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DID ST. PAUL USE A WRITTEN GOSPEL ?

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IT is generally believed that the Pauline Epistles, written roughly speaking between 51 A.D. and 67 A.D., were earlier than the Gospels.¹ It is, however, clear from St. Luke's preface that many had attempted to draw up a systematic narrative of what had been told to them by those who had been "from the beginning (*ἀπὸ ἀρχῆς*) eyewitnesses and ministers of the word." The question to be determined is to what extent, if any, St. Paul directly or indirectly laid under contribution the original material of the evangelical writings. It would seem that notes were made and narratives kept from an early period. This would be rendered necessary by the existence of two practically irreconcilable bodies in the Church, the Hebrew and the Hellenist. Those who build upon oral teaching alone will have to explain how educated men like Stephen and Barnabas, on their assumption, could not or did not write, especially with the example of the historians and prophets of the Old Testament before them, not to mention the Greek philosophers. They were well aware of the danger of entire extinction which faced the gospel and the Church if the catechists were killed unless the former was preserved in a written form. Memories, however retentive, could never reconstruct it, as they knew. Persecution came very early upon the Church, and the scattered members (Acts viii. 2) had surely more than their memory of the doctrine to carry away with them. If not, there was bad management somewhere. The public reading of the Pauline letters, which began to appear in 51 A.D. in the churches of Paul's foundation, and perhaps in others, would have opened the eyes of Church leaders to the value of the written document, to which they had been as Jews always accustomed; and to its superiority to oral instruction or tradition. Those who had been eyewitnesses from the beginning² of the facts recorded, and ministers

¹ The dates of these Epistles can only be approximately settled. *Hastings' DB.* i. 423, iii. 527, dates 1 and 2 Thess. 51-53 A.D., Gal. 53 A.D., 1 and 2 Cor. 55 A.D., Rom. 55-6, Phil., Col., Eph., Philemon 59-61 A.D. (C. H. Turner). The Pastorals if genuine (as this writer believes) before 67 A.D. Some writers place Mark 65-70: others earlier, others later. See Moffat, Introduction, p. 213.

² Cf. John xv. 27, "You bear witness because you are with me from the beginning (*ἀπὸ ἀρχῆς*)."

of the word or doctrine were led by the Spirit to have carefully written statements made of their experiences of the Lord's life and teaching drawn up by trustworthy men for the use of future adherents. The "word" here does not refer to the Logos, as Athanasius held. But may it not imply a written as well as a spoken word? It is frequent in the Acts, and it would appear improbable that the early Christians even in apostolic days were without documents of the facts of some kind, and that the apostles themselves had only the spoken word to serve. The following passages suggest something more than the spoken word. "We shall continue in *the* prayer and the ministry (*διακονία*) of the word" (Acts vi. 4). Compare the Lukan "ministers (*δπηρέται*) of the word."¹ The chazzan (Luke iv. 20) had the charge of the rolls of scripture. He also taught the children to read them and accordingly was called "the minister" (*δπηρέτης*). The Christians, well acquainted with the implication of such a term as "minister of the scriptures" among the Jews, would have used the terms "minister of the word" and ministry of the word in a similar sense. The eyewitnesses (*ἀπόπται*), personal witnesses and followers of the Christ, among whom members of the body called "The Twelve" would stand first, assumed the right of treasuring any records there might be, of drawing up the system of oral instruction, and of superintending the compilation of the memoirs of the Christ and the notes of His doctrine. They also arranged the prayers which the Christians used "adhering to *the* teaching (*διδάχη*) of the Apostles, and *the* breaking of the bread and *the* prayers," (*αἱ προσευχαί*) a passage in Acts (ii. 42) which implies the beginning of a written liturgy, as well as a settled form of religious instruction, which all their previous experience would urge the apostles to fix in writing and not leave to the caprice of individuals.

St. Luke's preface supports this view. "Many attempted or took in hand (*ἐπεχείρησαν*) to draw up a narrative just as (*καθώς*) the original eyewitnesses (of the facts) and ministers of the word delivered (*παρέδωσαν*) them to us." A glance at this sentence will show that the latter verb precedes the former in time. Because the words "they took in hand" precede the words "they delivered," it is assumed that the "many" drew up these narratives on their

¹ *δπηρέτης* (under rower), term for any kind of servant. St. Paul used it of himself, 1 Cor. iv. 1; Acts xxvi. 16. It is used of the *chazzan* in Luke iv. 20 whose duty it was to look after the rolls of the Scriptures. (See Plummer, *Luke*, p. 123 for authorities.) "Word" here not the Christ, but doctrine.

own initiative. But the real emphasis of the sentence seems to rest on the words "just as they delivered." Such emphasis transfers the initiative to the original personal witnesses of the facts who arranged that these matters should be put down in writing *exactly as they delivered them*.¹ The words "to us" includes Luke among the "many" who received the facts from the original eyewitnesses. This shows that "the Twelve" did, indeed, take the necessary precautions against the possibility of error being mixed with truth in the gospel of the Christ, and that they did give instructions that their statements should be faithfully adhered to. The Greek word rendered "attempted" or "took in hand" (*ἐπεχέλησαν*) does not, by itself, imply initiation. In classical Greek it is used of doing things at the bidding of others.²

We shall now mention ten lines of argument to prove that there was at least a written basis of the gospel Paul preached.

(1) The word "delivered" (*παρέδοσαν*) is not to be confined exclusively to oral teaching, though doubtless the teaching might well include such. The cognate noun "deliverance" or "tradition" (*παράδοσις*) throws light on the subject. In the Pauline epistles it is distinctly used in 2 Thessalonians ii. 15 of literary communication, "Hold the *traditions* (*παράδοσεις*) which you were taught (*ἐδιδάχθητε*) either *by word* (*διὰ λόγον*) or *by my letter*" (*δι' ἐπιστολῆς*), a reference to 1 Thessalonians. 2 Thessalonians iii. 6, "not walking according to the tradition (*παράδοσιν*) which you received³ from us." Here the reception implies the same two methods. We can see the same two methods in 1 Corinthians xi. 2, where St. Paul praises the Corinthians, "just as I delivered (*καθὼς παρέδωκα*)⁴ to you the traditions (*παράδοσεις*), you keep them," for in 1 Corinthians v. 9 we have a reference to a previous letter and 2 Corinthians x. 10 implies that St. Paul had written several letters, and these like all the rest would contain instruction. The Christian teaching is not only called "tradition" (*παράδοσις*) but also "deposit" (*παραθήκη*), e.g., 2 Timothy i. 13, "hold fast the form of sound words⁵

¹ καθὼς παρέδοσαν ἡμῖν. Cf. St. Paul's words, 1 Cor. xi. 2, καθὼς παρέδωκα ὑμῖν. An exact parallel, exactly as I delivered unto you.

² E.g. Eurip. Bacch. 819, "Shall I lead you and will you attempt the journey." (*κἀπιχειρήσεις ὁδοῦ*).

³ παρελάβετε παρ' ἡμῶν.

⁴ Cf. Luke i. 3.

⁵ ἐπιτόπιωσις . . . ὑγιαίνοντων λόγων, cf. Rom. vi. 17. *τέπος διδαχῆς*. This word *ἐπιτόπιωσις* is the name of a book written by a leading teacher of the Sceptic School, Ænesidemus (80-50 B.C.) who taught at Alexandria.

which you have heard from me. Guard that good deposit." See also 1 Timothy vi. 20, "Guard the deposit, turning aside from the profane and vain babblings." Romans vi. 17 speaks of "a form (hypotyposis) of teaching." The "form" referred to may well have been a written summary of the Gospel with an outline of the things believed, or a creed. *Hypotyposis* (form) was the name of a book written by a sceptic teacher who taught 50 B.C. and may have been known to St. Paul. The programme of Christian instruction and the contents of Church teaching by that time must have reached a fixed form or standard in comparison with which "sound" and "unsound" words were sifted and tested and passed.

(2) They that were scattered abroad went everywhere preaching the word (Acts viii. 4), literally preaching the gospel of the word,¹ after the martyrdom of Stephen. Surely they had something in writing to give conformity and consistency to their teaching and preaching. They would have required a written programme or outline carefully drawn up by a mission board, especially when removed from the supervision of the apostles who remained in the city (Acts viii. 1). If they were to present a common front to Judaism and paganism they would require just such an authoritative basis of doctrine as is implied in the expression "the gospel of the word." Otherwise they would be inclined to follow their own individual methods which would foster such schisms and divisions as are condemned in 1 Corinthians i. 12. The "word" was doubtless originally the "word" which Jesus spake and preached. See John ii. 22, "They (the disciples) believed the *Scripture* (γραφή)² and the *word* (λόγος) which Jesus spake." This shows that they placed the spoken word of Jesus, the nucleus of the New Testament, on a level with the Old Testament, and they would not hesitate to give the former the same permanent form as the latter which was fulfilled, as they considered, by it.

(3) Paul and Barnabas must have followed some given line of doctrine and scriptural proofs. They spoke the *word* in Perga

Diogenes Laertius (ix. 78) mentions his *Introduction to the Pyrrhonic philosophy* (εἰσαγωγή εἰς τὰ Πυρρόνια). D. L. says Ænesidemus showed how the *contradictions* (ἀντιθέσεις) in the arguments used by the Sceptics led to suspense of judgment. For the latter word ἀντιθέσεις see 1 Tim. vi. 20.

¹ εὐαγγελίζομενοι τὸν λόγον. This verb is frequently used by Luke in the Gospel and the Acts and by St. Paul with acc. of message and in some places with dative of persons addressed.

² Evidently Psalm xvi. 10. Cf. Acts ii. 27, 32; xiii. 35.

(xiv. 25) ; but were prevented from speaking the *word* in Asia (xvi. 6), and the Bereans received the *word* with all readiness of mind and searched the Scriptures (*αἱ γραφαί*) daily to see if these things were so (xvii. 11). The very act of verification shows that the lectures and addresses of Paul and Silas must have been deliberately and methodically planned and prepared, otherwise the others could not have remembered the salient points. It is clear also that they must have used scriptural proofs and appealed to the fulfilment of prophecies. These it would be difficult to retain in the memory and to quote with the appositeness and accuracy necessary, seeing that many of their audience were trained Jews who might quickly detect any error in the Hebrew or Greek and any lack of relevance. To refresh their memories and to safeguard themselves from mistakes they would surely have had carefully drawn up notes of these scriptural correspondences. John Mark's withdrawal may have seriously interfered with St. Paul's work of exposition. He would have been a useful "minister (*δπηρέτης*) of the word" had he remained. He afterwards became such (2 Timothy iv. 11) "useful for the ministry" (*διακονία*).

(4) Aquila and Priscilla and people like them must have had written documents for reference and reading. The old Testament was not their only study. In Acts xviii, we meet them and Apollos, in Ephesus. The latter is described as "powerful in the scriptures," i.e. the Old Testament (v. 24). He had been instructed in the *way* of the Lord. D.¹ reads "*word*" and adds "in his native land," i.e. Egypt. R.V.M. renders *κατηχημένος* "taught by word of mouth," but cf. Luke i. 4, *κατηχήθης*. In neither place does this text rule out the existence of notes or written material in the catechist's hands, while it implies systematic instruction by a catechist. "He (Apollos) began to teach *accurately* (*ἀκριβῶς*) the things concerning the Lord Jesus." Dr. Blass considers that this accurate information could have only one source, *videlicet non sine scripto Evangelio*, a written gospel. He may have had, Dr. Blass suggests,² some acquaintance with an early edition of St. Mark's gospel, without the ending which mentions Christian baptism, of which he was ignorant. Accordingly, Aquila and Priscilla took him (home) and expounded to him the way of God *more accurately*.³ These words

¹ *λόγος* for *ὁδός*, and adds *ἐν τῇ πατρίδι*.

² Blass would place written gospels before 50 A.D.

³ *ἀκριβέστερον*.

“accurately” and “more accurately” imply a correct source of such knowledge. Was it only oral tradition? These words are used by medical writers, Galen and Dioscorides, who had something more than oral tradition to go on. As Aquila and Priscilla must be included in “the brethren” who wrote recommendations of Apollos to the disciples in Achaia, these people could write letters (v. 27) and would be sure to value the written word as a more accurate, dependable and authoritative source than the spoken word. In Acts xxii. 3, St. Paul describes himself as having been trained up in all the *accuracy* (*ἀκριβεία*) of the Law, the basis of which was written. When there was no dearth of scribes and when the “brethren” in the various cities and centres were in the habit of writing letters of introduction¹ and recommendation to the disciples in other places, and when they must have felt the need of carefully drawn up statements to guide even brilliant converts like Apollos, and to serve them as a “form or outline of sound words” to safeguard them from doctrinal errors, such would have been provided by the “brethren” in Ephesus during St. Paul’s absence. Had such a written statement contained scriptural proofs, it would have assisted Apollos in his powerful demonstration from the scriptures² that Jesus was the Messiah, which he gave after he had left Aquila. It is also most improbable that St. Paul would have kept such teachers as Aquila and others whom he left behind him in his various stations, without some written directions and instructions about “the way of the Lord.” Such would have comprised some of our Lord’s sayings or *Logia*, one of which is given in St. Paul’s speech to the Ephesian elders (Acts xx. 35) where he appeals to “the words of the Lord Jesus,” “it is more blessed to give than to receive,” and also a brief account of his institution of the Lord’s Supper, of His Death and its meaning and of His Resurrection and expected *Parousia* or Advent. The compilation of such memoirs or notes would have received a fresh impulse from St. Paul’s example, for, when one inspiring writer appears, others follow. It was the expansion of the Church and its consequent needs that called the

¹ 2 Cor. iii. 1. *ἐπιστολαὶ συστατικαί*. These the Greek philosophers gave to their pupils (Diog. Laertius 8, 87). Cf. Acts xv. 25 (of Judas and Silas), Acts xviii. 27 (of Apollos), Rom. xvi. 1 (of Phœbe), 2 Cor. viii. 16-24 (of Titus, etc.).

² *διακατηλέγγετο δημοσίᾳ ἐπιδεικνὼς διὰ τῶν γραφῶν* (v. 28) strongly *convincéd* (not convinced) proving through the scriptures.

Gospels into existence. An oral tradition of greater or less fixity may explain the many variant readings and *agrapha*; but these may also be largely due to the conscious or unconscious alteration of passages one had frequently repeated through weariness or carelessness.

(5) 2 Thessalonians iii. 1, "pray for us that the *word of God may run* and be glorified" may be a reminiscence of Psalm cxlvii. 15, "His word runneth very swiftly"; where the Psalmist may be referring as in v. 19, "statutes and judgments," to written as well as spoken words. This saying which he has adapted is therefore in keeping with a written gospel.

(6) In the Acts and Pauline epistles we see something of the process by which the gospel teaching, the apostolical announcements and letters obtained the position of "scripture." One of the earliest Christian documents is the encyclical letter of the Council (Acts xv.) at which St. Peter said, "by my mouth the Gentiles should hear the word of the Gospel and believe" (v. 7). Here we have "*the word of the Gospel*" mentioned in connexion with a *letter* sent forth with apostolical authority to the Gentiles. The *Word of the Gospel* at least implies the substance of the Evangelical teaching of the apostles, and would include the great facts of our Lord's life, mission, Crucifixion, Resurrection and Ascension, as well as the institution of the Sacraments. St. James referred to the reading of the books of Moses in the Synagogue every Sabbath (v. 21), evidently desirous that equal authority should be given to the letter he decided should be sent (v. 20), by the reading of it at the meeting of the Gentile Christians. That letter went forth from the apostolical council with the authority of the Holy Spirit and the Church. "It seemed good to the Holy Spirit and to us" (v. 28). This letter was duly read by Paul and Barnabas, Silas and Judas, to the brethren in Antioch, Syria, and Cilicia, and would be introduced by an account of the proceedings. It is dated 47 A.D. by Harnack, 50 by Ramsay, 49 by C. H. Turner, and 51 by Lightfoot. Some years after, when finishing 1 Thessalonians, he adjures them by the Lord that this Epistle be read to all the holy brethren (1, v. 27). To the Colossians (iv. 15), about 62 A.D. he writes that when this letter has been read publicly it should be read in the church of the Laodiceans, and that they should procure from Laodicea their letter and read it (iv. 16). Thus the various documents in the Acts and the Epistles also came

to be placed on a level with the Old Testament through being read publicly in the church as the Old Testament was.

(7) If the Apostles and first Christian teachers were so eager to have their communications placed on the highest level of authority, would they not have been more particular about the narratives of the Life, Death and Resurrection of the Founder of the Church? That they *remembered* His own words about these events is proved by John ii. 22¹ and xii. 16.² He told them that the Paraclete would remind them of all that He had said to them (xiv. 26). In 1 Corinthians xv. 3 St. Paul began a brief summary of the chief events of the gospel. His reference to the fulfilment of scripture in the Lord's Death, Burial and Resurrection was evidently based upon our Lord's own teaching.³ See especially Luke xxiv. 27, "Beginning at Moses and all the prophets he expounded to them in all the Scriptures the things concerning Himself," and v. 46, "Thus it is written that the Christ should suffer and rise again the Third day." This résumé of the chief facts of our Lord's incarnate life, Death, Burial, Resurrection, with the references to the scriptures, and of the chief *male* witnesses of the Resurrection would appear to be based upon some written notes or manual, being arranged in an orderly and precise manner, and being made by one who had such references either before him or ready to his hand.

It cannot be a mere coincidence that both St. Paul (Acts xiii. 35) in his speech in Pisidian Antioch and St. Peter (Acts ii. 27) appealed to the fact that Psalm xvi. 10 was fulfilled by our Lord's Resurrection. This was no coincidence, for both employ the same argument that as David was dead and buried, the passage "thou wilt not suffer thy holy one to see corruption" could not apply to him. This fact supports the theory that short manuals containing the principal historical facts of the Lord's life and the corresponding prophecies were in use at an early date. In fact, St. Paul was too much of a literary man not to have compiled one for his own use and for his catechists. The supreme importance attached to our Lord's death in his short summary (1 Corinthians xv. 3) is in harmony with the fact that a very large portion of the gospels is devoted to the events

¹ "When he was risen from the dead the disciples *remembered* that He said this."

² "When Jesus was glorified they *remembered* that these things were written of Him."

³ Mark xi. 12; Matthew xxvi. 54.

of our Lord's last mission and Passion. This summary may have been based upon one of the records St. Luke's gospel was intended to supersede. There was an Early Church tradition that Luke followed in his gospel the gospel preached by Paul.¹ There were many other gospels to Luke's hand: but this leads one to consider the emphatic manner in which St. Paul refers to his gospel.

(8) St. Paul speaks in a marked way of "our gospel," "my gospel," "the gospel which I preach." "Our gospel came not to you in word only," 1 Thessalonians i. 5. "The gospel which I preach (*κηρύσσω*)," Galatians ii. 2. "God shall judge the secrets of men according to *my* gospel," Romans ii. 16. "Remember Jesus Christ raised from the dead, of the seed of David, according to *my* gospel," 2 Timothy ii. 8. "According to my gospel and *preaching* (*κήρυγμα*) of Jesus Christ," Romans xvi. 25. These expressions of St. Paul imply the existence of other gospels or at any rate of other modes of presenting the gospel of Christ, of which some were surely in writing. In Revelations xiv. 6, "an angel having the eternal *gospel*" refers to a roll, like that in Ezekiel's vision (ii. 9 f.) of a hand holding the roll of a book. The word "gospel" occurs nearly sixty times in these letters, and stands for St. Paul's manner of presenting the facts of Christ and the principles of His Kingdom. It occurs twelve times in the gospels of Matthew (4) and Mark (8), (*not once in Luke or John*) of the good tidings connected with the Kingdom and Christ. Twice we have it in Acts.² The verb "to preach the Gospel"³ is, on the other hand, used ten times in Luke, fifteen times in the Acts, twenty-one times in these Epistles, and not once in Mark or John. In Galatians i. 23, Paul quotes the criticism of his opponents, "he is preaching (the gospel of) the faith which he was once destroying."⁴ There "faith" stands for the summary of the facts believed and opinions held by Christians, which would require to be drawn up in writing to be preserved accurately. That he sought verbal accuracy in his presentation of the gospel may be inferred from his submitting it for correction to the "pillars," James, Cephas, and John in Jerusalem (Galatians ii. 1-7), lest he should "be running in vain," but they added nothing to his statement. The same attention to accuracy is implied in 1 Corinthians xv. 1. "I made

¹ Iren., *Adv. Haer.* III, 1, 2. Luke, the follower of Paul, recorded in a book the gospel preached by him.

² xx. 24, Paul's speech. xv. 7, Peter's speech.

³ εὐαγγελίζεσθαι.

⁴ εὐαγγελίζεται τὴν πίστιν.

known unto you the gospel *with what word* (τινι λόγῳ) I preached it to you." That he connected the gospel with writing is clear from Galatians iii. 8, "The scripture preached beforehand the gospel,"¹ and Romans i. 1, "The Gospel of God which He promised beforehand² by His prophets in the holy scriptures"—passages which prepare us for the transition from the gospel in the Old Testament to the gospel in the Greek epistles and gospels. It would, indeed, have been strange and, indeed, remiss in a man so gifted as St. Paul if he had not supplied his churches with written summaries of the words and works of the Lord, just as the Greek philosophers published their lectures and dialogues and letters, of which Diogenes Laertius mentions many. St. Paul was educated for a time at Tarsus, which had a famous university. It is suggested that Barnabas was also educated there (Lewin, *St. Paul* i. 9). Tarsus supplied the imperial family with tutors, Athenodorus the Stoic, tutor of young Claudius, etc. It would be strange if one brought up in such an atmosphere would not appreciate the superiority of the written to the spoken word. He would assuredly understand that *littera scripta manet*.

(9) In 2 Corinthians iii. 6 St. Paul comments upon the superiority of the spirit to the letter. "God who made us competent ministers (διακόνους) of the New Covenant, not of letter but of Spirit, for the letter killeth, but the Spirit giveth life,"³ contrasting the new Covenant with the Law (νόμος) as in Romans vii. 6, "in newness of spirit and not in oldness of the letter." This would not, however, justify the inference that a record of the New Covenant was not kept, for literary form is nowhere slighted by him who appeals to the literary remains of the Jewish Church. There is no disparagement here of a work in which St. Paul himself was engaged—the providing the church with writings (γραφαί) of its own. In John vi. 63, the Lord declared that the words or sayings (ῥήματα) he had spoken "are spirit and are life." They would be none the less "spirit and life" when preserved in a more permanent form. He also appealed to the words the prophets had spoken,⁴ which were on a written form. And if the words of Jesus had been in a written form when

¹ ἡ γραφή προεπηγγελάσαστο.

² προεπηγγελάσαστο διὰ τῶν προφητῶν.

³ Cf. John vi. 63, "The Spirit giveth life (ζωοποιεῖ), the flesh profiteth nothing."

⁴ ἐλάλησαν. Luke xxiv. 25, "Slow of heart to believe all that the prophets had spoken."

St. Paul penned this passage, he would still have described himself as "a minister of the New Covenant, not of the letter but of the Spirit," for the Master's words, written or unwritten, would always be for him "spirit and life." The "New Covenant" here is equivalent to "gospel." See Colossians i. 23, "of which gospel I Paul am a minister" (*διάκονος*). From what he relates in Acts xxvi. 16, he might be described as an "eyewitness and minister (*δπηρέτης*) of the word" (Luke i. 2). "For this cause I appeared (*ᾤφθην*) to thee to appoint thee a minister (*δπηρέτης*) and witness (*μάρτυς*) both of the things wherein thou hast seen *me*¹ (of your visions of me?) and of the things wherein I will appear unto thee." The same Greek word for minister (*δπηρέτης*) is used by Paul and Luke. In fact he used this word and deacon (*διάκονος*) with little distinction. In 1 Corinthians iv. 1, "Ministers of Christ" has the former, in 2 Corinthians xi. 23, "ministers of Christ" has the latter word. Colossians i. 23, "a minister" of the gospel, and 2 Corinthians iii. 6, "ministers of the New Covenant," also have "deacon" (*διάκονος*). Acts xiii. 5, "They preached the *word* and had John as a minister," (*δπηρέτης*), i.e. a minister of the word, to assist in preaching, exposition and baptizing. In Colossians i. 15 he says, "Of which (church) I am a minister (*διάκονος*) to declare fully (*πληρῶσαι*) the *word* of God." ² This recalls our Lord's expression "I did not come to destroy but to fulfil" (*πληρῶσαι*), i.e. to give the full meaning to the law and the prophets. If St. Paul was not an original eyewitness, he had at any rate seen visions of Christ and might have been one of those "ministers of the word" who *handed on* their statements (*παρέδοσαν*) to Luke and others, the same verb (*παρέδωκα*) being used by Paul of the manner in which he *instructed* the Corinthians in the facts of our Lord's Life and Passion, etc. (1 Cor. xv. 3).

(10) In the Pauline epistles we have many short summaries of the articles of the Faith, e.g. Romans i. 1-5, Philippians ii. 5-9, 1 Corinthians xv. 3-8, 1 Corinthians xiii, 1 Timothy iii. 16. From these we infer that besides containing much of the Lord's teaching on love, duty and things to come, it would be supremely an historical gospel like that of St. Mark. Both Paul (Rom. i. 1) and Mark (i. 14)

¹ B. Syrr. Arm. Rv. all have *με*, which others omit.

² Acts vi. 4. The apostles suggested that they should be left to the service of the word (*τῇ διακονίᾳ τοῦ λόγου*) and that seven men should serve the tables; but Stephen and Philip and possibly others, began to preach the word.

speak of "the gospel of God."¹ Romans i. 9 has "God whom I serve in the gospel of His Son." His gospel would then be "the gospel of the Son of God." Cf. Mark's phrase "A beginning of the *gospel of the Son of God.*" A résumé of the Pauline gospel would at least contain the following statements :

The Gospel of Jesus Christ the Son of God, Who was in the beginning in the form of God, Who was sent forth from God according to the scriptures, Who was of the seed of David according to the flesh, born of a woman, born under the Jewish law, Who by His act of self-sacrifice became in the likeness of man, showed humility, patience, forbearance and love to all men, was betrayed, instituted a service of communion, and after doing and suffering what had been foretold of Him in the scriptures, was crucified and died for our sins, was buried, rose again for our justification and was seen by many, was received up into glory and will return to judge the secrets of men "according to my gospel." It would also contain teaching about God the Father and the Holy Spirit, and our adoption and inheritance, and about the rite and meaning of Baptism. It would also contain all or most of the clauses of the Lord's Prayer. His use of the word "gospel" shows the importance of the historical facts of the gospel in his eyes, and although this term has frequently reference to the subject matter preached, it cannot exclude, as we have shown, written summaries of the faith. Common sense would infer that a lifelong experience of the value of sacred documents would have urged that these facts and statements, especially after the Christians had been ordered out of Jerusalem, should be put in the most permanent form possible for the sake of accuracy, and system, and instruction of converts and Christians; but more especially for public reading in the churches side by side with the Old Testament. The need of a Christian lectionary corresponding to the synagogue system would have made itself felt at an early date. The increasing demand for copies not only of the Pauline epistles, but also for copies of the memoirs of the apostles would have created the supply. The *Logia*, called Q, arranged 40-50 A.D.; might have supplied Paul with a source for his instruction. And the Lord's eschatological discourses explain his early exhortations on the *Parousia*. But he stresses personal revelations as the source of his faith in the Godhead of Jesus.

¹ N B.L. omit "the kingdom" in Mk. i. 14.