chap. 9, Ad Philad., chap. 7, Ad Rom., chap. 7 of. I Cor. 2:6,8, quoted in Westcott, op. cit., pp. 35, 36.

introducing quotations from both with such statements as these, "It is written," "here is placed for reading," "it is not a witness of my fantasy or speculation."³⁹ Gregory gives us an interesting quotation from Ignatius which may have some bearing on this matter, "For me Jesus Christ is archives."⁴⁰ Does Ignatius mean that he regards Christ as living and existing with men through these New Testament writings? This may well have been his intention.

Were there any books other than those of our New Testament that Ignatius recognized? Gregory thinks there is a possibility that this quotation, "And when he came to those around Peter, he said to them: Take, touch Me, and see that I am not a bodiless spirit," could have come from an apocryphal Gospel of Peter, his teaching or preaching, or from the Gospel to the Hebrews used in parallel with the passage in Luke.⁴¹ It seems to me rather that this could really be the passage in Luke quoted in the loose manner of the day. We can see from Zahn (above) that Ignatius regarded no other writings than those of our New Testament as being the source of doctrine and on a par with the Old Testament.

In summing up the value of the testimony of Ignatius, we see that he is one who was probably in contact with Paul and other of the disciples, that he positively gives evidence of our New Testament

39. Theodor Zahn, Geschichte des Neutestamentlichen Kanons, vol. 2, 2, p. 947, n. 1.

40. Ignatius, Ad Philad., chap. 8, quoted in Gregory, op. cit., p. 72.

41. Ibid., Ad Smyr., chap. 3, quoted in Gregory, loc. cit.

books, that he places them on a level with the Old Testament and finally that no other writings are considered their equal.

List of New Testament books testified to:

John
 Acts
 I Corinthians
 Ephesians
 I Peter

Polycarp

Polycarp is the "keystone of the arch that supports the history of Christianity, and therefore of the books of the New Testament, from the time of the apostles to the close of the second century,"⁴² thus writes Gregory. He tells us more about this unique individual. First of all, he appears to have been born in 69 A.D. That would make him about thirty when the Apostle John died. He appears to have been converted by one of the Apostles, perhaps this same John, and was probably a disciple of John's. Irenaeus, who was born in Asia Minor and later became Bishop at Lyons, saw Polycarp when Irenaeus was yet a boy. This bishop tells us that Polycarp was the pupil of John and bishop at Smyrna. We have a written account from the church at Smyrna of his martyrdom. Polycarp was asked to revile Christ, and he refused. He said, "Eighty and six years do I serve Him, and He has never done me wrong. And how can I blaspheme my king that saved me?"⁴³ There is some dispute as to whether the martyrdom occurred in 155 A.D. or 166 A.D.⁴⁴

42. Gregory, op. cit., p. 74.

43. Anonymous, Epistle from the Church at Smyrna to the Church at Philomelion, chap. 9, quoted in Gregory, loc. cit.

44. For an excellent discussion of this question see Charteris, op. cit., p. xxxv, n. 1.

There is strong support for the New Testament writings in Polycarp's Letter to the Philippians. Westcott makes the blanket statement, "The short epistle of Polycarp contains far more references to the writings of the New Testament than any other work of the first age."⁴⁵ Still, he nowhere indicates that he is quoting. The passages and phrases are woven into the text of his letter. Let us see which books he has reference to. In a particularly striking manner he supports the First Epistle of the Apostle John. Charteris shows us that he uses Johns familiar words ἀντίχριστος, ἐν σαρκὶ ἐληλυθέναι, ἔκ τοῦ διαβόλου. Here are two remarkable allusions to St. Paul also:

These things, brethren, I write unto you concerning righteousness. . . . For neither I nor any such other one can come up to the wisdom of the blessed and glorified Paul. He, when among you, accurately and steadfastly taught the word of truth in the presence of those who were then alive. And when absent from you, he wrote you a letter, which, if you carefully study, you will find to be the means of building you up in that faith which has been given you, and which, being followed by hope, and preceded by love towards God and Christ, and our neighbors, is the mother of us all. For if anyone be inwardly possessed of those graces, he hath fulfilled the command of righteousness, since he that hath love is far from all sin.

The second:

Do we not know that the saints shall judge the world, as Paul teaches. [sic] But I have neither seen nor heard of any such thing among you, in the midst of whom the blessed Paul laboured, and who are commended in the beginning of his Epistle. For he boasts of you in all those churches which alone knew the Lord; but we [of Smyrna] had not yet known Him.⁴⁶

45. Westcott, op. cit., p. 36.

46. Polycarp, Epistle to the Philippians, chaps. 3, 11, quoted in Charteris, op. cit., p. xxxviii. Charteris indicates that I & II Thessalonians seem to be echoed, ibid, loc. cit., n. 1.

In addition to John and Paul, the spirit of Peter seems to move in Polycarp's writing. Westcott points out that the peculiar similarity of this letter to Peter's epistle was noticed even in early times by Eusebius. He also declares that in the sentence quoted above, speaking of Christians being built upon the faith given them, which is the mother of us all, hope following after, love towards God preceding, Polycarp has united the watchwords of these three great Apostles, John, Paul, and Peter. The opinion of Gregory on the testimony of Polycarp is:

His letter is full of the New Testament. It is plain that he had in his hands the Gospel of Matthew, and he probably had all four Gospels; he had all the Epistles of Paul; he had First Peter and First John, and he had that letter of Clement of Rome. I have no doubt that he refers to Acts in his first chapter . . . He is, if I may say so, saturated with Peter, but he is also Pauline to a very high degree.⁴⁷

Having seen the books of our New Testament which are substantiated by Polycarp, we should like to know how he views them. We have seen from a previous quotation that he considered Paul's Letter to the Philippians able to build them up in their faith. This could very well mean that the Holy Spirit was present in the letter and able to build up their faith. Note also how Polycarp submitted to the authority of St. Paul saying that neither he nor anyone could come up to the wisdom of that great Apostle. Does not this show that Paul and his writings were held to be of special authority? Charteris tells us that if we could depend on the Latin translation, we should have two quotations (Psalm 4:4; and, Eph. 4:26.) joined together, as being

47. Gregory, op. cit., p. 75.

one, and called in one place "Sacrae literae," and in another "haec Scripturae."⁴⁸ He tells us also that Polycarp bases all his exhortations on the authority of Holy Scripture.⁴⁹ We seem to feel that in view of such remarks, Polycarp does believe the books to be inspired.

Does he recognize any other books as of equal authority? We find none. Charteris does remark that some would like to attribute a quotation to some lost Gospel, because it differs from our Gospels. It does resemble more closely a quotation from Clement. But even here, "Although they contain . . . one striking clause in common, their own clauses are in such different order that we cannot regard them as quoting from the same lost source."⁵⁰

As we ponder the testimony and the person of Polycarp we are led to side with many great scholars of the canon of the New Testament and value him above all other Apostolic Fathers. He stands astride two centuries and links them. He joins hands with John, the disciple of Christ, and with Irenaeus who died after the start of the third century (203 A.D.) Through his connection with these two men he causes

48. Polycarp, *op. cit.*, (Latin version), chap. 12, quoted in Charteris, *op. cit.*, pp. xxxvi, xxxvii.

49. Charteris, *op. cit.*, p. xxxix.

50. *Ibid*, p. xxxvii. The passage referred to is quoted in *ibid*, p. 112, sec. 5. "Ep. to Philipp. c. 2.3. Μνημονεύοντες δὲ ᾧ ἐπέειπε ὁ

Κύριος διδάσκων· μὴ κρίνετε, ἵνα μὴ κρινῆτε; ἀφίετε καὶ ἀφεθήσεται ὑμῖν· ἔλεεῖτε, ἵνα ἐλεηθῆτε. [ἐν] ᾧ μέτρῳ μετρεῖτε, ἀντιμετρηθήσεται ὑμῖν. Καὶ, ὅτι μακάριοι οἱ πτωχοὶ, καὶ οἱ διωκόμενοι ἕνεκεν δικαιοσύνης· ὅτι αὐτῶν ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ.

(Mat. v. 3,7,10; vii. 1,2; Luke vi. 20,36,37,38.)"

east and west to meet, for Irenaeus was bishop at Lyons, France. It must have been the grace of God that these three men were permitted to live and to have such a relationship with each other.

All of New Testament books testified to except:

Hebrews ✓
James

II Peter
II & III John

Jude
Revelation

Barnabas

It is generally agreed now that Barnabas, the Apostle and associate of Paul, was not the writer of this epistle. It may have been some other Barnabas. Clement of Alexandria, Origen, and Jerome thought so, but we believe they merely accepted tradition. The Alexandrian Church, then, at the end of the second and beginning of the third century, had held it to be genuine and important. The influence of this letter was centered chiefly in this locality. Charteris lists some reasons why he does not believe the author to have been our Barnabas:

The Barnabas of the New Testament was a Jew, a Levite, more Jewish in his leanings than Paul (Gal. ii.13); but the author of this Epistle denounces Jewish sacrifices . . . and Jewish fasts . . . in a way foreign to Paul;⁵¹ he declares . . . that Jews lost their covenant rights when Moses broke the tables of the law, &c.⁵² He attempts to describe the ceremonies of the great day of atonement . . . ,⁵³ and to treat the red heifer as a type of Christ . . . ,⁵⁴ but is so incorrect in his statements as to show that he 'was neither accurately acquainted with the text of the law, nor had even seen the celebration of the day of atonement.' His position in regard to Judaism is therefore not that of Barnabas. And another argument against his being the companion of Paul and of the other Apostles may well

51. Anonymous, Epistle of Barnabas, chaps. 2,3, in Charteris, op. cit., p. 111.

52. Ibid., chap. 4, in Charteris, loc. cit.

53. Ibid., chap. 7, in Charteris, loc. cit.

54. Ibid., chap. 8, in Charteris, loc. cit. The quotation is from Donaldson, Apostolic Fathers (1874), p. 256.

be found in the famous passage where, desirous of proving Christ's power as a Savior, he says, 'When He chose His own apostles who were to preach His Gospel, He chose those who were lawless beyond the bounds of all ordinary sin, that He might show He came not to call the righteous, but sinners'⁵⁵ We can scarcely imagine that this was spoken of the other Apostles by one who had known their goodness and truth, and who, if he wrote the Epistle at all, wrote it after the destruction of Jerusalem, when of them all only John survived.⁵⁶

This almost conclusively proves the point, yet the same author adds in another place, " . . . when he comes to teach the practical duties of the Christian life, he shows a tenderness of feeling and a beauty of expression that make us almost ready to think that he was none other than the 'good man, and full of the Holy Ghost and of faith,' of whom we read in Acts xi.24."⁵⁷

There might be some question as to the canonicity of this book itself. Yet even if this was written by the Apostle Barnabas, why must we conclude that everything written by an apostle must be canonical? Even though such men as Clement of Alexandria, Origen, and Jerome thought that this was written by Barnabas the Apostle, yet all three did not consider it equal to the New Testament books. Clement did not hesitate to criticise and blame it.⁵⁸ Zahn tells us that Origen refused to place it in his canon.⁵⁹ Jerome also placed it with the Apocrypha.⁶⁰ Its inferiority to the canonical writings of the New Testament becomes increasingly evident if we compare it with the book

55. Ibid, chap. 5, in Charteris, loc. cit.
56. Charteris, op. cit., pp. ii, iii.
57. Ibid, p. vi.
58. Ibid, p. ii.
59. Zahn, op. cit., vol. 2,2, p. 950.
60. Westcott, op. cit., p. 42.

of the New Testament which it most nearly resembles, namely the Epistle to the Hebrews.⁶¹ Farrar passes a stinging judgment:

No one can read the Epistle of Barnabas after the Epistle to the Hebrews without seeing that the former is not only immeasurably inferior, but that it is 'so' inferior as to tremble on the verge of dangerous heresy. Let the reader . . . notice how tasteless are the fancies of this unknown Barnabas, and how absurd are many of his statements--and he will see the difference between canonical and uncanonical books, and learn to feel a deeper gratitude for the superintending Providence which, even in ages of ignorance and simplicity, obviated the danger of any permanent confusion between the former and the latter.⁶²

The date of this testimony is difficult to determine. It evidently must be after the fall of Jerusalem in 70 A.D.,⁶³ since the writer speaks of the Temple as having been destroyed.⁶⁴ Also, it appears that it was written at a time when the Jews had somewhat regained favor with the Romans. Charteris says, "There is in the whole tone of the Epistle . . . something that makes us feel it necessary to regard Jerusalem as

61. Westcott comments excellently on this. He says, ". . . the general spirit of the Epistle of Barnabas is different from that of the Epistle to the Hebrews. In the latter it is shewn 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. But in the former it is assumed throughout that the Law was from its first institution misunderstood by the Jews. The first covenant was broken by reason of their idolatry, and the second became a stumbling block to them in spite of the teaching of the Prophets. Fasts, feasts, and sacrifices, were required by God only in a spiritual sense. Even circumcision, as they practiced 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. The Jewish Sabbath was not according to God's will: their temple was a delusion. Judaism is made a mere riddle, of which Christianity is the answer. It had in itself no value, not 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 invested it." Westcott, op. cit., pp. 45, 46.

62. Farrar, op. cit., p. 59.

63. Charteris, op. cit., p. iii.

64. Ibid., n. 2.

in ruins; and Aelia Capitolina, A.D. 119, as not yet founded." He concludes that A.D. 119 or 120 is a very likely time for it to have been written, although it could go all the way back to shortly after the time of the fall of Jerusalem.⁶⁵

References to books in the New Testament are not many. We have seen the obvious relation to the Epistle to the Hebrews. Gregory informs us that Barnabas has two quotations from Matthew. Also, that he quotes words of Jesus which we do not have in our Gospels. Barnabas, in speaking about the goat on the day of atonement, says that the reddened wool was to be placed on a thorn bush when the goat was driven out into the wilderness. This was to be a picture of Christ for us, that if anyone wishes to get the wool he must suffer from the thorns; he must be under stress to become master of the wool. Barnabas now quotes Christ as saying, "Thus . . . they who wish to see me, and to attain to my kingdom, must be under stress and suffering to take me."⁶⁶ Still these words need not be from an unknown Gospel; they could be simply a combination of the author's, or a paraphrase of Matthew's recording of Jesus' words, "If any man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me."⁶⁷ Indeed they remind us of Paul's words in Acts, on reaching Derbe, after the stoning at Lystra.⁶⁸ In addition, many other passages suggest to us Paul and John.⁶⁹

65. Ibid, pp. iv, v.

66. Anonymous, Epistle of Barnabas, chap. 7, l. 11, quoted in Gregory, op. cit., p. 78.

67. Matthew 16: 24.

68. Acts 15: 22, " . . . we must through much tribulation enter into the kingdom of God."

69. Gregory, op. cit., pp. 78, 79.

Barnabas' importance on determining how the New Testament books were regarded is also noted by Gregory. He observes, concerning the quotations from Matthew:

The sentences quoted are so short, and are of such an easy kind to be remembered, that the oral tradition might be supposed to have passed them directly on to Barnabas, were it not that in the one case he directly writes: 'as it is written,' and thus shows that he knows of written Gospels. This application of the phrase, 'it is written,' which is the technical way of quoting the sacred books of the Old Testament, may be the earliest case of this use of the New Testament books as Scripture.⁷⁰

As we evaluate the testimony of Barnabas, we see that his only strong reference is to our "Hebrews." Yet he evidences no apocrypha. Rather, as we compare Barnabas with the canonical book, Hebrews, we gain an insight into the nature of apocryphal books and understand why such writings cannot be included in the canon. Lastly, it is encouraging to see him use the quotations from Matthew as of equal authority with the Old Testament.

List of New Testament books testified to:

Matthew
Acts
Hebrews

Papias

Irenaeus calls him "Papias, a man of the olden time, the hearer of John and companion of Polycarp."⁷¹ This student of the apostles held the office of Bishop of Hierapolis in Phrygia. Charteris deduces from Papias' acquaintance with Apostle, the daughters of Philip, and "elders" and their younger associates that the span of his life was from 70 A.D to 150 A.D.⁷²

70. Ibid, p. 78.

71. Charteris, op. cit., p. xli.

72. Ibid, p. xliii.

In view of his association with our Lord's apostles, we find great weight in his testimony. In fact, he himself preferred to gain acceptance for his statements on the basis of what he remembered from their sayings. He wrote an exegetical study of the Evangelic traditions in five books. It was entitled An Exposition of Oracles of the Lord. With regard to these Papias says, ". . . I must tell you that I shall not scruple to place side by side with my interpretations all that I ever rightly learnt from the elders and rightly remembered, solemnly affirming that it is true."⁷³ From these words and from such a work we may infer that there were already existing and recognized records of the teachings of Christ. Otherwise, what would be the reason for such a work? Unfortunately, these five books have been lost; nevertheless, we have been able to recover a few fragments from them. That the book was based on our New Testament Gospels is shown by the fact that those fragments which remain can be "brought into a natural connection with passages of our Gospels."⁷⁴ The "Oracles" which Papias expounded may very well have been what is often called the τὰ λόγια of Matthew. This brings up the question of whether this τὰ λόγια is in reality the Gospel according to St. Matthew. Papias actually says, "Matthew composed the oracles in Hebrew; and each one

⁷³. Papias ap. Eusebius, op. cit., III, 59, quoted in Westcott, op. cit., p. 71.

⁷⁴. Westcott, op. cit., p. 73.

interpreted them as he was able."⁷⁵ Some have thought that these oracles were simply "sayings" of Jesus, but Charteris points out that this word has for its natural meaning "sacred oracles" whether containing narrative or speech.⁷⁶

The testimony to the Gospel of Mark is interesting. Papias writes:

This also . . . the Elder [John]⁷⁷ used to say. Mark, having become Peter's interpreter, wrote accurately all that he remembered;⁷⁸ 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. 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.⁷⁹

We see from this that Mark is supposed to have not bothered about writing down Christ's life in a chronological order. Some charge that for this reason, the above Mark could not have been our Gospel

75. Eusebius, loc. cit., quoted in Westcott, loc. cit. Some charge that Papias is here speaking only of a Hebrew Gospel by Matthew, and hence this testimony has no value for our present Gospel. Yet we notice that Papias is speaking in the past tense of a Gospel in Hebrew. At the time when he is writing, the Gospel in Greek is already in his readers' hands.

76. Charteris, op. cit., p. xliv.

77. There is some disagreement as to who this John was. Some suppose that the two John's were living in Ephesus, John the Presbyter and John the Apostle. However, Zahn believes that Papias here has reference to John the Apostle, and that this disciple was often referred to as John the Presbyter. Zahn writes, "The individual in question is therefore a Palestine Jewish Christian settled in Asia Minor, and called John--in other words, according to the unanimous tradition of the second century, the Apostle John, whose statements Papias cites in numerous of his words, partly as he heard them from John's own lips, partly as they had come to him through other disciples of his." Introduction to the New Testament, vol. ii, p. 438. For a thorough discussion of the question, cf. Ibid., pp. 435 ff. & 541 f. #13.

78. This may also be rendered "Peter told," but the sense remains the same. Gregory, op. cit., p. 73.

79. Eusebius, loc. cit., quoted in Westcott, op. cit., pp. 74, 75.

of Mark. Westcott challenges this. He points out that it is impossible to assume two Gospels of Mark as prevalent at this time. How could Irenaeus, who lived just fifty years after this, know absolutely nothing about two and assign this testimony of Papias to our Gospel alone? Also, it is unbelievable that Tertullian, Clement, Origen and Eusebius would do the same, and that not even the slightest trace of two Marks can be found. A more reasonable explanation would be that John the Presbyter made a mistake. The best solution is that Mark wrote not a complete life of Christ, but merely a memoir of some events in it. After all, he was not a disciple of Christ. He was dependent on Peter, who had a special object in mind, which excluded the idea of a complete narrative. Mark's sequence of events was rather moral than historical. That the other Synoptic Evangelists nearly coincide with Mark does not alter the situation.⁸⁰ Consequently, we conclude that this is valid testimony to our Gospel of Mark.

In addition to Mark, Papias seems to have known the Gospel of John,⁸¹ the First Epistle of John, and the First Epistle of Peter. Eusebius definitely states that Papias quoted "the former Epistle of John, and that of Peter likewise."⁸² Westcott adds that the divine inspiration of the Apocalypse is maintained and the book itself commented on in part.⁸³ Altogether Papias "stands as the representative of 'the Twelve,' and witnesses to every book which the next generation commonly received in their name."⁸⁴

80. Ibid, pp. 75, 76.

81. Ibid, p. 77, n. 1.

82. Eusebius, loc. cit., quoted in Westcott, op. cit., p. 77, cf. also n. 2.

83. Ibid, p. 77.

84. Ibid, pp. 79, 80.

We may find it peculiar that Paul is slighted. There does not appear to be mention of his Epistles. But when we consider that Papias was a Jew and perchance inclined toward Judaism, a slight antagonism toward Paul is understandable. On the other hand we have at this same period, Marcion, who is so pro-Paul that he definitely excluded all except Paul's writings and a revised version of the Gospel of Luke from his Christian canon.⁸⁵

I have found nothing definite with regard to Papias' views as to the inspiration of these books which he mentions. Yet when we consider that he took the pains to write a commentary on the Gospels, he must have believed that they contained what was true. He called them the Oracles of our Lord. Were there any other books which Papias acknowledged to be of equal worth and use with these of our New Testament? The only record I find is that Eusebius⁸⁶ speaks of a story by Papias of a woman accused of many sins, who was brought before the Lord. "Which story," Eusebius relates, "the Gospel according to the Hebrews contains."⁸⁷ Yet there are no indications as to where Papias got this story or how he regarded it. We find a very similar incident in our Gospel story of the woman caught in adultery or in the one of the woman who bathed Jesus feet in tears and dried them with her hair.⁸⁸ Perhaps he was merely paraphrasing one of these stories.

As we evaluate the testimony of Papias, we see standing out the fact of his having sat at the feet of the apostles. We would very

85. *Ibid*, pp. 78, 79, 80.

86. Eusebius despised Papias as one "who seemed very weak in the mind" because of his Chiliastic beliefs. Charteris, *op. cit.*, p. xlii.

87. Eusebius, quoted in Charteris, *op. cit.*, p. xliiv.

88. John 8:7. and Luke 7:38. respectively.

much like to read what such a one has written. Also, there is a very good possibility that Irenaeus had met him as well as meeting Polycarp.⁸⁹ So Papias joins the chain of witnesses constructed by God to link together the ends of the then known world, and carry eye witness testimony over the three centuries when the Christian Church was in infancy.

List of New Testament books testified to:

Matthew
Mark
John

I Peter
I John
Revelation

The Didache

The Didache is a very recent discovery. Bryennios found the Greek MS. in 1875. It was contained, along with a copy of the Epistle of Clement, in the Constantinopolitan or Hierosolymitan MS. of 1056 A.D. A Latin version also is on hand, and there is a text used in Barnabas.⁹⁰ We do not find it listed in books studying the history of the New Testament canon before the turn of the twentieth century. Yet it is a very ancient document. Bishop Lightfoot gives reasons based on the internal language and subject matter why he considers it one of the earliest documents of the Post-Apostolic Christian Church. In the first place, there is still the itinerant prophetic order instead of the permanent, localized ministry of a later date. Secondly, the episcopacy is not yet universal. "Bishop" is still synonymous with "presbyter."⁹¹ In fact, the writer of the Didache couples bishops with

89. Charteris, op. cit., p. xli.

90. Anonymous, The New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers, p. 24.

91. Anonymous, Didache, par. 15, quoted in Lightfoot, op. cit., p. 215.

deacons as did St. Paul. Thirdly, the phrase, "after ye have been filled"⁹² shows that the agape was still connected with the celebration of the Lord's Supper. Lastly, the archaic simplicity of its practical suggestions indicates a time in the early infancy of the Church.⁹³ On the question of the location of the writing, Lightfoot claims that the words "corn scattered upon the mountains"⁹⁴ points to either Syria or Palestine. Bishop Lightfoot does not give a date in numbers, but Gregory offers us 120 A.D., and adds that it is much older than that.⁹⁵ Certainly, it must have been one of the earliest documents of the Post-Apostolic Church.

A group of Oxford scholars, in a book entitled The New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers, have drawn up a very impressive comparison of lines from the Didache with quotations from the relative New Testament books. They divide the whole work into various sections and consider the references found in each. In the first section, "The Two Ways," they have noticed a possible acquaintance with Matthew, Acts, Romans, Hebrews, and Jude. Just how probable the reference to these books happens to be is shown by the way these scholars have listed them. Two are classed with the lowest degree of possibility, and the rest are simply placed under the category of "unclassified."

92. Ibid, par. 10, quoted in Lightfoot, op. cit., p. 216.

93. Lightfoot, op. cit., pp. 215, 216.

94. Anonymous, Didache, par. 9, quoted in Lightfoot, op. cit., p. 216.

95. Gregory, op. cit., p. 75. Prof. M. B. Riddle states that "English and American scholars vary between A.D. 80 and 120." Riddle, "Introductory Notice to the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles," The Ante-Nicene Fathers, 1886 ed., VII, 375.

Under the second, "The Ecclesiastical Section," they list four quotations showing a slight similarity to Matthew. These are graded in class "C" as to probability of their being true references. Gregory states that it is "impossible that these quotations are a later addition."⁹⁶ In the same section these Oxford scholars find indications of traces of I Corinthians, John, and Luke's Gospel, in addition to other traces of Synoptic tradition. The third section is called "The Eschatological Chapter." In this section, the Didache may show the influence of Matthew and Luke. The Oxford scholars say it is still doubtful. The last division is named "The Interpolation in the 'Two Ways.'" In this division we find First Peter, Matthew, and Luke possibly evidenced.⁹⁷ These have been classified under "D," the classification indicating the lowest degree of probability. In spite of the weakness and doubtfulness of these supposed references to our New Testament books, Gregory reassures us, ". . . if we do not find direct quotations, we find plenty of sense and sentences that must have come from Matthew and Luke and John, and Paul's Epistles, and First Peter."⁹⁸

To conclude our study of the Didache, it is necessary to consider the regard which the writer has for the New Testament books he appears to be using.⁹⁹ Gregory gives us a clue by mentioning some of the formulae used to introduce quotations: "as ye have in the Gospel;"

96. Gregory, op. cit., p. 76.

97. The New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers, pp. 25-35.

98. Gregory, loc. cit.

99. The Oxford scholars list all the formulae which appear to introduce quotations. The New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers, p. 24.

"as the Lord commanded in the Gospel;" "according to the dogma of the Gospel;" and, "About this the Lord hath said, Give not the holy thing to the dogs."¹⁰⁰ We may gather from this that the writer believed that the Lord Jesus' sayings and commands were present in the Gospels. We find no clues as to whether any apocryphal books were considered authoritative. We can go along with Gregory as he asserts the Didache "shows no traces of a definitely other Gospel."¹⁰¹

List of New Testament books possibly testified to:

Matthew	Acts	Hebrews
Luke	Romans	I Peter
John	I Corinthians	Jude

The Shepherd of Hermas

Charteris calls this book the work of the "Bunyan of the Church of the second century."¹⁰² A less appreciative view is taken by Dr. Bunsen, who calls it a "good, but dull novel,"¹⁰³ and his teacher, Niebuhr, who remarks that he "pitied the Athenian Christians for being obliged to hear it read in their assemblies."¹⁰⁴ After such a characterization, let us look more closely at this early writing. Charteris tells us "it is a succession of visions and mystic teachings, called 'The Shepherd,' because the author describes the angel who instructed him as 'a man of glorious aspect dressed like a shepherd, with a white skin, a wallet on his shoulders, and a staff in his hand."¹⁰⁵

100. Gregory, loc. cit.

101. Ibid., p. 75.

102. Charteris, op. cit., p. xxiv.

103. Dr. Bunsen, Hippolytus and His Age, vol. i, p. 315, quoted in Cleveland Coxe, "Introductory Note to the Pastor of Hermas," The Ante-Nicene Fathers, 1885 ed., II, 3.

104. Niebuhr, quoted in Coxe, loc. cit.

105. Charteris, loc. cit.

The work itself contains eight visions, twelve commands, and nine parables.¹⁰⁶ Practical teachings for people who know the doctrines of the Gospel constitute the major part.¹⁰⁷

I have said that it was an early writing. Just how early, it appears impossible to decide. There are three outstanding theories as to the actual dating. Bishop Lightfoot sums them up very well for us. The earliest date (58 A.D.) associates Hermas with the Hermas of the Roman Church, greeted by Paul in his letter to the Romans.¹⁰⁸ Origen is the leading proponent of this view, and he was followed by Eusebius and Jerome. However, Origen in speaking of this matter used the words "ut puto." This shows that he really had no actual determining facts at his disposal. Secondly, it has been held for some time that it was composed ca. 155 A.D. The ground for this view is chiefly the Muratorian Fragment. It declares that Hermas wrote the Shepherd while his brother Pius was Bishop at Rome (140-155 A.D.). One difficulty in the way of this dating is that Clement is mentioned as a contemporary. This must be a different Clement from the author of I Clement, or else the original Greek manuscript, of which we have the Latin translation, could not have said that Pius was Bishop. Two other documents support this tradition, but do not appear to be independent. These are a Latin poem against Marcion and a letter to Pius himself. The third and most recent theory is that put forth by Zahn followed by Caspari. Lightfoot thinks this supposition is instigated by a desire to reconcile the date

106. Gregory, op. cit., p. 83.

107. Charteris, loc. cit.

108. Romans 16:14.

with that of Clement of Rome. Hence the composition is assigned to 90-100 A.D. Looking over all three theories, Lightfoot concludes that the last two agree best with the notices of the ministry and conditions in the church described by the Shepherd.¹⁰⁹ Goodspeed seems to side with Zahn, placing the date at 100 A.D.¹¹⁰ James Moffat feels that echoes in the letter from Vienne and Lyons prove that the Shepherd of Hermas was used in Gaul by the middle of the second century.¹¹¹ Cleveland Coxe in The Ante-Nicene Fathers, holds for the later date; he writes, "At first sight, Hermas might seem to have little in common with Irenaeus; and, on many accounts, it would be preferable to pair him with Barnabas. But, I feel sure that chronology forbids, and that the age of Irenaeus, and of the martyrs of Lyon and Vienne, is the period which called for this work, and which accounts for its popularity and diffusion among the church." Coxe goes on to say that its popularity is due to its pacific spirit over against the rising heresy of Montanism. This spirit pleased the churches which were hesitant to denounce Montanism immediately. It was the "gentle antidote" for which they were looking.¹¹² If we should have to choose one of these three datings, we should do well to follow Zahn, and link Hermas with Clement. Westcott believes that Hermas exhibits the Roman characteristics of a sense for form and

109. Lightfoot, op. cit., pp. 293, 294.

110. Edgar J. Goodspeed, Introduction to the New Testament, p. 265.

111. James Moffat, An Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament, p. 498.

112. Coxe, loc. cit.

order even more than Clement.¹¹³ He could be the logical successor to Clement. Then too, the testimony to the other theories is such that it does not necessarily exclude this date contemporary with Clement.

Let us see what the book reveals in support of our New Testament canonical writings. Really, the scope of the writer gave no opportunity for direct citation of Scripture. Hermas claims to have a divine message and to record the words of an angel.¹¹⁴ Gregory satirically notes, "I suppose people seldom quote in dreams."¹¹⁵ Charteris sees only one real quotation, namely from Matthew 10:33.¹¹⁶ Yet although there are few quotations, Westcott very convincingly traces the influence of our New Testament books on Hermas. In form, The Shepherd of Hermas resembles very strongly our book of Revelation, while in tone it is more that of St. James. A knowledge of our Gospels is evidenced by the numerous paraphrases of our Lord's words throughout the book. There are also probable allusions to St. John and the Acts. At several places we seem to see St. John's teaching on "the Truth" as the ground of Hermas' words. Parallels with the First Epistle of Peter are also noticeable. Commentators are wrong when they say there is a great divergence between Hermas and St. Paul. The turn of mind and the peculiar object of the author of the Shepherd of Hermas do not make for a close connection with Paul, it is true, but there are traces

113. Westcott, op. cit., p. 196.

114. Ibid., p. 201.

115. Gregory, op. cit., p. 83.

116. Charteris, loc. cit.

of influence by the great missionary:

In addition to marked coincidences of language with the First Epistle to the Corinthians and with that to the Ephesians, Hermas distinctly recognizes the great truth which is commonly regarded as the characteristic center of St. Paul's 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 are saved. Abstinence the second virgin is her daughter; and the rest are daughters one of the other. And when the Christian observes the works of their mother, he is able to live.'¹¹⁷

We see the harmony of Hermas with Paul's teaching on faith.

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 to Him;' but 'He Himself toiled very much and suffered very much to cleanse our sins . . . And so when He Himself had cleansed the sins of the people, He showed them the paths of life by giving them the Law which He received from His Father.'¹¹⁸ He is 'a Rock higher than the mountains, able to hold the whole world; ancient, and yet having a new gate.'¹¹⁹ 'His name is great and infinite, and the whole world is supported by Him.'¹²⁰ 'He is older than creation, so that He took counsel with the Father about the creation which He made.'¹²¹ He is the sole way of access to the Lord; and no one shall enter in unto Him otherwise than by His Son.'¹²² To Hermas, that is, to the Christian of these later times, He appears 'by the Spirit in the form of the Church.'¹²³

117. The Shepherd of Hermas, "Vis.," iii, 8, quoted in Westcott, op. cit., pp. 201, 202.

118. The Shepherd of Hermas, "Sim.," v, 6, quoted in Westcott, op. cit., pp. 202, 203.

119. Ibid., ix, 2, 12, quoted in Westcott, loc. cit.

120. Ibid., 14, quoted in Westcott, loc. cit.

121. Ibid., 12, quoted in Westcott, loc. cit.

122. Ibid.

123. Ibid., 1, quoted in Westcott, op. cit., p. 204.

It is not difficult to see that Hermas must have been well acquainted with St. John.

Since we have no real quotations, with the possible exception of the one from Matthew, we cannot decide how Hermas estimated the books he alludes to. Yet we do see that he accepts their precepts and makes them his own teachings. This would lead us to believe that he viewed them as being from God Himself, and binding.

The question of inspiration leads us to a discussion of whether The Shepherd of Hermas is inspired itself or whether it belongs to the Apocrypha. Charteris gives us the opinions of several of the Fathers. Clement of Alexandria spoke of it as inspired. Origen also thought it inspired. Eusebius and Tertullian, on the other hand, listed it among the spurious books.¹²⁴ Zahn tells us that the Muratorian Fragment excluded it from being read in the worship of the public services of the church.¹²⁵ He gives us the reason why it was excluded; it seems that the author of the Muratorian Fragment thought the Shepherd too recent a writing (ca. 145 A.D.). Furthermore, the author was a decided, positive, opponent of Montanism, and did not think that the Holy Ghost would be given once again, as He was at the dawn of Christianity.¹²⁶ Farrar believes The Shepherd of Hermas can be seen to be an apocryphal book by comparing it with the Revelation of St. John.¹²⁷ Westcott holds that a comparison with The Epistle of St. James makes this even more clear to our

124. Charteris, op. cit., p. xxv.

125. Zahn, "Canon of Scripture," Schaff-Herzog, II, 394, col. 1.

126. Ibid, Geschichte des Neutestamentlichen Kanons, vol 2,1, p. 116.

127. Farrar, op. cit., p. 59, n. 1.

understanding.¹²⁸ We believe it is clear that we are not dealing with a book equal to those of our New Testament. While we are considering Apocrypha, it might be added that Charteris lists one "distinct allusion" in the Shepherd to an apocryphal book called Heldad and Modad. He gathers this from Hermas' statement that "Heldad and Modad prophesied to the people in the wilderness."¹²⁹ We have no hint as to the evaluation of this book by Hermas.

As we review the testimony of The Shepherd of Hermas, we see that there is very little direct support to our canonical books. Yet there is an indirect acceptance of great doctrines of these books. "The Christianity that this beautiful dream depicts is from the beginning to the end a Christianity that lives upon our New Testament and not on books of which we know nothing," concludes Gregory.¹³⁰ In his conclusion, we find a fine summary of the value of Hermas for our study.

List of New Testament books testified to:

Matthew
John
Acts

I Corinthians
Ephesians
I Peter
Revelation

128. He writes, "The Shepherd bears the same relation to the Epistle of St. James as the Epistle of Barnabas to that to the Hebrews. The idea of a Christian law lies at the bottom of them both: but according to St. James it is a law of liberty, centering in man's deliverance from corruption within and ceremonial without; while Hermas rather looks for its essence in the rites 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 them an intrinsic value and recognizes the possibility of supererogatory virtue." Westcott, op. cit., pp. 199, 200.

129. Charteris, op. cit., p. xxiv.

130. Gregory, op. cit., p. 85.

Conclusion

The Apostolic Fathers have not offered us a great amount of conclusive evidence for our investigation. As has been said, this was not to be expected from their peculiar position. They operated greatly with the oral traditions. Yet, they have left us traces of the great majority of the books of our canon. In addition, we have discerned an attitude in them tending to place these writings of the Apostles and followers in a special class. None of the writers of the period we have just considered presumed to call himself by the same title of Apostle, nor would any one place his writings on a level with the Apostolic writings. Westcott substantiates this when he says, "As if by some providential instinct, each one of those teachers who stood nearest to the writers of the New Testament contrasted his writings with theirs and definitely placed himself on a lower level."¹³¹ He goes on to add that this "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 no reasoning, but realized in the course of its natural growth as one of the first results of its self-consciousness."¹³² To make the matter complete, we might add that we have seen this same intuition refuse to all apocryphal writings a place alongside the New Testament books.

131. Westcott, op. cit., p. 57.

132. Ibid.

II. The Age of the Greek Apologists A.D. 120-170

The testimony here again is not of an exceptionally conclusive nature. After all, these men were apologists. They were defending the Christian religion against the attacks of learned heathen and their emperors. In a debate you must begin on common ground, and so, reasoned the Apologists, here also. Therefore they hesitated to refer to the accepted books of the Christians, and when they did so, it was in a rather circuitous manner. In the words of Westcott, "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 (*dilatae paulis per divinae lectiones*), that they might not be blinded by the sudden sight of its unclouded glory."¹ Nevertheless there do occur echoes of the words of the New Testament books in their writings. We shall see which books these were. Furthermore, we shall observe that they did feel that the books which they casually referred to, were decisive in the matter of doctrine. Moreover, they could not feel the same way toward books which were not the work of the Apostles and their followers.

The Elders quoted by Irenaeus

These elders are men who, like Papias and Polycarp, sat at the feet of the Apostles of the Lord. Westcott says that these men fill

1. Westcott, op. cit., p. 66.

in what is missing in Papias with regard to testimony to our canon.²
 Their testimony is anonymous.

Irenaeus mentions these references to the New Testament books, when he writes: "the elders, disciples of the Apostles," speak of "Paradise, to which the Apostle Paul was carried, and there heard words unutterable to us in our present state" (2 Cor. 12:4).³

Westcott further informs us that:

. . . 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 unbelievers (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. In another place an Elder appears to allude to the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. John.⁴

Bishop Lightfoot offers us a few other references to books of our New Testament. He finds support for the Gospel of Luke when Irenaeus writes, ". . . the Lord saith, 'And shall not God etc.'" (Luke xviii. 7, 8), and also when he writes, "as saith the Lord, 'Make to yourselves friends etc'" (Luke xvi. 9). There is also testimony to II Thessalonians when Irenaeus writes ". . . the Apostle in the Epistle to the Thessalonians declares as follows, 'Since it is a righteous thing etc.'" (2 Thess. i, 6-10).⁵

Irenaeus gives us a hint as to how the Elders regarded these writings of the Apostles and their associates when he records that which he had heard "from an Elder who had heard those who had seen

2. Westcott, op. cit., p. 80.

3. Irenaeus, V, 5, I, quoted in Westcott, op. cit., pp. 80, 81.

4. Westcott, op. cit., p. 81.

5. Lightfoot, op. cit., pp. 557-560.

the Apostles and had learnt from them," the substance being that "the correction drawn from the Scriptures was sufficient for the ancients in those matters which they did without the counsel of the Spirit."⁶ Such a statement leads us to believe that these "ancients" placed the same value on guidance from the "Scriptures" as they did on the "counsel of the Spirit." They must have believed that the Spirit was present also in the Scriptures. Furthermore, we see from Westcott's statement above, that this Elder was quoting instances from the New Testament right along with instances from the Old Testament. This seems to indicate that he regarded both New and Old Testament of equal worth.

Looking back over this information, we find even in these brief quotations much support for our canon, in addition to evidence for its inspiration.

List of New Testament books testified to:

Matthew	I Corinthians
Luke	II Corinthians
John	Ephesians
Romans	II Thessalonians
	I Peter

The Evangelists in the Reign of Trajan

Eusebius' testimony regarding the Evangelists is not strong evidence; the expressions are Eusebius' and therefore, cannot be pressed. The only point one could stress is the fact that the written Gospel formed the basis of the Evangelists' missionary

6. Irenaeus, IV, 27 (45), quoted in Westcott, loc. cit.

preaching. Eusebius, Bishop of Caesarea (ca. 315 A.D.)⁷ was only two centuries distant from the persecution under Trajan (115 A.D.)⁸ or the years in which these Evangelists were active.⁹ Hence, Eusebius may well have had excellent substantiation for his statements. He has this to say of these men of God: "They discharged the work of Evangelists, 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).¹¹ We draw from this that these missionaries had several of our Gospels, perhaps all since Eusebius calls them "the divine Gospels." Also, it seems that the books were valued by them, for they strove to deliver them to these heathen. The expression ὁ τῆς πίστεως λόγος puzzles us. Does it express a belief that the Word causes the faith? Then too, does the fact that the expression "Scripture of the divine Gospels" is closely allied to "ὁ λόγος" above, indicate a belief that these Gospels had the power to create faith; or, are these words merely the ideas of Eusebius? Of this we can be certain, that the Evangelists felt it necessary that these heathen should have the divine Gospels.

Eusebius gives us another bit of information on one of the Evangelists, when he writes that Pantaenus, near the close of the second century, traveled "even to the Indians; and there it is said that

7. Gregory, op. cit., p. 257.

8. Charteris, op. cit., p. xi.

9. Westcott, op. cit., p. 82.

10. Cf. Romans 10: 8, "τοῦτ' ἐστὶν τὸ ῥῆμα τῆς πίστεως ὃ κηρύσσομεν"

11. Eusebius, H. E., III, 57, quoted in Westcott, loc. cit.

he found that the Gospel according to Matthew had anticipated his arrival among some there who were acquainted with Christ, to whom Bartholomew, one of the Apostles, had preached, and given on his departure (καταλείψαι) the writing of Matthew in Hebrew letters."

12

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These Evangelists have only a supporting value to our study. Yet, they do testify to the use of our Gospels, in particular the book of Matthew and they seem to place a high value on them.

The Letter to Diognetus

This letter is made up of two distinct parts. The first part suggests Greece itself; the second bears traces of Alexandrian influence.¹³ The date of the writing of the first section is set by Gregory at 117 A.D.¹⁴ Westcott agrees that the indications of widespread persecution found in the letter point to the time of Trajan; it can not be much later for there are traces in the letter of anticipation that Jesus would speedily return to earth ("παρουσία").¹⁵ Gregory believes the latter section of the letter was composed ca. 147 A.D.¹⁶ He is seconded by Westcott, who states that it can not be later than 150 A.D.¹⁷ In the second division, we do find somewhat of a description of the author. He calls himself "a disciple

12. Ibid, V. 10, quoted in Westcott, op. cit., p. 83.

13. Westcott, op. cit., p. 88.

14. Gregory, op. cit., p. 73. Charteris holds to a later date. He says it could be any time from the end of the second to the beginning of the fourth century. Charteris, op. cit., p. 65., n. 1. Cleveland Coxe gives the date as 150 A.D. Coxe, "Introductory Note to the Epistle of Mathetes to Diognetus," op. cit., I, 23.

15. Westcott, op. cit., pp. 88, 89.

16. Gregory, loc. cit.

17. Westcott, op. cit., p. 89.

of Apostles and a teacher of Gentiles.¹⁸

Let us go immediately to a study of the references to our New Testament books. Chiefly, these point to the writings of St. John and St. Paul. Westcott gives us an extensive list of the Johannic references, including one closely connected Pauline:

The love of God . . . 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 sake He made the world, to whom He suggested 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:' '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.'¹⁹

The last citation, above, evidently refers to St. Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians, the eighth chapter, the first verse. More allusions to Paul are found in the first section of the Letter to Diognetus. We find here, besides phraseology similar to Paul's, allusions to Romans, I & II Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, I Timothy, Titus, and I Peter. Words suggesting the book of Acts also occur. The later section has indications of St. John

18. The Letter to Diognetus, chap. 11 init., quoted in Westcott, loc. cit.

19. Ibid., chaps. 10, 7, 6, 11, 12, quoted in Westcott, op. cit., pp. 90, 91.

and the Gospels generally, I and II Corinthians, and possibly I Timothy. These general references to the Gospels are similarities in wording which seem to show a connection; we do not have a distinct reference.²⁰

There are two statements in the second part of the letter which give us an insight into how the writer evaluated the books used by him. The one is that the "Word is still the teacher of the saints."²¹ The other is that "'the fear of the law and the grace of the prophets' are united with 'the faith of the Gospels and the tradition of the Apostles' as contributing to the wealth of the Church."²² The first statement is made after discussing how Christ when on earth taught us of His Father. Then comes the declaration the the "Word is still the teacher of the saints." It is possible that here the author shows a belief that the Word, namely Christ, is still speaking to the saints through the Word, namely the New Testament, or for that matter, both the Old and the New Testament. The second statement does indicate that the New and Old Testament contributed an equal share to the wealth of the church.

In conclusion we should like to set forth the books that find support in this small letter:

The Synoptic Gospels
John
Acts

Romans
I & II Corinthians
Galatians

Ephesians
I Timothy
Titus
I Peter

20. Westcott, op. cit., pp. 92, 91.

21. Diognetus, chap. 12, quoted in Westcott, op. cit., p. 93.

22. Diognetus, quoted in Westcott, op. cit., p. 88.

Justin Martyr

Justin Martyr appears to have been born around 100 A.D. in Nabulus, Flavia Neapolis.²³ This was the old town of Sychar near "Jacob's Well" in Samaria. Justin set out to find "truth" in the old Greek philosophies. He tried a Stoic, a Peripatetic, a Pythagorean, and even a Platonist. At length, disheartened and despondent in his search for God, he met an aged, kindly, holy man walking by the sea. This man led him to faith and to the prophets.

'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.' '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.'²⁴

After this he went about as a philosopher defending the Christian religion among the heathen and endeavoring to dispel doubts as to its veracity. Of his many writings we have only three left that are undoubtedly genuine. There are two Apologies (one to the Emperor Titus)²⁵ and the Dialogue with Trypho.²⁶ Zahn laments the fact that we do not have Justin's writing against Marcion, for if we did, we would probably know Marcion's canon better and also the Bible of the Church of that day.²⁷ The time during which the extant writings were composed may very well have been ca. 145 to 147 A.D.²⁸

23. Gregory, op. cit., p. 87.

24. Justin Martyr, Dialogue with Trypho, chap. 7 ad fin., quoted in Westcott, pp. 97, 98.

25. Charteris, op. cit., p. lv, n. 1.

26. Ibid., p. lv.

27. Zahn, Geschichte des N. T. Kanons, vol. 1,2, p. 464.

28. Mr. Hort, Journal of Class. and Sac. Philology, III, 139, quoted in Westcott, op. cit., p. 99, n. 1.

Justin's references to our New Testament books have been the subject of much controversy. We, however, find that we agree with Charteris on this matter. He points out that the purpose of Justin's writings would not lead us to expect him to quote our canonical books as inspired. After all, he was writing to heathen. Therefore we should, at the most, look for agreement in tone and a possible use as historical material. We need draw no conclusions from the fact that, with only one exception, he does not call these books by name, for Tatian himself, though he did not name the Gospels, yet wrote a harmony of them.²⁹ Westcott also agrees that Justin did not name the New Testament books he quoted, in order to stick to common ground with those to whom he was writing. He concludes that all discrepancies between Justin's quotations and our canonical writings can be laid to two facts: the one that Justin quoted mostly from memory; the other that there were several readings of our New Testament text.³⁰

Another great question concerns Justin's use of the title, The Memoirs of the Apostles. We believe that he had in mind our four Gospel narratives. Here is Westcott's argument. In the first place, he says that the Memoirs are called Gospels by Justin.³¹ Moreover, all the parts of the Gospel narrative which Justin draws from these Memoirs are found, if not in one particular evangelist's language, at least in New Testament phraseology. Westcott has found seven

29. Charteris, op. cit., pp. lv, lvi.

30. Westcott, op. cit., pp. 113, 150. For a convincing and complete study of the whole question of Justin's quotations, cf. Ibid., pp. 100-179.

31. Ibid., p. 112. Justin is quoted as writing, "The Apostles in the Memoirs made by them, which are called Gospels . . ."

places where Justin "distinctly" quotes the Memoirs. "Of the seven, five agree verbally with the text of St. Matthew or St. Luke . . . : 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." He then goes on to show that even this last one could be a variant reading of our canonical Matthew.³² Another argument is that Justin speaks of the Memoirs as written by the Apostles and their followers, i.e., companions. Now Mark and Luke were followers of the Apostles, Peter and Paul. This is not true with regard to any of the Apocrypha, so far as Westcott knows. No apocryphal book had as its author a companion of the Apostles. Finally, Justin says of the Memoirs that they were read in all the public service of the churches along with the "prophets."³³ What would this be, other than our own Gospels? Zahn adds to our case when he informs us that Trypho, writing to Justin, tells him that he has read something in the Gospel that he is wondering about. Justin does not ask him which Gospel he is using. He takes for granted the Trypho means the same Gospel he himself had previously cited, namely, The Memoirs of the Apostles.³⁴ Charteris agrees with our other two scholars and points out that there is no record in history of a book entitled Memoirs of the Apostles. This must be a description and not a title.³⁵ He offers us an argument from the negative angle which may

32. Ibid, pp. 107, 108, 152-156.

33. Ibid, pp. 114, 115, 110.

34. Zahn, op. cit., vol. 1, 2, p. 477.

35. Charteris, op. cit., p. lx.

well conclude our discussion. Supposing that we have a real apocryphal book here:

The position, then, is that Justin used and Trypho read a Gospel which cannot be traced elsewhere or afterwards,— a Gospel different from that which his contemporary Marcion know and mutilated: a set of books which so marvelously disappeared that Irenaeus (who had possibly known Justin, and certainly wrote within 30 years of his death), when he descended on the four winds, the four quarters of the world, and the four Gospels, knew nothing of them; and that Justin, when he quoted the Apocryphal book or books, quoted so strangely that Eusebius, with all his love of gossip and all his historic lore, and many another besides him, never knew that the quotations were not from Matthew, Mark, Luke, John. That is to say, that the Memoirs to which Justin challenged the attention of the Roman emperor, senate, and people, and which were, therefore, well known, had so completely perished from the earth that Irenaeus, who was familiar with the affairs of Asia, Rome, and Gaul, appealed to friend and foe to remark how marvelous is God's great providence in giving to Christendom and to humanity the four Gospels—the four, neither more nor less—of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John.³⁶

Having decided that these Memoirs are none other than our four Gospels, let us see what is in them. Westcott gives us a long catalogue of the events of the Gospel narrative which we find in Justin's writings.

He tells us that Christ was descended from Abraham through Jacob, Judah, Phares, Jesse, and David—that the Angel Gabriel was sent to foretell His Birth to the Virgin Mary—that this was a fulfillment of the prophecy of Isaiah (VII. 14)—that Joseph was forbidden in a vision to put away his espoused wife, when he was so minded—that our Saviour's Birth at Bethlehem had been foretold by Micah—that his parents went thither from Nazareth where they dwelt, in consequence of the enrollment under Cyrenius—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—that while there wise men from Arabia, guided by a star, worshipped Him, and offered Him gold and frankincense and myrrh, and by revelation were commanded not to return to

36. Ibid, p. lxiii.

Herod to whom they had first come--that He was called Jesus as the Saviour of His people--that by the command of God His parents fled with Him to Egypt for fear of Herod, and remained there till Archelaus succeed him--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--that Jesus grew after the common manner of men, working as a carpenter, and so waited in obscurity thirty years more or less, till the coming of John the Baptist.

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--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 (*ἔρχεται*), whose sandals I am not worthy to bear'--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, bidding Him at last to worship him. He further adds that Christ 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.

Henceforth, after speaking in general terms of the miracles of Christ, how 'He healed all manner of sickness and disease,' Justin says little of the details of His life till the last great events. Then he narrates Christ's triumphal entry into Jerusalem from Bethphage as a fulfillment of prophecy, the (second) cleansing of the Temple, the conspiracy against Him, the institution of the Eucharist 'for the remembrance of Him' the singing of the Psalm afterwards, the Agony at night on the Mount of Olives at which three of His disciples were present, the prayer, the bloody sweat, the arrest, the flight of the Apostles, the silence before Pilate, the remand to Herod, the Crucifixion, the division of Christ's raiment by lot, the signs and words of mockery of the bystanders, the Cry of Sorrow, the Last Words of Resignation, the Burial on the eve of the day of the Passion, the Resurrection on Sunday, the Appearance to the Apostles and disciples,

how Christ opened to them the Scriptures, the calumnies of the Jews, the commission to the Apostles, the Ascension.³⁷

Thus we see that the events of Christ's life and happenings pertinent to it are almost completely recorded in the writings of Justin. This would seem understandable since he attempts to show Christ as the fulfillment of prophecy. The teachings of Jesus on the other hand, would not be as usable for his purpose. Yet we do notice that he makes reference to discourses of our Savior.

The first call to repentance, the Sermon on the Mount, the gathering from the East and West, the invitation to sinners, the description of the true fear, the charge to the Apostles, the charge to the Seventy, the mission of John, the revelation of the Father, the promise of the sign of Jonah, the prophecy of the Passion, the acknowledgment of Sonship, the teaching on the price of a soul, on marriage, on the goodness of God alone, on the tribute due to Caesar, on the two commandments, the woes against the Scribes and Pharisees, the prophecy concerning false teachers, the denouncement of future punishment on the wicked, the teaching after the Resurrection--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.³⁸

Here too, we have convincing evidence for the existence of our New Testament Gospels in general. Now let us look at some testimony to the individual canonical Gospels. Westcott explains that Justin gives stronger clues to our books in the Dialogue with Trypho, because the latter was acquainted with the Gospel. So when quoting Jesus' words, Justin reminds Trypho that they are quoted in the written Gospel.³⁹ Here is a reference to our book of Matthew:

37. Westcott, op. cit., pp. 102-105.

38. Ibid., pp. 108, 109.

39. Ibid., p. 114.

Wherefore also our Chirst when on earth told those who said that Elias must come before Chirst, '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 all that they listed.' And it is written, 'Then understood the disciples that he spake to them concerning John the Baptist.'⁴⁰

Here is a reference by Justin to our Gospel of St. Mark:

The mention of the fact 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 'Boanerges,' tended to signify that He was the same through whom the surname Israel was given to Jacob, and Joshua to Hoshea.⁴¹

Westcott points out that the name "Boanerges" as applied to James and John is found only in one of our Gospels, namely St. Mark's, the third chapter, the seventeenth verse. There it follows closely upon the remark about Peter's name. Consider too that the Early Church with one voice placed the Gospel of Mark under the authority of St. Peter.⁴² Hence we confidently claim this reference for substantiation of our canonical Gospel of Mark. Furthermore, we have a fine testimony to Luke's Gospel. Justin writes, "Jesus as He gave up His spirit upon the cross said 'Father, into Thy hands I commend my Spirit:' even as I learned from the Memoirs this fact also."⁴³ There is another echo of Luke in the language narrating the angel's visit to Mary.⁴⁴

40. Justin Martyr, Dialogue with Trypho, chap. 49, quoted in Westcott, op. cit., pp. 113, 114.

41. Ibid., chap. 106, quoted in Westcott, op. cit., p. 114. Cf. Mark 3:16, 17.

42. Westcott, loc. cit.

43. Justin Martyr, op. cit., chap. 105, quoted in Westcott, loc. cit. Cf. Luke 23:46.

44. Charteris, op. cit., p. lxi.

Charteris offers us some very definite allusions on the part of Justin to the Gospel of John. He writes:

Take the curious disquisition on the Logos begotten by God in the beginning (Dial. c. 61) as the medium of revelation in all ages of history, who is not separated from the Father, and who is himself God. Take the statements as to the new birth; as to the Word becoming flesh (Apol. c. 66); the living water, and the celestial habitation. With these it seems impossible to doubt that Justin gives us echoes of the fourth Gospel.⁴⁵

The Revelation of St. John is actually mentioned by name in Justin. He writes, "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 . . ."⁴⁶ Charteris reminds us that when we see to how much trouble Justin goes to explain who John was, we can understand why Justin quoted as he did. He was speaking to heathen audiences, to a great extent ignorant of New Testament facts.⁴⁷

In spite of the fact that Justin's purpose called for a use of the Gospels almost exclusively, we do find traces of the Epistles of St. Paul. Westcott gives us a list of them:

. . . "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;" "by the name of this very Son of God and 'first-born of every creature' (πρωτότοκον πᾶσης κτίσεως) . . . every demon is overcome . . ." "through Him God arranged (κοσμήσασθαι) all things." 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 with which he believed God was justified and blessed." "by faith (πίστεω) we are cleansed through the blood of Christ and His death who died for this;"

45. Ibid., p. lxii.

46. Justin, Dial., chap. 81, quoted in Westcott, op. cit., p. 121.

47. Charteris, op. cit., p. lviii.

"through whom we were called into the salvation prepared aforetime by our Father." "Christ is the passover who was sacrificed afterwards;" "who shall come with glory from the heavens, when also the man of the falling away--the man of lawlessness (c. 32),--who speaketh strange things--blasphemous and daring (c. 32), even against the Most High, shall exert his lawless daring against us Christians." Elsewhere he speaks of Christ as "the son and 'Apostle' of God."

The most remarkable coincidences between Justin and St. Paul are found in their common quotations from the Septuagint. . . . One example will explain the nature of the agreement. Speaking of the hatred which the Jews shewed 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 He answers him:" 'I have still seven thousand men who have not bent knee to Baal.'" The passage agrees almost verbally with the citation of St. Paul in the Epistle to the Romans, and differs widely from the text of the LXX.⁴⁸

There are similar examples pointing to a use of the same rendering as Paul in the Epistle to the Galatians and that to the Ephesians. In fact, we have similar tie-ups with all of Paul's Epistles except the Pastoral Epistles and the ones to the Philippians and Philemon.⁴⁹

We have two other works commonly attributed to Justin, On the Resurrection and Address and Exhortation to Greeks. The first has traces of all four Gospels, no indications of Apocryphal traditions, and similarity of language with I Corinthians, Philippians, and I Timothy. The second supports John's Gospel, Acts, I Corinthians and Ephesians.⁵⁰

48. Justin, Apology, I, 46; Dial., chap. 100; Apol., II, 6; Dial., chap. 85, 23, 13, 131, 111, 110; Apol., I, 12, 63; Dial., chap. 39, quoted in Westcott, op. cit., pp. 169, 170.

49. Westcott, op. cit., pp. 169, 170, 171.

50. Ibid., p. 171.

Justin does not say specifically that he regards the New Testament writings as inspired. Yet there are indications that he did so regard them. He used the contents of these books, particularly of the Memoirs, as fulfillment of the Old Testament. Therefore, he must have believed that they contained divine truth. Another fact is that he approves their being read alongside the "Prophets" in the public services. To conclude the matter, we offer his own words:

As [Abraham] believed on the voice of God 'and it was reckoned to him for righteousness,' in the same way we also when we believed the voice of God which was spoken again by the Apostles of Christ, and the voice which was proclaimed to us by the Prophets, even to dying [for our belief], renounced all that is in the world.⁵¹

This appears to place the Scriptural writings of the Apostles on a level with the Scriptural writings of the Prophets. Both seem to have received their messages in the same manner.

A study of the quotations of Justin raises the question of whether he used any Apocryphal Gospels. Charteris finds only one instance that strongly indicates that Justin used a noncanonical Gospel. Justin speaks of a fire in the Jordan at the baptism of Jesus.⁵² This trait is also found in the Ebionite Gospel. Therefore, Charteris believes that Justin may have picked up a few traditions from Apocryphal Gospels.⁵³ Westcott, however, takes the position that no Gospels other than our own were used. He tells us that the infancy narrative of Christ found in Justin contains no apocryphal additions. He believes that an examination of Justin's quotations does not suggest Apocrypha.

51. Justin, Dial., chap. 119, quoted in ibid., p. 173.

52. Westcott, op. cit., p. 104.

53. Charteris, op. cit., p. lx.

Those quotations repeated by Justin which differ from our canonical text are still just as different from each other. Westcott further adds that Justin has preserved the "peculiarities of the New Testament phraseology without the admixture of any foreign element." He concludes that Justin's quotations "exhibit no trace of the use of any other evangelic records."⁵⁴ Gregory joins Westcott when he states that Justin "betrays no knowledge of books highly valued by them and neither today in our New Testament nor known to us."⁵⁵ We feel we must join these latter two scholars in believing that no Apocrypha were used by Justin. Many of the strange sayings in Justin could have been picked up by him from oral tradition.

We feel that Justin occupies a very high place in our study of the canon. He has given strong support to practically every book of our New Testament. Only the Catholic Epistles and the Epistles to Titus and Philemon find no reference in the genuine or doubtful writings of this philosophical apologist.⁵⁶ Furthermore, we seem to find testimony by him that our canonical books were considered inspired as early as approximately one century after Christ.

We find testimony to every book of the New Testament except:

Titus
Philemon
James

I & II Peter
I, II & III John
Jude

54. Westcott, op. cit., pp. 101, 148, 107, 108, 165.

55. Gregory, op. cit., p. 97.

56. Westcott, op. cit., p. 172.

The Second Epistle of Clement

The author of this work was not Clement but probably an unknown Gentile.⁵⁷ Even Eusebius and Jerome questioned its genuineness.⁵⁸ Furthermore, the work itself is a homily rather than a letter.⁵⁹ Charteris believes that this Homily was spoken or delivered in the city of Corinth and hence came to be associated with the Epistle of Clement.⁶⁰ There is also an Alexandrine influence noted in the use of the Old Testament Apocrypha and the Gospel to the Egyptians.⁶¹ The date apparently can be placed at 120-140 A.D.⁶²

Let us look at those books of our New Testament attested by this sermon. The Book of Matthew is evidenced when the author writes, "And moreover another Scripture said, 'I came not to call righteous men but sinners.'"⁶³ This is also found in Mark. Here are three free quotations from Matthew found in this Homily:

[Christ] says Himself: 'Him that' confesses 'me in the face of' men will I confess 'in the face of' my Father. 'For what' is the profit 'if' a man 'shall gain the whole world and lose his soul?' Let us not therefore only call Him 'Lord,' for this will not save us; for he says, 'Not everyone who saith to me Lord, Lord,' shall be saved, but he that doeth 'righteousness.'⁶⁴

The Gospel of St. Luke is echoed here when the author of the Homily writes, "The Lord saith in the Gospel, 'If ye kept not that which is small who will give you that which is great? For I say unto you that

57. Charteris, op. cit., pp. xviii, xix.

58. Westcott, op. cit., p. 180.

59. Charteris, op. cit., p. xviii.

60. Ibid, p. xix.

61. Ibid, pp. xxi, xxii.

62. Ibid, p. xx.

63. Second Epistle of Clement, chap. II., quoted in Westcott, op. cit., p. 183.

64. Ibid, chaps. III, VI, IV, quoted in Westcott, op. cit., pp. 183, 184.

he that is faithful in very little is faithful also in much." The last clause of this is word for word with Luke 16:10.⁶⁵ Another passage from II Clement agrees with Luke 6:32, 35.⁶⁶ Westcott finds also traces of the writings of St. Paul, St. James, and St. John in this document. He shows that a passage from Isaiah was applied in a similar manner by this Homily and by the Epistle to the Galatians.⁶⁷ Charteris gives us an accurate list of all the similar quotations.⁶⁸ He finds allusions to these books: Matthew, Mark, Luke, John, Acts, Romans, I & II Corinthians, Ephesians, Philippians, I Timothy, Hebrews, James, I Peter.

We find heartening testimony that this author placed a very high regard on the "Scriptures" as he calls them. In one quotation we have seen him state, "The Lord saith in the Gospel." He begins another passage similar to Luke 16:13. with the expression "God saith--."⁶⁹ Surely he must have believed that God was speaking through the New Testament books.

We have strong indications that apocryphal books were used. When the author writes, "The Lord said: My brethren are these who do the will of my Father," we find a stronger similarity with the Ebionite Gospel than that of Matthew.⁷⁰ Also, he sets down, "The Lord Himself having been asked by someone when His kingdom will come? [sic] said;

65. Ibid, chap. VIII, quoted in Westcott, op. cit., p. 183.

66. Westcott, op. cit., p. 183, n. 6.

67. Ibid, pp. 181-183.

68. Charteris, op. cit., pp. xxii, xxiii.

69. II Clement, chap. V, quoted in Westcott, op. cit., p. 183.

70. Ibid, chap. IX, quoted in Westcott, op. cit., p. 185.

When the Two shall be One, and that which is Without as that which is Within, and the Male with the Female neither Male nor Female;" we learn from Clement of Alexandria that this saying was contained in the Gospel of the Egyptians.⁷¹ The first one seems to show a belief that the words of the Lord were to be found in this Ebionite Gospel, but the Ebionite Gospel could have gotten the quotation from Matthew originally, and the author of Second Clement may simply have found it useful to employ the wording of the apocryphal Gospel. Westcott's opinion is that in the author's mind no other Gospel "occupied the place of the Canonical Gospels."⁷²

List of New Testament books referred to:

Matthew	Acts	Philippians
Mark	Romans	I Timothy
Luke	I & II Corinthians	Hebrews
John	Galatians	James
	Ephesians	I Peter

Dionysius of Corinth and the Letter of Pinytus

Dionysius must have exerted a good deal of influence while Bishop at Corinth (165-198 A.D.)⁷³ We have seven of the letters which he wrote to various churches. These are: to the Lacedaemonians, to the Athenians, to the Micomediens, to the Gortynians, to the Amastriens, to the Crossians, and to the Romans.⁷⁴ We shall consider chiefly this last letter, which was addressed to Soter, Bishop of Rome. In it we find an indication that the teachings of Paul had remained in authority at Corinth. Dionysius writes to Soter, "Today was the

71. Ibid, chap. XII, quotes in Westcott, loc. cit.

72. Westcott, op. cit., p. 186.

73. Gregory, op. cit., p. 134.

74. Ibid.

Lord's-Day [and] kept holy, 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."⁷⁵ Thus we see that the letter of Clement had been preserved at this Church, and, as we saw from our study of Clement, the teachings of Paul were embodied by Clement in his epistle. We are also led to believe that Paul's Epistles were preserved by the Corinthians, for if such care had been extended to Clement's letter, why should not they show the same or higher regard for those of Paul?⁷⁶

The references which Dionysius makes to books of the New Testament are few, but encouraging. Westcott finds allusions to Mathew, The First Epistle to the Thessalonians, and The Apocalypse.⁷⁷

Gregory notices in the Letter to the Amastrians a trace of Paul's First Epistle to the Church at Corinth. He finds exhortations on marriage and purity, also concerning readmitting one who has been excommunicated from the church.⁷⁸ Both of these subjects are discussed by St. Paul in I and II Corinthians. This concludes the number of New Testament references which we have from Dionysius. Now let us see what sort of regard this bishop had for the canonical books.

At one place Dionysius speaks of the Scriptures of the Lord.

He writes:

When brethren urged me to write letters, I wrote them;
and these the apostles of the devil have filled with tares,

75. Eusebius, op. cit., IV, 23, quoted in Westcott, op. cit., p. 188.

76. Ibid, p. 189.

77. Ibid, p. 192.

78. Gregory, op. cit., pp. 134, 135.

taking away some things and adding others, for whom the woe is appointed. It is not wonderful then that some have attempted to adulterate the Scriptures of the Lord, when they have formed the design of corrupting those which make no claims to their character.⁷⁹

Westcott sums up this testimony excellently when he observes, "It is 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."⁸⁰ Charteris agrees that this expression the Scriptures of the Lord could have only meant the books of the New Testament, Melito and Irenaeus having used the expression in a like manner.⁸¹ There may be another indication of the view Dionysius held of the New Testament in some information which Eusebius gives us. He tells us that Dionysius wrote to a Christian lady named Chrysophora giving to her "reasonable food." Paul writes in Romans 12:1. of "reasonable service" and Peter in his First Epistle 2:2. writes of "the reasonable guileless milk."⁸² We can not use these words as references of Dionysius to our New Testament, for the phrase is Eusebius's, but we can infer from this that Dionysius thought highly enough of the New Testament to "feed Christ's sheep" with it. While discussing this question, it may be well to mention that we find no traces of apocryphal writings, but rather an energetic disapproval of anyone who would tamper with the Scriptures of the Lord.

79. Dionysius, quoted in Eusebius, loc. cit., used by Westcott, op. cit., p. 191.

80. Westcott, op. cit., p. 191.

81. Charteris, op. cit., p. 44, n. 1.

82. Gregory, op. cit., pp. 136, 137.

The Letter of Pinytus fits in very well with our discussion of Dionysius, for it was written in answer to a letter from Dionysius himself. We have but one sentence of this answering letter.⁸³ Pinytus urges Dionysius to "impart at some time more solid food, tenderly feeding the people committed to him with a Letter of riper instruction, lest by continually dwelling on milk-like teaching they should insensibly grow old without advancing beyond the teaching of babes."⁸⁴ We can see the connection with our Epistle to the Hebrews, chapter 5, verses 12 to 14.

In summary, we acknowledge that our sources are scanty and fragmentary. Yet in these sources the books of the New Testament are referred to, with no contradictory reference. The canonical writings are used much in the same manner as we use them in our literary discourse.

List of New Testament books referred to:

Dionysius:

Matthew
I & II Corinthians
I Thessalonians
Revelation

Pinytus:

Hebrews

Hegesippus

Hegesippus appears to have been born in Palestine of Hebrew descent. What position he held in the church is not known, but he must have been influential. We draw this conclusion from the fact that he made a trip to Rome (157-168 A.D.),⁸⁵ stopping off on the

83. Westcott, op. cit., p. 192.

84. Letter of Pinytus, quoted in Eusebius, loc. cit. used by Westcott, loc. cit.

85. Westcott, op. cit., p. 206, n. 3.

way to visit various bishops, and "finding everywhere the same doctrine."⁸⁶ Later in life he set down in five volumes the theology of the bishops and teachers from after the death of Christ to the time of the composition of these volumes.⁸⁷ Naturally, much historical material found its way into the compilation. Charteris says that the Memoirs were not published until after 177 A.D.⁸⁸ Unfortunately, the work has been lost.

Much of our knowledge of Hegesippus being from Eusebius, it is well to discuss the silence of Eusebius on the references by Hegesippus to canonical books, before studying the references themselves. Charteris points to Lightfoot's findings, namely that Eusebius only referred to quotations from ancient authors when the book was in dispute.⁸⁹ Hence we must find the evidence for the use of our New Testament books in allusions. Here are the allusions noted by Charteris: Herod's fear at the birth of Christ betokens a knowledge of Matthew 2, as Epiphanius (Haer. 30,15) also pointed out; the description of the martyrdom of James the Just indicates Matthew 26:64, "when he [Hegesippus] speaks of the Son of man on the right hand of the mighty power, and about to come on the clouds of heaven;" James' dying words, "Father, forgive them for they know not what they do," are the words of Christ on the cross as found in Luke 23:34.; Hegesippus, if historians have it correctly, writes, "Blessed are your eyes, for they see," etc., and these words occur in both

86. Eusebius, H.E., IV, 22, quoted in Westcott, op. cit., p. 206.

87. Westcott, op. cit., pp. 207, 208.

88. Charteris, op. cit., p. lxxviii.

89. Ibid., p. lxxvii.

Matthew 13:16. and Luke 10:23.; in the death of James, the crowd has asked James about the "door of Jesus," reminding us of John's Gospel; Hegesippus seems to show Luke 19:11. when writing about Domitian's question as to Christ's Kingdom; the answer that was given, that Christ was coming again in glory to judge the quick and the dead and to render to each man according to his works, points us to II Timothy 4:1.; even expressions from the Pastoral Epistles are woven into the text, when Hegesippus complains of the heretics that have sprung up since the Apostles have died.⁹⁰

As we look at the words Hegesippus uses to describe the New Testament, we feel that he viewed it as the very "Word of the Lord."

He writes that in Corinth, he was refreshed by the sound word (*ἰσχυρὸς λόγος*).⁹¹

He also writes that he found in every bishopric that the doctrine was being proclaimed from the "law and the prophets and the Lord."⁹²

This seems to tell us that the entire Holy Scriptures were being used as the source of doctrine, and that the writings of the New Testament were considered the Word of the Lord. In fact, in

another instance Hegesippus refers to our Gospels as "*ὅσας γράφαι*."⁹³

It may be worthwhile to notice that this man castigated many apocryphal books as having been written in his time and forged by heretics.

Gregory believes that this castigation demonstrates that Hegesippus

90. Ibid, p. lxxix.

91. Westcott, op. cit., p. 206.

92. Eusebius, H.E., IV, 22, quoted in Charteris, op. cit., p. lxxviii.

93. Stephan Gobar (6th cent.), Phot. Cod. 232 (9th cent.), quoted in Charteris, op. cit., pp. lxxix, 128.

viewed our real, genuine New Testament books as truly dating from the time of the Apostles and not from his own day.⁹⁴

There are definite indications that Hegesippus used apocryphal sources also as he wrote his Memoirs. These apocryphal books are: The Gospel of the Hebrews, The Syriac Gospel, and Jewish traditions. Yet Westcott believes such a use was natural; after all, a historian uses every source at his command.⁹⁵ It is thus evident that Hegesippus went beyond both the Old and New Testament for his sources. Still, Westcott believes the Eusebius' language "implies that the Gospel according to the Hebrews was used by Hegesippus as a supplementary source, subsidiary to the Gospels."⁹⁶

Therefore, as we look over the testimony of Hegesippus, we see a tacit approval of our New Testament as possessed by the churches of his day; we find a voiced indication that he believed them inspired by the Lord; and, we find him charging the writers of apocrypha with forgeries.

List of New Testament books referred to:

Matthew
 Luke
 John
 Pastoral Epistles

The Muratorian Fragment

Muratorius published the fragment named after him in the third volume of Antiquitates Italicae Medii Aevi (1740).⁹⁷ The fragment

94. Gregory, op. cit., p. 121.

95. Westcott, op. cit., p. 209.

96. Ibid., pp. 209, 210.

97. Charteris, op. cit., p. lxxix.

was then in a MS. in the Ambrosian Library at Milan and had been in the monastery at Bobbio.⁹⁸ The date of the original writing could be placed at 170 A.D.⁹⁹ The author of the fragment is unknown, and at present we have it in a Latin form.¹⁰⁰ A good description of its present form is found in the words of Tregelles, who evaluates it thus, "Its evidence is not the less trustworthy from its being a blundering and illiterate transcript of a rough and rustic translation of a Greek original."¹⁰¹ Furthermore, it might be said that the fragment appears to be made up of "dislocated pieces," the connections between the sentences being rather difficult to see.¹⁰² Westcott believes it to be a fragment of some Greek Apologetic work, perhaps either a "Dialogue with some heretic," or "detached pieces taken from different parts of a considerable work."¹⁰³

Let us look at the references to our New Testament books. Westcott has a thorough list of the testimony to our Gospels. He writes:

The Fragment commences with the last words of a sentence which evidently referred to the Gospel of St. Mark. The Gospel of St. Luke, it is then said, stands third in order [in the 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 the Lord,' and the occasion of its

98. Ibid.

99. Westcott infers his date from the fact that the document itself claims to have been written by a contemporary of Pius; hence it can not be much later than 170 A.D., Westcott, op. cit., p. 212.

100. Gregory, op. cit., pp. 129, 130.

101. Tregelles, Can. Lat., p. 10, quoted in Charteris, p. lxxx.

102. Charteris, op. cit., p. lxxx.

103. Westcott, op. cit., p. 213.

composition is thus described: 'At the entreaties of his fellow-disciples and his bishops John said: "Fast with me for three days from this time, and whatsoever 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' . . . 'what wonder is it then that John brings forward each detail with so much emphasis even in his Epistles, saying of himself, "what we have seen with our eyes and heard with our ears and our hands have handled, these things have we written to you?" 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 the Lord in order.'

Though there is no trace of any reference to the Gospel of St. Matthew, it is impossible not to believe that it occupied the first place among the four Gospels of the anonymous writer."

. . . Next to the Gospels the book of the Acts is mentioned as containing a record by St. Luke 'of those acts of all 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.'

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 Christians 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.' The order in which these Epistles are enumerated is remarkable: 1 and 2 Corinthians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, Galatians, 1 and 2 Thessalonians, Romans. This order 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, saying that 'he wrote at greater length first to the Corinthians to forbid heretical schism; afterwards to the Galatians to put a stop to circumcision; then to the Romans, according to the rule of the Old Testament Scriptures, shewing at the same time that Christ was the foundation of them.'

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, for (or in) the arrangement of ecclesiastical discipline.'

. . . 'Moreover,' it is said, 'there is in circulation an Epistle to the Laodiceans, and another to the Alexandrians forged under the name of Paul bearing on the heresy of Marcion, and several others which can not be received into the Catholic Church. For gall ought not to be mixed with honey. The epistle of Jude however ("sane") and two Epistles bearing the name of John are received in the Catholic Church ¹⁰⁴ (or are reckoned among the Catholic Epistles). 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.'

After this mention is made of the Shepherd, and of the writings of Valentinus, Basilides, and others: and so the Fragment ends abruptly.¹⁰⁵

As we see the long list of our New Testament books in this Fragment, the thought naturally arises, "Why are some omitted?" Westcott gives us a list of these missing books: I Peter, and I John, James, II Peter, and Hebrews.¹⁰⁶ He also gives his opinion as to why they are omitted. "It [the reason for the omissions] must be sought either in the character of the writing, or in the present condition of the text."¹⁰⁷

It must be remembered that we have here only a fragment. Who can say what was in the rest of the manuscript? After all, the First Epistle of St. John was mentioned earlier in the Fragment, out of its proper place; I Peter was accepted by Polycarp and Papias, and there is no

104. Zahn believes it is almost positive that here II & III John are meant. He believes furthermore that there was no question about the authenticity of these two Epistles; it was just that they were not circulated and used to a large extent, because they are so brief. Zahn, "Canon of Scripture," op. cit., 394.

105. Westcott, op. cit., pp. 214-218.

106. Ibid., p. 219.

107. Ibid.

evidence of its ever having been disputed; moreover, Hebrews and James would not have been omitted when Jude and even apocryphal books were mentioned.¹⁰⁸ So the absence of these books from this "canon" does not worry us.

Our next aim is to attempt to discover what regard this Fragment exhibits for the canonical books. We find written:

Though various ideas (principia) 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 sovereign Spirit concerning the Nativity, the Passion, the Resurrection, the conversation of our Lord with His disciples, and His double Advent, first in humble guise, which has taken place, and afterwards in royal power which is yet future.¹⁰⁹

This definitely shows a belief on the part of the author that God was speaking in the four Gospels. We must conclude that the man held the same view for the rest of the books of his "undisputed" canon which were also the work of the Apostles. Westcott points out that there does not appear to be an argument or hint as to the acceptance of these Gospels only after a struggle or at a late date; and, if you admit that our Gospels were held in such high esteem from the very first, even when oral tradition abounded, then you confirm the testimony of all of the fragments up to this time. If you deny that these books were accepted all along, then you make a hopeless riddle of the language of this author, who had probably talked with Polycarp. You must then suppose that our Gospels, became the sole authority only in this author's time, while previously they had been associated

108. Ibid.

109. Muratonian Fragment, quoted in Westcott, op. cit., pp. 215, 216.

with many other gospels. Yet as we have said, the author of this Fragment seems to indicate that the four Gospels had always held the place of sole authority.¹¹⁰

How the church felt about the apocrypha has been seen in this Fragment, when the writer declared that "gall ought not to be mixed with honey." He listed the Epistles to the Laodiceans and the Alexandrians as definitely excluded Apocrypha. The Wisdom of Solomon is acknowledged, and the Apocalypse of Peter is spoken against.

In conclusion, we acknowledge the importance of this Fragment. This is the earliest attempt at a canon of the New Testament books that we have at our disposal. It is encouraging to see that most of our book are included.

All of our New Testament books are found in this canon except:

Hebrews
James
I Peter
II Peter
I John

Melito, Bishop of Sardis

Melito was Bishop of Sardis during and after the reign of Marcus Aurelius (ca. 160 A.D.).¹¹¹ The list of his writings includes: some on Hospitality; on Easter, and on the Lord's day; on the Church, on (Christian) Citizenship and Prophets, on Prophecy, on Truth, on Baptism; on the Creation, and Birth of Christ, on the nature of Man, and on the Soul and Body; on the Formation of the World, and according to one

110. Westcott, op. cit., p. 216.

111. Charteris, op. cit., pp. 44, n. 1, 314.

reading, on the Organs of sense; on the Interpretation of Scripture; on the Devil, and on the Incarnation.¹¹²

An interesting writing is his letter to a fellow-Christian, Onosimus, who had requested him "to make selections for him from the Law and Prophets concerning the Savior and the Faith generally," and in addition, wanted to learn the accurate "account of the Old (πάλαιων) Books."¹¹³ Melito writes: "having gone therefore to the East, 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."¹¹⁴ Such a statement as this seems to indicate that a New Testament was at hand. Mentioning the "Old Books" indicates, very probably, a contrasting with the "New Books." Furthermore, calling these books "Old" implies that the "New" were on a par with them.

A second writing, "Oration of Melito the philosopher, who was in the presence of Antonius Caesar" (ca. 170 A.D.¹¹⁵) has come down to us in a Syriac translation.¹¹⁶ Since it is an apologetic work, we can not expect to find many references to our New Testament. Westcott finds that the traces of the Gospels are extremely rare here, the Gospel of John being the most certain. There are, however, more references to our Epistles. The chief ones echoed are St. James, The First Epistle of Peter, and the Second Epistle of Peter.¹¹⁷

112. Westcott, op. cit., pp. 223, 224.

113. Eusebius, H.E., IV, 26, quoted in Westcott, op. cit., p. 221.

114. Westcott, loc. cit.

115. Charteris, op. cit., p. 44, n. 1. Gregory gives the date as 176 A.D., op. cit., p. 105.

116. Westcott, op. cit., p. 222.

117. Ibid.

Melito also wrote a treatise "On the obedience of Faith," a phrase common to Paul (Rom. 1:5 & 16:26.); and, there is also a treatise on the Apocalypse.¹¹⁸

In spite of the scanty references to our books, we find all the teaching of these books present, as we look at a fragment said to be from the treatise On Faith by Melito. In this work he writes:

We have made collections from the Law and the Prophets relative to those things which have been declared respecting Our Lord Jesus Christ, that we may prove to your love that He is perfect Reason, the Word of God; Who was begotten before the light; Who was Creator together with the Father; who was the Fashioner of man; Who was all in all; Who among the Patriarchs was Patriarch; Who in the law was the Law; among the priest Chief Priest; among kings Governor; among prophets the Prophet; among the Angels Archangel; in the Voice the Word; among spirits Spirit; in the Father the Son; in God God; the King for ever and ever. For this was He who was Pilot to Noah; Who conducted Abraham; Who was bound with Isaac; Who was in exile with Jacob; Who was sold with Joseph; Who was Captain with Moses; Who was the Divider of the inheritance with Jesus the son of Nun; Who in David and the Prophets foretold His own sufferings; Who was born at Bethlehem; Who was wrapped in swaddling cloths in the manger; Who was seen of shepherds; Who was glorified of Angels; Who was worshipped by the Magi; Who was pointed out by John; Who assembled the Apostles; Who preached the kingdom; Who healed the maimed; Who gave light to the blind; Who raised the dead; Who appeared in the Temple; Who was not believed on by the people; Who was betrayed by Judas; Who was laid hold on by the Priests; Who was condemned by Pilate; Who was pierced in the flesh; Who was hanged upon the tree; Who was buried in the earth; Who rose from the dead; Who appeared to the Apostles; Who ascended to heaven; Who sitteth on the right hand of the Father; Who is the Rest of those that are departed, the Recoverer of those who are lost, the Light of those who are in darkness, the Deliverer of those who are captives, the Finder of those who have gone astray, the Refuge of the afflicted, the Bridegroom of the

118. Ibid.

Church; the Charioteer of the Cherubim, the Captain of the Angels, God who is of God, the Son who is of the Father, Jesus Christ, the King for ever and ever. Amen.¹¹⁹

Looking over this testimony we see that although references to individual books are scarce, Melito has implied the existence of a collection of the "New Books" as opposed to the "Old Books," and in addition has shown a knowledge of Christian teachings contradicting none of the New Testament teachings.

List of New Testament books referred to:

The Gospel of John
Romans
I Peter
II Peter
Revelation

Claudius Apollinarus

Claudius was a contemporary of Melito.¹²⁰ Charteris makes him Bishop of Hierapolis ca. 180 A.D.¹²¹ The testimony which we shall consider was written by Claudius concerning the date for the Easter celebration. He writes: "Some say that the Lord ate the lamb with his disciples of 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."¹²²

The importance of this testimony is that the Gospels are assumed to have been accepted for a long time, no indication being given

119. Cureton, Spicilegium Syriacum, pp. 53, 54, quoted in Westcott, op. cit., pp. 224-226.

120. Westcott, op. cit., p. 227.

121. Charteris, op. cit., p. 58, n. 1.

122. Claudius Apollinarus, fr. ap. Routh, I, p. 160, quoted in Westcott, loc. cit.

that they had just recently emerged victorious over apocryphal Gospels. Secondly, it will be evident that the author assumes that the Gospels cannot disagree, using this as an argument for his view.

List of New Testament books referred to:

Matthew
The Gospels

Theophilus

Theophilus, we are told by Westcott, was a heathen by birth and a native of the East. According to Eusebius he was Bishop at Antioch during the time of Marcus Aurelius.¹²³ The most important works of his, remaining, are three books to his learned heathen friend Autolytus. Theophilus was trying to convince him of the truth of the Christian religion.¹²⁴

As we look into these three volumes we find references to Matthew, John, Romans, I & II Corinthians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, I Timothy, Titus, Hebrews, I Peter, and according to Eusebius, Revelation.¹²⁵

The most important testimony is that concerning the inspiration of these books. Gregory gives us ample evidence that Theophilus did believe the New Testament to be the Word of God. He tells us how Theophilus spoke of the prophets as "spirit-bearers of the Holy Spirit." Theophilus speaks of the Old Testament, saying it "teaches us the Holy Spirit by the prophets," "teaches the divine scripture," "the divine scripture," "the divine scriptures." Now, Gregory says, Theophilus applies the same description to the Apostle John, when he

123. Gregory apparently holds to a slightly later date, giving 181-190 A.D. as the term of Theophilus' bishopric, op. cit., p. 138.

124. Westcott, op. cit., p. 228.

125. Ibid., pp. 228, 229.

writes, "Whence the holy Scriptures and all the spirit-bearers teach us, of whom John says: In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, showing that at first God only was and in Him the Word." John is here made a "spirit-bearer" also.¹²⁶ Gregory opposes the opinion: that Theophilus regarded the New Testament of less value than the Old, stating that this Antiochan bishop almost seems to place the New Testament above the Old. This is demonstrated when Theophilus represents the New Testament as giving more commanding statements as to morals, e.g., chastity.¹²⁷ He writes, "And the gospel voice teaches in the strongest manner about chastity, saying'--not to look at a woman with evil thought, and not to put away a wife."¹²⁸ The value placed upon the Epistles by Theophilus is shown when he alludes to St. Paul's Epistle to Titus in this fashion: "And further also about the being subject to powers and authorities and praying for them, the divine word commands us that we should lead a calm and quiet life."¹²⁹ There is no mistaking his meaning when he says "the divine word commands us." In view of all this testimony, Gregory concludes, "There is to my mind not the shadow of a doubt that Theophilus had the bulk of our New Testament books, and that he regarded them in general as all of them equal in authority to the books of the Old Testament."¹³⁰

List of New Testament books referred to:

Matthew
John
Romans
Titus

I & II Corinthians
Ephesians
Philippians
Colossians

I Timothy
Hebrews
I Peter
Revelation

126. Gregory, op. cit., pp. 138, 139.

127. Ibid., p. 141.

128. Theophilus, στοιχειώδη συγγράμματα, 3. 13, quoted in Gregory, op. cit., p. 139.

129. Ibid., 3. 14, quoted in Gregory, op. cit., p. 141.

130. Gregory, op. cit., p. 142.

Athenagoras

Not much is known about Athenagoras. We have only his own writings. Eusebius and Jerome ignore him.¹³¹ The superscription of his Apology, addressed to Marcus Aurelius and his son Commodus, informs us that he was an Athenian and a philosopher.¹³² The Apology was entitled "A mission about Christians (πρεσβεία περὶ Χριστιανῶν)."¹³³ Gregory adds that he also wrote an essay on the Resurrection from the dead, and furthermore, places the date of Athenagoras' testimony at 177 A.D.¹³⁴ Westcott tells us that Athenagoras made "tacit references" in his Apology to Matthew, John, Romans, I Corinthians and Galatians; St. Luke and I Timothy are doubtful. Paul is called "the apostle" in the treatise On the Resurrection, and I & II Corinthians are echoed.¹³⁵ Gregory offers us an instance which seems to have been drawn chiefly from Matthew and partly from Luke: Athenagoras writes, "What then are the words on which we have been brought up? I say unto you: Love your enemies, bless those who curse you, pray for those who persecute you, so that ye may be sons of your Father in the heavens, who causes His sun to rise on the evil and good, and rains upon just and unjust."¹³⁶ Westcott adds that in this last instance, Athenagoras not only says of the words of Matthew, "These are the words in which we are reared," but also "with which we are nourished."¹³⁷ We might conclude from this

131. Westcott, op. cit., p. 229.

132. Ibid.

133. Ibid.

134. Gregory, op. cit., p. 157.

135. Westcott, op. cit., pp. 229, 230.

136. Athenagoras, Legat., chap. 11, quoted in Gregory, op. cit., p. 166.

137. Westcott, loc. cit., n. 6.

that the book of Matthew and probably the other New Testament books were thought to have the power to nourish people, namely that the Holy Spirit through them nourished people up in their most holy faith.

List of New Testament books referred to:

Matthew	Romans
Luke	I Corinthians
John	Galatians
	I Timothy

Conclusion

In spite of the meager sources and fragments of this period, in addition to the apologetic nature of the writings, the study of this period has been profitable. When placed side by side with our first chapter, there is witness for every canonical book with the exception of the Second Epistle of Peter. Furthermore, as we study the testimony of the age of the Apologists, we see a general high regard for the New Testament writings, to the point of speaking of their authors as "spirit-bearers." Finally, only one book, The Apocalypse of Peter, has found acceptance in the Canon of the Christian Church, and that acceptance is a doubtful one.¹³⁸

138. Westcott, op. cit., p. 230.

III. The Early Versions of the New Testament

Our final chapter is in itself the summation of all our study. We shall see that the early Versions are a very ancient testimony reaching back almost to the earliest days of Christianity. Furthermore, we shall find included in these Canons every book of our New Testament with the exception of the Second Epistle of Peter. Also, it will be evident from the care and regard which the people showed for these early Versions, that they were particular which books went into them. A book had to be generally approved and tested before it was included. What that testing was we can not know, yet it must have been the testing of being tried by the Christians and found to contain the power of the Spirit. It is clear that the apocryphal books could not meet that test, for without exception, not one found its way into either of these early Canons.

The Syriac

The Syriac Version of the New Testament is undoubtedly of great antiquity. The exact date is not known. Gregory thinks he is giving a very "modest" opinion when he ventures 170 A.D. as the date.¹ Westcott tells us that most scholars place it within the first half of the second century.²

Indeed, there are quite a few reasons why we should think it to be of such an early date. In spite of the fact that it has been

1. Gregory, op. cit., p. 156.

2. Westcott, op. cit., p. 243.

revised quite often, the language still represents in part the Aramaic which was spoken in Palestine.⁵ It is known also that books at a very early date were translated from Syriac to Greek; why not expect that the Greek New Testament books were translated into Syriac?⁴ Bardesanes, author of a Syriac Dialogue, On Fate, could scarcely have opposed Marcion as he did without the use of a Syriac version of the Bible.⁵ Eusebius, moreover, 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."⁶ Ephraem Syrus, a deacon of Edessa in the fourth century, demonstrates the antiquity of the Version. He treats it as a book of "established authority," calls it "Our Version," and although the Eastern dialects are "proverbially permanent," the "language even in his time had become partially obsolete."⁷ To close the argument, we note that by the fourth century all the Syrian Christians of any sect had accepted this one Syriac Version. There would undoubtedly have been a rival version if the "Syriac" had not been already established through usage over a long period of years, before the first heresies became common.⁸

It is heartening to hear that most of our New Testament canon was included in the Syriac Version. Gregory tells us that every canonical book except II & III John, II Peter, Jude, and Revelation,

5. Ibid, p. 237.

4. Ibid, p. 240.

5. Ibid, pp. 240, 241.

6. Eusebius, H.E., IV, 22, quoted in Westcott, op. cit., p. 241.

7. Westcott, loc. cit.

8. Ibid, p. 242.

were accepted. The book of Revelation found readier acceptance in the West; II and III John were rather private letters; and II Peter was not known everywhere until the end of the third century.⁹ It seems peculiar that Jude was not accepted, since it had been written in Palestine "and appears to be necessarily connected with . . . the Epistle of St James."¹⁰

The question of the acceptance of apocryphal books finds a complete negation here. Although many uncanonical books were current throughout the East, there simply is not one included in this "earliest Version."¹¹

In conclusion, we may say we find excellent testimony to the presence of our New Testament books at this early date. It may also be noticed that no Judaistic influence marred the Syriac Version, for the writings of St. Paul were all accepted.

Every New Testament book is received except:

II Peter
II & III John
Jude
Revelation

The Old Latin

This Version originated in Northern Africa, where Christians were in great abundance, near the end of the second century. They did not speak Greek as their fellow Latins in Italy did. Their speech was a "peculiar form of Latin, vigorous, elastic, and copious, however far removed from the grace and elegance of a classical standard."¹²

9. Gregory, op. cit., p. 156.
10. Westcott, op. cit., p. 245.
11. Ibid., p. 246.
12. Westcott, op. cit., p. 250.

Tertullian of North Africa (ca. 190 A.D.)¹³ uses many Latin quotations of Scripture and speaks of Latin as the language of his church, exhibiting the presence of one distinct Version, even though there is no church remaining in that area today to testify to that fact.¹⁴ Irenaeus, one of the very earliest Latin writers, undoubtedly utilized this Old Latin Version when he made his own translation. We find many verses which must have been taken over bodily from the Vetus Latina, as it is called, for these verses agree with the "most trustworthy manuscripts of the Version."¹⁵ Thus seeing that the Version goes back into the earliest of Latin writers, and allowing some time for usage to stereotype the quotations, Westcott concludes that we can not place the date of this Version any later than 170 A.D.¹⁶ Furthermore, seeing that the various books appear to have been translated by different authors, probably at different times, Westcott conjectures that the translation is "coeval with the introduction of Christianity into Africa, and the result of spontaneous efforts of African Christians."¹⁷

Gregory informs us as to the contents of this Canon. He says it included the four Gospels, the book of Acts, thirteen Epistles of Paul, I Peter, I, II & III John, Jude, and Revelation. He does not find II Peter or James. Hebrews may have been included, under the authorship of Barnabas.¹⁸

Tertullian (190 A.D.) shows by his language that the Epistle to the Hebrews had not been accepted. He is arguing against a second

13. Gregory, op. cit., p. 156.

14. Westcott, op. cit., pp. 250-253.

15. Ibid., pp. 256, 257.

16. Ibid., p. 257.

17. Ibid., p. 258.

18. Gregory, op. cit., p. 156.

repentance for flagrant evil-doers:

'The discipline 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 point of continence; and certainly the Epistle of Barnabas it more commonly received among the Church than the Apocryphal Shepherd of adulterers."¹⁹

Westcott tells us that Tertullian quoted Hebrews 6:4-8 after writing the above.²⁰ This demonstrates that this Church Father truly had in mind our Hebrews and not the apocryphal Epistle of Barnabas. Also, we see that this writing shows that Hebrews must not have been in the Old Latin Version, for this was really Tertullian's strongest argument, yet he felt he could only use it as secondary evidence. If Hebrews had been in the Old Latin Version, Tertullian would have put this argument first. Westcott has examined the Claramontane Manuscript of the book of Hebrews in the Latin Vulgate. He believes that the text indicates that the translation from the Greek was made at a very early date, also that it had not been subjected to the revision common to books of the Old Latin Version. The Latin is still very simple, "perhaps the simplest form of the Vetus Latina."²¹ Hence it probably was not in the Old Latin Canon, as Jerome had indicated when he wrote, "The custom of the Latins received it not."²²

Tertullian quotes the book of Revelation very often, ascribing it

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19. Tertullian, de Pudic., chap. 20, quoted in Westcott, op. cit., p. 260.
 20. Westcott, op. cit., p. 260.
 21. Ibid., pp. 265, 266.
 22. Jerome, quoted in Westcott, op. cit., p. 266.

to St. John. Moreover, these quotations agree with the corresponding passages in the Apocalypse of the Vulgate, and all indications point to the fact that the Apocalypse was, from the earliest times, incorporated in the African Canon as Scripture.²³

The same is not true of the Second Epistle of Peter. Westcott has examined the language of this epistle in the Vulgate and draws the following conclusions: that in the Vulgate, which incorporated much of the Vetus Latina, the language of II Peter differs a good deal from that of I Peter and from the text of other parts of the Vulgate. Now, if they had both been admitted at the same time to the Old Latin Canon, they probably would have been translated by the same man; as it is, the translation of II Peter differs from that of I Peter even in words common to both; the same difference is observable in the case of II Peter and Jude, parts of which are almost identical in Greek; still, two different men may have translated II Peter, but when on top of this we consider that Tertullian makes no mention of the Epistle, we are led to conclude that it had not been translated by his time.²⁴

The language of the Epistle of St. James, as found in the Vulgate, also shows indications of the work of a special translator. In addition, it seems to have been translated later than the acknowledged books.²⁵

Looking back over this testimony, we see that almost every book of our New Testament has been acknowledged in this ancient Canon. Furthermore, the books were valued so highly, that they were quoted by

23. Westcott, op. cit., pp. 261, 262.

24. Ibid, pp. 263, 264, 265.

25. Ibid, p. 265.

Tertullian as conclusive for doctrine. Equally important is the fact that no Apocrypha or "foreign element" have found their way into this Version.²⁶

Every book of the New Testament is attested except:

Hebrews
James
II Peter

Conclusion

With the examination of the evidence afforded by these two ancient versions, the Syriac and the Vetus Latina, we can bring a suitable conclusion to our study. We shall find that our three controlling purposes have been fulfilled.

In the first place we have discovered in these two Versions a confirmation of the testimony of various individuals from the Apostolic days onward. We have here a list of books sanctioned not by private testimony, but by public use in the public services of the church. Furthermore, these Versions are a witness from the earliest times. Westcott evaluates them thus:

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 speaks as of that which was recognized as a heritage from an earlier period, which cannot have been long after the days of the Apostles.²⁷

In the second place, we see the deep reverence and high regard felt in the Christian Church concerning the canonical books by the way the churches guarded these two ancient Versions. The Western Church, in the Old Latin Version had clung tenaciously to all of

26. Ibid, p. 268.

27. Westcott, op. cit., p. 267.

the books,²⁸ while the Eastern Church had held just as strongly to its first canon. And it will be remembered that the Syriac Version did not contain all the books. These Eastern Christians were so zealous for the purity of their New Testament that they would not change their judgment and include the missing books until centuries later.²⁹ It was only in the fifth century that "it was revised after the Greek text."³⁰ Westcott remarks on the adherence of the Eastern Christians to their first list of books in this manner:

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 there was no appeal?³¹

He goes on to explain their error as arising "not from the principle of conservatism on which it rested, but from the imperfect data by which the sum of Apostolic teaching was determined."³²

Thirdly, we have noticed the opinion of Christendom on the apocryphal books as summed up in these ancient Versions. Not one apocryphal book found acceptance in either canon. Yes, various individual writers and churches did from time to time show a varying degree of respect for these books. But the voice of early Christendom speaking in these two canons excluded every one from the list of New Testament books. To sum it up, ". . . by enlarging our view so as to comprehend the whole of Christendom and unite the different lines

28. The Second Epistle of Peter does not have as much historical attestation as the rest of the books.

29. Westcott, op. cit., pp. 267, 268.

30. Alfred Durand, "The New Testament," The Catholic Encyclopedia, 1912 ed., XIV, 533.

31. Westcott, op. cit., p. 267.

32. Ibid., p. 268.

of Apostolic tradition, we obtain with one exception a perfect New Testament, without the admixture of any foreign element.³³ The Apostolic Fathers, the Apologists, the early Versions, all three, tell us that our New Testament is the ancient covenant accepted by the Church and acknowledged by them as the Word of God.³⁴

33. Ibid. Westcott conjectures that the indefinite address of II Peter may have kept it from circulating as freely as the rest of the books.

34. A study of the early heretics would corroborate our findings, and show that even the opponents of the Church, either by seeking to find sanction for their heresies in the canonical books or by attacks on canonical books, indicate the authority assigned them in the Church. Cf. Westcott, op. cit., pp. 270-326.

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