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THE
CHURCHMAN

NOVEMBER, 1891.

ART. I.—THE "APOLOGY" OF ARISTIDES.

IN these days of unrest and disquietude, when the very foundations of the Creed are assailed, and the contents of the canon itself are subjected to the new criticism, we hail with satisfaction any discovery which throws light upon the faith which was held by the primitive Christians of the sub-Apostolic age. Such a very real help we have in the "Apology" of Aristides on behalf of the Christians, a fresh find in the regions of sub-Apostolic literature. It is one of the earliest of the apologies made to the Roman Emperor. Aristides takes rank with the other Greek apologists of that early age—with Papias and Quadratus, "a disciple of the Apostles," and with the Jewish apologists Agrippa Castor and Justin Martyr, "the true representative of the age"; with Dionysius of Corinth, and Pinytus; with Hermas and Hegeppus; with Theophilus of Antioch, and Athenagoras of Athens. The work of the early apologists was, as we know, twofold—to determine the relations of Christianity to heathendom and to Judaism.¹

The first Athenian apologists were Quadratus and Aristides, who are supposed to have been almost contemporaries. The "Apology" of Quadratus was generally current in the time of Eusebius, who himself possessed a copy of it; and "one may see in it," he says, "clear proof of the intellect of the man and of his Apostolic orthodoxy." The single passage which he has preserved shows that Quadratus insisted rightly on

¹ The word "apology" (*ἀπολογία*), a defence, has always had a technical meaning in Christian literature. When St. Paul refers to the time, when he gave a reason for the hope that was in him, he says "at my first answer"—open defence, before a court of justice—"apology" (*ἀπολογία*), "No man stood with me" (2 Tim. iv. 16). See also Philipp. i. 7-16.

the historic worth of Christianity. "The works of our Saviour," he argues, "were ever present, for they were real: being the men who were healed; the men who were raised from the dead: who were not only seen at the moment when the miracles were wrought, but were also seen continually like other men, being ever present; and that not only while the Saviour sojourned on earth, but also after His departure for a considerable time, so that some of them survived to our own time" (Euseb. H. E., iv. 3).

A second "Apology for the Faith; a Rationale of Christian Doctrine," was addressed, according to Eusebius, to Hadrian by Aristides, "a man of the greatest eloquence," who likewise was an Athenian, and probably wrote on the same occasion as Quadratus. Eusebius and Jerome speak of the book as still current in their time, but they do not appear to have read it.

This latest addition to our Christian literature, this precious relic of antiquity, has been, comparatively speaking, little known; all information on the subject depended chiefly upon certain allusions of Eusebius in his "Ecclesiastical History," and in his "Chronicon." But as Eusebius did not preserve any extracts from the book, and only presents us with an obscure figure in a philosopher's garb; and as subsequent writers have told us nothing more than what we find in the pages of Eusebius, it must be confessed that our information as to the character and scope of one of the earliest apologetic treatises on Christianity was about as vague as it was possible to be. 'Tis true that there was an idea, which came, we believe, from Jerome, that the lost work of Aristides had been imitated by Justin, the representative apologist, and Jerome also ventured the opinion that this "Apology" had been woven out of materials derived from the philosophers. But it was not considered possible to pin one's faith to Jerome's statements, which were proved to be mere expansions and colourings on the part of an editor of what were found in the pages of Eusebius. Assuredly there was no antecedent improbability that one Christian apologist had imitated another, as there is a strong family likeness in all the "Apologies"; and it would not be difficult to maintain, if we took any two writers of this school at random, that one had not imitated, if not actually laid the other under contribution. The difficulty lay in want of literary faith in the statements of Jerome; but apart from this, we should not be much the wiser.

All that we could glean from the researches of our most trusted scholars, with regard to these lost "Apologies," was, that we had Eusebian tradition for their existence, and even their date, and a Eusebian extract or two from one of them,

as a specimen of sub-Apostolic defence, a very scanty remnant from a vanished house.

Fresh light was, however, thrown on the obscurity when an Armenian translation of the opening chapter of the lost "Apology" of Aristides was discovered by the learned Armenians of the Lazarist monastery of Venice; and although the results of their scholarly labours were received in some quarters with incredulity, yet we shall hope to show the reader in the course of this paper that the document in question has been rightly entitled, and that the monks had opened the door for a satisfactory conception of the dogmatics which underlay the apologetics, which has been a step in the right direction. It is true that M. Rénan, in his "Origines de Christianisme," throws great doubt upon its authenticity, and maintains that the Armenian fragment contains a theology later than the fourth century; and its historical, or rather mythological, erudition is unworthy of a writer of the second century. He scoffed at the alleged relic of antiquity, pointing out that it contains terms and phrases which were unknown till the fourth century. M. Rénan, however, has been rightly opposed in this sweeping denunciation by Doulcet, who has pointed out relations between Aristides and the "Timæus" of Plato as a justification of the philosophical character of the work; but, unfortunately, Doulcet went too far, when he tried to identify Aristides with the author of the "Epistle to Diognetus." At all events, the published fragment of the Armenian brothers shows traces of an interesting originality of method in the classification of the religious beliefs of the time.

Mr. Rendel Harris, Professor of Biblical languages in Haverford College, Pennsylvania, contributes to the subject a Syriac translation of substantially the whole of the missing "Apology," but without the terms to which Rénan objected. The original text was discovered in a volume of Syriac extracts preserved in the library of the convent of St. Catharine, upon Mount Sinai, only as short a time ago as the spring of 1889. The copy has suffered somewhat in the course of time from successive transcriptions, and needs occasionally critical treatment. "The language and thought of the writer are, however," says the translator, "so simple and straightforward, that the limits of error are much narrower than they would be in a document wherein the structure was more highly complicated: the unintelligible sentences which accumulate in a translation so much more rapidly than in the copying of an original document, are almost entirely absent. In fact, the writer is more of a child than a philosopher, a child well trained in creed and practised in ethics, rather than either a

dogmatist defending a new system, or an iconoclast destroying an old one; but this simplicity of treatment, so far from being a weakness, adds often greatly to the natural impressiveness of the subject, and gives the work a place by the side of the best Christian writing of his age" (p. 3)—the palmy age of the Greek apologists.

The translation is from a manuscript numbered "16" among the Syriac MSS. of the Sinaitic convent. Doubtless it was the ethical character of the "Apology" of Aristides that secured its incorporation with the volume. It will be well to discuss the effect which this recovered document has upon our estimate of the Eusebian statements concerning the earliest Church apologists. Photographs of the Syriac text were taken by Professor Harris, and special pains have been taken in the reproduction of the correct punctuation. In fact, everything seems to have been done to make this new discovery of the lost "Apology" as complete and trustworthy as possible.

1. The allusions to Aristides on the part of Eusebius claim our first attention. The "Chronicon" of Eusebius gives the following date for the "Apologies" of Quadratus and Aristides. The Armenian version of it is as follows:

O. L.	A. ABR.	IMP. ROM.	
d226	2140	8e	d Adrianus Eleusinarum rerum quarus fuit multaue dona Atheniensium largitus est.
			e Romanorum ecclesia episcopatum excepit septimus Telesphorus annis xi.

Eusebius, in his "Church History," says: "Aristides, also a believer earnestly devoted to our religion, left, like Quadratus, an 'Apology' for the faith, addressed to Hadrian. His work, too, has been preserved even to the present day by a great many persons."¹ Aristides of Athens is called by Eusebius, in his "Chronicon," "a philosopher" ("nostri dogmatis philosophus Atheniensis"). Eusebius does not quote his work, perhaps because he did not possess a copy, perhaps because it contained no historical matter suited to his purpose, nor does he refer to him again. But he says:

Codratus Apostolorum auditor et Aristides nostri dogmatis (nostræ rei) philosophus Atheniensis Adriano supplicationes dedere apogeticas (apologiae, responsionis) ob mandatum. Acceperat tamen a Serennio splendido præside (judice) scriptum de Christianis, quod nempe iniquum sit occidere eos rumore sine inquisitione, neque ulla accusatione. Scribit Armonicus Fundius proconsuli Asianorum ut sine ullo damno et incusatione non damnarentur: et exemplar edicto ejus hucusque circumfertur.

We may say, then, that it is the intention of Eusebius to refer the presentation of both these apologies to the time

¹ Eusebius, book iv., c. iii.

when Hadrian was spending his first winter in Athens, and to make them the reason for the imperial rescript to Minucius Fundanus which is attached to the first "Apology" of Justin Martyr. Minucius Fundanus was consul 107, and it is not unreasonable to suppose that he held the Asian proconsulate A.D. 124 or 125. If, then, Aristides and Quadratus presented apologies to Hadrian, knowing Hadrian's devotion to Greek literature, it is reasonable to connect them with his first Athenian winter, and not the second (A.D. 129-130).

Three difficulties appear to be in the way of this suggestion: first, doubt has been thrown on the genuineness of the Emperor's rescript to Minucius Fundanus; and next, there is a suspicious resemblance between Quadratus the apologist and Quadratus Bishop of Athens in the time of Antoninus Pius, who succeeded Publius, who was martyred, according to Jerome. Lastly, the newly-found document cannot be referred to the time assigned to it by Eusebius, and there is only a possibility that it was ever presented to Hadrian.

The Syriac version has a preface to the following effect: "Apology made by Aristides the philosopher before Hadrianus the King, concerning the Worship of Almighty God." But this is immediately followed by another introduction, which cannot be anything else than a part of the primitive "Apology." It runs as follows: "Cæsar Titus Hadrianus Antoninus, worshipful and clement, from Marcianus Aristides, philosopher, of Athens."

The additional information conveyed by this sentence is a sufficient guarantee of its genuineness. Two points are gained: the name of the philosopher given as Marcianus, and the full name of the Emperor addressed. We find, to our surprise, that this is not Hadrian, but his successor, Antoninus Pius, who bears the name of Hadrian by adoption from Publius Ælius Hadrianus. Professor Rendel Harris, then, comes to this conclusion: "Unless, therefore, we can show that there is an error or a deficiency in the opening sentence of the 'Apology,' we shall be obliged to refer it to the time of the Emperor Antoninus Pius, and to say that Eusebius has made a mistake in reading the title of the 'Apology,' or has followed someone who had made the mistake before him" (p. 8). The Professor offers several proofs in favour of his theory, and thus sums up: "Seeing, then, the extreme difficulty of maintaining the Hadrianic or Eusebian hypothesis, we are driven to refer the 'Apology' to the reign of Antoninus Pius, and to affirm that Eusebius made a mistake in reading or quoting the title of the book, in which mistake he has been followed by a host of other writers. If he followed a text

which had the heading as in the Syriac, he has misunderstood the person spoken of as Hadrian the King; and if, on the other hand, he takes the opening sentences as his guide, he has made a superficial reference, which a closer reading would have corrected" (p. 9).

This would seem to have been the very age of the Christian apologist. George Long, in the preface to his translation of the "Philosophy of M. Aurelius Antoninus," says: "During the time of Antoninus Pius and Marcus Antoninus there appeared the first 'Apology' of Justinus, and under M. Antoninus the 'Oration of Tatian against the Greeks,' which was a fierce attack on the established religions, the address of Athenagoras to M. Antoninus on behalf of the Christians, and the 'Apology' of Melito, Bishop of Sardis, also addressed to the Emperor, and that of Apolinarius" (p. xvii.). Mr. Long slyly adds, "but we do not know whether they read it." He, however, makes no mention of that of Aristides. But, then, neither the Armenian fragment nor the Syriac and Greek versions had been discovered in Mr. Long's time. Whatever, then, be the date of our "Apology," the simplicity of its style is in favour of an early one. The religious ideas and practices are of an antique cast; the ethics show a remarkable continuity with Jewish ethics: the care for the stranger and the friendless, the burial of the dead and the like, fasting and almsgiving, are given as characteristic virtues both of Judaism and Christianity. Indeed, we may say one of the remarkable things about the "Apology" is the friendly tone in which the Jews are spoken about. We should not certainly suspect that the chasm between the Church and the Synagogue had become as impassable as it was in the second century. The hostile tone which we find in the "Martyrdom of Polycarp" is wanting, and the severity of contempt in the "Epistle to Diognetus" is conspicuous by its absence. If the Church is not in the writer's time any longer under the wing of the Synagogue, it has apparently no objection to taking the Synagogue occasionally under its own wing.

After critically examining the difficulties of the rival hypotheses, Mr. Rendel Harris thus sums up: "We have found it difficult to assign the 'Apology' to any other period than the early years of Antoninus Pius; and it is at least conceivable that it may have been presented to the Emperor, along with other Christian writings, during an unrecorded visit of his to the ancient seat of government in Smyrna" (p. 7).

2. There seems to have been some possible connection between the "True Word" of Celsus and the "Apology" of Aristides. Celsus, the great opponent of Christianity, must have been very nearly a contemporary with Aristides; but though it may

be difficult to assign to him a particular date, he must have been at the height of his fame in the reign of Antoninus Pius. Nor is it easy to discover what Christian books Celsus had come across, whether Gospels or other literature. All we can ascertain is that he knew the dialogue written between Jason and Papiscus, a work of Aristo of Pella, written at the close of the Jewish war under Hadrian, and if he were reading contemporary Christian literature he would naturally know Aristides. Indeed, it may fairly be asked whether Aristides was not one of the persons to whom Celsus undertook to reply, as we find many parallels between the fragments of the great work of Celsus preserved by Origen and our "Apology."

One of the leading ideas of Aristides is that God made everything *for the sake of man*. This he illustrates in various ways by pointing out that the different elements—earth, air, fire, and water, together with the heavenly bodies—are his ministers. Celsus seems to have been much opposed to this doctrine, and to have diffusely discussed it; indeed, it was the chief point of contact between the stoic philosophy and religious faith, whether Jewish or Christian.

Celsus draws ridiculous pictures of the philosophy of frogs in the swamp, of the ants in their ant-hill, and beves of bats, discussing the proposition—which might be obvious to them—that the world had been made solely for their benefit. He covers the argument from Providence, as stated by Aristides, by asking the question, Were the elements and the stars made for the self-congratulation of the bat, the frog, or the man? But he carries out the argument in detail. According to Celsus, Providence is more apparent in the case of ants and bees, which obtain their food without labour, or with less than that of man. He will not listen to the statement that the sun and stars serve man, much less what Aristides affirms, that the sun was created to serve the many needs of man. "Do not," says he, "quote to me verses from Euripides about sunshine and shade serving man; how do they serve him any more than the ants or the flies, which sleep and wake much as we do?" In Aristides the argument is repeated again and again, and Celsus (too much as Origen thinks) answers it at great length.

Another point about which Aristides is original is the doctrine of the races of the world and their origin. He divides the world into four—Barbarians, Greeks, Jews, and Christians. As for Christians—the new race—they derive their origin from Jesus the Messiah, and He is called Son of God Most High. Now, Celsus dilates on this very point, which Origen draws attention to, and his agreement with Aristides on this head is very striking. Again, when Aristides discusses the beliefs of the Jew, he remarks that their ritual is rather an

adoration of angels than a worship of God. What shall we say when we find Celsus affirming that the Jews worshipped angels? Origen, in his astonishment, asks: "Where in the world did Celsus find in the Mosaic writings instructions in the worship of angels?" It is certainly remarkable that we find the missing link in the "Apology" of Aristides.

Further analogies might be traced, but from what has been stated it is very reasonable to suppose that Celsus had read the "Apology" of Aristides before he penned his "True Word."

3. The figure of Aristides, then, the author of the "Apology," the philosopher of Athens, is presented to us as that of a Christian, who has preserved the dress and garb of his order, with a view to service in the Gospel. Not a few of the famous second-century Christians seem to have attracted an audience in this way. Most certainly Justin did this, and Tatian, nor should we be wrong in assuming the same with regard to Aristides. But the professedly dispassionate presentation of the Christian soon breaks down, and the real man soon gives the note of challenge—"Christianus sum, nihil Christianum alienum a me puto." We notice that Aristides does not appeal to miracles and prophecy on behalf of Christianity, but to the surpassing beauty and supernatural morality of the Gospel, as its highest witness and most convincing evidence. His strong point is the moral and spiritual character of the Christian religion. He mentions angels as quite familiar subjects, and refers to the dogmatic statements of the Church as "household words," and without any beating about the bush makes a peroration of the impending day of judgment. And so the philosopher, with an imperial audience, is another illustration of the city set upon the hill—the light on a candlestick. Aristides "apologizing" among the *entourage* of the imperial court is another Paul preaching on Mars' Hill.

St. Paul, in his Epistles, talks about a pattern of sound words—a *παραθήκη*, a depositum—the germ of the Christian creed—the faith once fully, and once for all, delivered: shall we find anything of the kind in our "Apology"? Now, it is very interesting to notice that in the time of Aristides the Church had a "Symbolum of the Faith," and from his "Apology" we may reconstruct a good many of its sentences. In it we discover some elements in the baptismal creed of the Athenian Church. In this investigation we start at a time when the memory of the Apostles was still fresh and green, from what is practically certain to what is less demonstrable. We should not assume, for example, that the words "Maker of heaven and earth" were proof of the existence of a possibly fixed creed. But if other sentences can be reliably established, we need not omit these words in the reconstructed formula.

The certain passage with which we set out is :

He was pierced (crucified) by the Jews ;
He died, and was buried ;

and they say that

After three days He rose,
And ascended into heaven.

That these words represent a part of the "Symbolum Fidei," as known to Aristides, there can be no shadow of doubt.

What else, then, was contained in the Creed ? Surely we may add the words which must have stood at the beginning and end of the Creed—*e.g.*, that God was the Maker of heaven and earth, and that Jesus Christ would come to judge the world.

But can we go further ? There is a shrewd suspicion that the Creed contained the clause "He was born of the Virgin Mary," for in the language of Aristides the clause the "Hebrew Virgin" preceded the account of the crucifixion. Besides, we find Aristides most pronounced in stating this doctrine, and Celsus is emphatic in his scornful rejection of it. Thus Celsus brings out the old story of the infidelity of Mary, and says the father of Jesus was a soldier whose name was Panthera. This is the story which appears in the Talmud under the name Pandera—clearly a transliteration of the former. This legend was supposed to be invented by the Jews to account for our Lord's birth, which proves that they were in search of a more tenable hypothesis than the paternity of Joseph. The story which we find in the Talmud and in Celsus may be traced to some piece of Jewish scandal.

If, however, the story was Jewish in its origin, it was Greek in its manufacture. Some fancy the word Panthera is a symbol of unbridled lust. But this is a mistake, for it is simply an anagram on the word "Parthenos," by which the mother of our Lord was commonly known. That this is the true solution must be evident to all who are familiar with the anagrams and acrostics of that interesting period. The order of the letters has been changed and the ending of the word slightly altered. All we know of the dogmatics of the early part of the second century agrees with the belief that the virginity of Mary was a part of the formulated Christian symbol. Nor need we hesitate to give the doctrine a place in the creed of Aristides. We restore the fragments of Aristides' creed as follows :

We believe in one God Almighty,
Maker of heaven and earth ;
And in Jesus Christ, His Son,
* * * * *
Born of the Virgin Mary ;
* * * * *

He was pierced by the Jews ;
 He died and was buried ;
 The third day He rose again ;
 He ascended into heaven ;

* * * *

He is about to come to judge.

At all events, we may maintain that there is evidence of the Creed in very early times under a slightly different form to that generally received, and if so, we may call it a mark of antiquity to have the "Apology" of Aristides expressing itself to that effect; for certainly no such sentence in the generally received Creed existed in later times, however widely diffused the animosity against the Jews may have been.

4. We have already alluded to the original idea on the part of Aristides in dividing mankind into four tribes, the Barbarian, the Greek, the Jew, and the Christian. The Armenian fragment of the "Apology" before mentioned thus speaks of the last named; "But the Christians reckon their race from the Lord Jesus Christ. He is Himself Son of God on high, Who was manifested of the Holy Spirit, came down from heaven, and, being born of a Hebrew Virgin, took on His flesh from the Virgin, and was manifested in the nature of humanity the Son of God; Who sought to win the entire world to His eternal goodness by His life-giving preaching. He it is who was according to the flesh born of the race of the Hebrews, by the God-bearing (the word *θεοτόκος* is implied) Virgin Miriam. He chose the twelve disciples, and He by His illuminating truth, dispensing it, taught all the world, and was nailed on the cross by the Jews; Who rose from the dead and ascended into heaven, and sent forth His disciples into the whole world (*οικουμένην*), and taught all with divinely miraculous and profoundly wise wonders."

Mr. Rendel Harris, to whom we are indebted for the translation of the Syriac version lately discovered by him, tells us that it has been much improved by the Greek version, which has been even more recently discovered by Mr. J. Armitage Robinson. By one of those happy accidents, as we call them, upon which progress depends, this gentleman discovered that substantially the whole of the Greek text was extant, and had been incorporated in that charming half-Greek and half-Oriental story, "The Lives of Barlaam and Joasaph." Of course this means that for the greater part of the "Apology" of Aristides we have copies and versions in goodly numbers in various languages, which opens up quite a new field before the student of Christian apologetics. This Greek version has enabled Mr. Harris to improve his translation by filling up the *lacunae* in the Syriac version. It was discovered by Mr. Armitage Robinson (of Cambridge) when he was turning

over the Latin "Passionals" at Vienna in a fruitless search for a lost MS. of the "Passion of St. Perpetua." Happening to be reading portions, he tells us (p. 67), of the Latin version of the "Life of Barlaam and Josaphat," he stumbled across words which recalled the manner and thought of Aristides. This led to a comparison of it with the Syriac version, and the fresh light which was thrown upon it. The result of a careful collation of the two versions, shedding mutual light one on the other, has been to settle on a firm basis the genuineness of this long-lost "Apology."

5. This discovery of the Greek version has proved especially valuable in ascertaining the bearing of the "Apology" on the canon. The notices in support of the sacred books are perhaps scanty, but they are there if a little trouble is taken to discover them, and the position of the man gives importance to the most meagre references. But such references as there are belong to separate Apostolic writings; not to these collected into a canon, as we find in the writers of the third or fourth centuries, because the second-century Christianity of Rome and Athens knew nothing of a *canon* of the New Testament in a technical sense. Men have troubled because they have not been able to find distinct references to this or that portion of the canon. But if they did find them, it would be good evidence that they were really the productions of a later age. How can we expect to find reference to a canon of the New Testament in documents of the sub-Apostolic age, when no such *canon* had yet been formed as a matter of fact, but was only in process of formation? Aristides investigated Christianity in the spirit of a philosopher, and yet he is as conspicuous for faith as for wisdom. His work was not only able, but in the opinion of competent judges it was orthodox. These scanty references to the books of Scripture are in marked contrast with the "Apology" of Justin. The Emperor is referred to Christian writings on two occasions. On one of these a written Gospel is certainly implied, as the subject-matter is the sketch of our Lord's life. Thus we find the following words: "This is taught from that Gospel which a little while ago was spoken among them as being preached; wherein if ye also will read, ye will comprehend the power that is upon it" (p. 36). This is the next reference, which may include books outside the canon: "Take now these writings, and read in them; and, lo! ye will find that not of myself have I brought these things forward, nor as their advocate have I said them; but as I have read in these writings, these things I firmly believe, and those things also that are to come" (p. 50). There are no direct quotations from the New Testament itself, although the diction of the "Apology" is

much tinged by the language of the Apostolic writers at times.

The opening sentence of the "Apology" runs thus: "I, O King, by the grace of God came into this world, and having contemplated the heavens and the earth and the seas, and beheld the sun and the rest of the orderly creation, I was amazed at the arrangement of the world; and I comprehended that the world and all that is therein are moved by the impulse of another, and I understood that He that moveth them is God." This may be compared with 2 Macc. vii. 28: "I beseech thee, my son, look upon the heaven and the earth, and all that is therein, and consider that God made these of things that were not; and so was mankind made likewise."

The passage "For He is altogether wisdom and understanding, and in Him consists all that consists" (p. 36), may be compared with St. Paul to the Colossians (i. 17): "And He is before all things, and by Him all things consist," and "by Him all things were created" (verse 16).

Again: "And they began to worship the creature more than Him who had created them." This is certainly based on Rom. i. 25: "And worshipped and served the creature more than the Creator." The addition of the pronoun in the "Apology" is interesting. The Syriac translator renders: "And they began to serve created things instead of the Creator of them," the change being due to the Syriac version, where the word "Creator" has the suffix of the feminine plural.

We may compare the passage "The Greeks, then, because they are wiser than the Barbarians, have erred even more" (p. 401), "saying that they are wise, they have become fools" (Greek version), with Rom. i. 22: "Professing themselves to be wise, they became fools."

Take, again, these words: "Whence men, taking the starting point, or pretext (*ἀφορμή*), from their gods, committed every lawlessness and lewdness and impiety" (p. 107), which seems to be an echo, though in a different sense, of Rom. vii. 8: "But sin, taking occasion by the commandment, wrought in me all manner of concupiscence."

We seem, in the apologist's words, "Now the laws are good and just" (p. 109), to be under the influence of the same chapter: "Wherefore the law is holy, and the commandment holy, and just, and good" (verse 12), and "the law that it is good" (verse 16).

One more quotation from the "Apology" must suffice: "For they, being the descendants of Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, sojourned in Egypt; whence God brought them out

in a strong hand and lofty arm." The first part of the sentence seems to have affinities with Heb. xi. 8, 9: "By faith Abraham . . . sojourned in the land of promise with Isaac and Jacob." And the whole may be compared with Acts xiii. 17: "When they dwelt as strangers in the land of Egypt, and with a high arm brought He them out of it." It should be mentioned that the second part is not attested by the Syriac and Armenian versions, and may have been introduced by the author of "Barlaam and Josaphat" from Psa. cxxxiv. 16-18. Other passages might be mentioned, which prove that the apologist was quite familiar with the Apostolic writers.

6. The "Apology" of Aristides is not the first agreeable surprise which has come upon the students of Christian apologetics of late years. It is not so long ago that the *Didaché*—the "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles"—made its unexpected appearance. This remarkable and "very important document" appears, according to Bishop Lightfoot, "to belong to the latter decades of the first or the beginning of the second century." It is ("Apostolic Fathers," i. 391), "a primitive book of Church discipline and ordinances" (St. Clement, i. 9). At all events, it is an older work than the "Apology" of Aristides. Now, it is from this work ("The Two Ways") our author has drawn his description of the life and conduct of the Christians, though it may be doubted if he knew it in the form preserved to us in the *Didaché*.

The following quotation is taken from the "Apology" (cxv.):

They [*i.e.* the Christians] do not commit adultery nor fornication; they do not bear false witness, they do not deny a deposit, nor covet what is not theirs; they honour father and mother; they do good to those who are their neighbours, and when they are judges they judge uprightly; and whatever they do not wish that others should do to them, they do not practise towards anyone. Those who grieve them, they comfort and make them their friends; and they do good to their enemies. They walk in all humility and kindness; falsehood is not found among them, and they love one another. And from the widow they do not turn away their countenance; and they rescue the orphan from him who does him violence. And he who has, gives to him who has not, without grudging; and when they see the stranger they bring him to their dwellings, and rejoice over him as a true brother, for they do not call brothers those who are after the flesh, but those who are in the spirit of God.

The following parallels will be found in the *Didaché*:

C. ii.: "Thou shalt not commit adultery or fornication; thou shalt not desire thy neighbour's things; thou shalt not bear false witness."

C. i.: "Thou shalt love thy neighbour."

C. iv.: "Thou shalt judge justly;" *i.e.*, give right judgment.

C. i.: "All things whatsoever thou dost not wish to be done to thee, do not do to another."

C. iii. : "Be kind and gentle."

Perhaps there may also be adduced as a last parallel :

C. iv. : "Thou shalt not turn away from the needy, but thou shalt have all things in common with thy brother."

It may be added that the whole passage is prefaced by the words : "They have the commandments of the Lord Jesus Christ, and keep them."

Comparing the passage with the Epistle of Barnabas—a still earlier document—we find there the same parallels adduced from the *Didaché*, with two exceptions : "Thou shalt not bear false witness" and the negative form of the *Golden Rule*.

It is therefore possible that Aristides may have drawn some of his precepts from the earlier document, the *Didaché*.

7. Besides other apocryphal gospels, the following four were the principal deutero-canonical writings which knocked at the door of the canon for admission : the *Didaché*, (just alluded to), the Epistle of Barnabas, the "Shepherd of Hermas," and the "Preaching of Peter." The last-named work enjoyed a good deal of popularity in the early Church, though its claim to a place in the canon was disallowed even more emphatically than the claims of those other competitors. But the Church in her councils it was which drew the line. "It is to the Church," says Dr. Westcott, "that we must look both for the formation and proof of the canon" (p. 12). We are indebted to the Church, which is "the keeper and witness of Holy Writ" (Art. XX.), for our canonical Scriptures, and she it was who settled the books of the New Testament for us. "Many have rightly perceived that the reception of the canon implies the existence of one Catholic Church," says Dr. Westcott, "and the growth of the Catholic Church is the comprehensive fact of which the formation of the canon is one element" ("On Canon," pp. 21, 327).

The "Preaching of Peter" is classed by Eusebius (H. E., iii. 3), together with his Acts, his Gospel, and his Apocalypse, as outside the canon of writings accepted by the universal Church. He goes on to say of these books, that none of the early writers or of his contemporaries used quotations from them. This statement, however, is incorrect, for it was mentioned frequently by the early Fathers, and Clement of Alexandria repeatedly quotes both from the "Preaching" and Apocalypse, as authoritative works in his day. It is mentioned twice by Origen, but it is classed by him among spurious works. It was, according to Lipsius, closely connected with the "Preaching of Peter and Paul." He says the work is not of an Ebionite character, as supposed by some, but is a Petro-Pauline production. Salmon holds that the "Preaching" was as old as the middle of the second century.

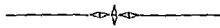
We have already noticed that Aristides refers to a written Gospel for his statements regarding our Lord. We have also seen that he has drawn part of his description of the conduct of the Christians from the *Didaché*. In several parts of his "Apology" we notice his method and language were influenced by the Book of Wisdom. But it is evident that he owes a still greater debt to the "Preaching of Peter," a work, indeed, now lost, but one which exercised a considerable influence upon the writings of the second century.

It is to be hoped that this may be recovered, as the "Apology" and *Didaché* have been, in the literary treasures of some monastery or library. Meantime, by gathering all the fragments together, which can with certainty be assigned to this work, a step in the right direction is being taken. And many do undoubtedly exist in the "Apology," though we have not space to notice them all, which may be used in its reconstruction. The "Preaching of Peter" is quoted by Heracleon, and it was probably used by Celsus. It seems also to have been in the hands of the unknown writer of the Epistle to Diognetus. Moreover, in the "Sibylline Oracles" there are several passages which seem to be based on it. From these three or four extant works, which have drawn upon the missing document, there is a possibility that it may be critically reconstructed by a consideration of matter common to them. Towards such a reconstruction contributions, many of them scattered here and there, may be found in our "Apology," which seems to have made so free a use of it. It is not easy to say whether it was the "Preaching of Peter" or the "Apology" of Aristides which lay before Celsus, but there cannot be a doubt that it must have been one or the other. But the "Apology" gives no starting-point for the attack of Celsus on Jewish prophecies about the Messiah, whereas the "Preaching" laid great stress on this point.

We have had the pleasure of drawing attention to this newest surprise for the learned world, and, indeed, the fact that it has been discovered quite recently in an Armenian fragment and Syriac version, as well as the Greek, inspires us with hope for the future. Our age has seen the Epistles of Clement, the "Diatessaron" of Tatian (which has done so much to confirm the canonical position of the Gospels from the same distant region), and the *Didaché* (or the "Teaching of the Apostles") brought to light. Who can tell what will be the next find? We shall be looking to the libraries of the monasteries buried amid the depths of Syrian deserts and Armenian mountains for the recovery of the most ancient documents touching the Christian faith. What has become

of the "Preaching of Peter" just alluded to? Where is the lost "Apology" of Quadratus, Aristides' immediate predecessor? This would be a much more precious find, because it went into the details of the Gospel history, and was an exposition of the faith, as we gather from a meagre fragment preserved by Eusebius, for the benefit of the more cultured pagans. Where, too, is the last work of Papias (of Hierapolis), before him again, and where is the oft-quoted by Eusebius "Ecclesiastical History of Hegesippus"? This newly-found but inestimable treasure should encourage our scholars to pursue their investigations in those distant homes of learning, happily respected by the Mohammedan conquerors, with a keener and livelier expectation for the speedy restoration of those great legacies of Christian antiquity which Eusebius so often mentions, and the ante-Nicene Fathers so frequently allude to.

MORRIS FULLER.



ART. II.—THE SEVENTY WEEKS OF DANIEL.

WHAT is the *terminus a quo* of these seventy weeks, or *hebdomads*? What is their *terminus ad quem*?

It ought not to be an unprofitable or a hopeless task to ascertain and to set forth the truth in answer to these two questions.

I. The *terminus a quo* is given us in these words: "From the going forth of the commandment to restore and to build Jerusalem unto the Messiah, the Prince, shall be seven weeks and threescore and two weeks" (Dan. ix. 25). Exactly such a command, or decree, was given by Artaxerxes in the twentieth year of his reign to, and at the instance of, Nehemiah, "according to the good hand of his God upon him." This was in the year B.C. 444. This ought to be, one would think, the *terminus a quo* we are in search of.

But there are three other *termini a quo* suggested by expositors. One is the command issued by Cyrus in the first year of his reign, B.C. 536, as commonly reckoned, or B.C. 506, according to the Rev. John Milner, in his suggestive article in the *CHURCHMAN* for November, 1890, entitled "The Seventy Weeks of Daniel and Persian Chronology." Another is the decree of Darius, B.C. 518, which, however, as Mr. Milner observes, merely confirms that of Cyrus. The third is the commission given to Ezra by Artaxerxes in the seventh