

## NOTES AND STUDIES

THE TESTIMONY OF IGNATIUS AND POLYCARP  
TO THE WRITINGS OF ST JOHN.

IT has been urged as an objection to the residence of the apostle John at Ephesus that Ignatius in his letter to the church of that city makes no mention of him, though he speaks of his readers as *associates in the mysteries with Paul* (§ 12) and refers to St Paul and St Peter when writing to the Romans (§ 4). No negative argument, however, can be derived from the two allusions to St Paul. There is a strong case for a literary relation of some kind between *Rom.* 4 and 1 *Clem.* 5,<sup>1</sup> and the allusion in *Eph.* 12 arises from a train of thought which dominates at the moment the mind of Ignatius. St Paul on his last journey to Rome, as we learn from 2 *Tim.*, had travelled from Miletus to Troas, and thence by the Via Egnatia, the very route to be followed by Ignatius himself, who was therefore, to use his own words, *on the high road of those journeying to die unto God treading in the footsteps of Paul*. He may have heard the tradition of St Paul's journey from the Ephesian delegates, and Polycarp, who was doubtless present at the interview, makes similar allusions in *ad Philip.* 3, 9. On the other hand, Ignatius makes just such a reference to St John as we might have anticipated when he writes, *Ye were at all times of one mind with the apostles* (*Eph.* 11). Here the words 'at all times' prohibit a limitation of the reference to St Paul.

A second objection, that of Pfeleiderer, that if Ignatius had read St John's writings he must have used them in his conflict with Docetism, possesses some point if St John was not an apostle or if Ignatius had not appealed against the heretics to apostolic authority.

Our argument rests not only upon specific parallels but upon the general similarity of the two writers. We must admit items of evidence which though of little significance when considered in isolation indicate when taken together that, to use Dr Sanday's phrase, Ignatius had absorbed St John's teaching *in succum et sanguinem*. If he had not long meditated on the documents, he had passed much of his life in a church permeated by St John's influence, and the negative evidence of his letters makes strongly against his residence in Asia. Moreover, as we shall see, this argument does not take account of all the evidence.

<sup>1</sup> Lightfoot recognizes this in his commentary on 1 *Clem.* (1 p. 149), but I think he seriously understates the evidence. Thus he omits the parallel which is found with others in *Rom.* 2, '... in the West ... from the East ... set ... rise ...' (ch. 2). Compare 1 *Clem.* 5, 'both in the East and in the West ... becoming an example of endurance.'

The doctrine of the pre-existence of Christ is for Ignatius not so much a conclusion as a postulate. He is God's *only Son* (*Rom.* inscr.), a phrase which Ignatius, who probably did not understand the pathetic force of *μονογενής*, probably regarded as its equivalent. Christ existed *before the ages with (παρά) the Father and in the end appeared (Mag. 6)*. He is described in § 7 as one who *came forth (προελθόντα) from one Father and is with One* (cf. *Jn. eis τ. κόλπον*) and *departed unto One* (*John xvi 28, 'I came forth and go to the Father'*). The case for a reminiscence is much strengthened by another parallel with the same verse in the next paragraph. The use of the prepositions here is very Johannine.

The term Logos as applied to our Lord represents a climax of St John's thought. Ignatius uses the term as one which is already recognized. He varies and treats it allusively. Thus he uses it with the genitive, *who is His word (Mag. 8)*, and speaks of Christ as God's mind (*γνώμη, Eph. 3*) and *the veracious utterance in which God speaks truly (Rom. 8)*. He greets the Smyrnaeans *in blameless spirit and in the word of God* (cf. however *1 John ii 14, 'the word of God abideth in you'*). Again, only by his martyrdom will the career of Ignatius become a 'word of God' and not a mere cry of pain (*Rom. 2*). He writes that *there is one teacher who spake and it was done, even the things which he hath done in silence are worthy of the Father (Eph. 15)*. This passage seems to refer to the agency of Christ in creation, but Ignatius usually applies the term 'Word' to the son as incarnate (cf. *ἐξηγήσατο, John i 18*).

Both St John and Ignatius emphasize the subordination of the Son. We notice Ignatius's double parallel with the following passage:—

<p><i>'I do nothing of myself but as the Father taught me . . . and he that sent me is with me, . . . I do always the things that are pleasing (τὰ ἀρεστά) to him' John viii 28-29.</i></p>	<p><i>'As the Lord without the Father did nothing . . . so neither do ye' (Mag. 7). (Jesus Christ) 'in all things pleased (εὐηρέστησεν) him that sent him' (Mag. 8).</i></p>
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In the same chapter of *Jn.* (v. 58) we have the saying, 'Before Abraham was I am.' No other scripture justifies the Ignatian epithet *timeless (Pol. 3)* and the present participle in *τὸν ἀφ' ἐνὸς πατρὸς προελθόντα καὶ εἰς ἓνα ὄντα καὶ χωρῆσαντα (Mag. 7)*.<sup>1</sup>

Westcott summarized the terminology in which St John described the Incarnation as follows: (i) It is a mission (*πέμπω, ἀποστέλλω*), note

<sup>1</sup> It is doubtful whether the Oxford Society of Historical Theology was right in holding that the argument is strengthened by the allusion to the patriarchs in *Philad.* 9, where the thought is probably suggested by the *descensus ad inferos* (cf. *Mag. 9*).

especially ὁ πέμψας με; (ii) a coming (ἔρχομαι, ἐξέρχομαι); (iii) in flesh; (iv) a manifestation (φανερῶθῆναι). We find in Ignatius the following parallels: (i) ὁ πέμψας αὐτόν (twice) but nowhere ἀποστέλλω, a word very common in the Synoptics; (ii) προέρχομαι twice; (iii) 'flesh' with antidoctetic force *passim*; (iv) φανερώω three times, φαίνω twice. We may notice the occurrence of the former verb in *Sm.* 1. After stating how Christ ἐφανερῶθη, Ignatius adds that *from that time every sorcery and spell began to be destroyed* (ἐλύετο) *Eph.* 19. So in 1 John iii 8 Christ *was manifested* (ἐφανερῶθη) *that he might destroy* (λύσει) *the works of the devil.*

We will notice here the first occurrence of the very striking phrase, *the perfect man* (*Sm.* 4). The idea of the phrase is Johannine, for Pilate's words *Ecce Homo* are an instance of St John's irony. The speaker meant 'Behold the fellow'; but the reader interpreted the phrase as 'Behold the ideal man', in accordance with the use of 'man' in *Rom.* 6, *then I shall be a man.* The phrase *perfect man* deserves notice for the further reason that it is probably the only one which can be adduced to shew that the influence of St John upon Ignatius was oral<sup>1</sup>; but the hypothesis is unnecessary, for we find *the perfect fidelity* in *Sm.* 10 and *the new man* in *Eph.* 20, and this may have been suggested by St Paul's 'the second man' and helped by the different doctrine of the perfecting of Jesus which we find in *Hebr.*

The Ignatian doctrine of the Christian ministry is connected with the Ignatian Christology. The following passages are typical: *Be subject to the bishop and to one another as Jesus Christ to the Father [according to the Flesh] and the apostles to Christ and the Father that there may be unity both in the flesh and in the Spirit* (*Mag.* 13). *As the Lord did nothing without the Father . . . do nothing without the bishop* (*Mag.* 7). We may interpret in the light of this passage a sentence which is sometimes misunderstood, *When ye are subject to the bishop as to Jesus Christ, then ye appear to me to be living not after the manner of men but after the manner of Jesus Christ* (*Trall.* 2). This means no more than that subordination is a divine principle and that the earthly order has a heavenly counterpart. The sentence is based on the Johannine saying which is constantly before the mind of Ignatius, *As the father hath sent me so send I you* (John xx 21). In the following passage the thought is similar, *For every one whom the housemaster sendeth (πέμπει) over his own stewardship, him it is necessary to receive (δέχεσθαι) as him that sent him*

<sup>1</sup> I am strongly inclined to attribute to St John the very striking phrase of *the Preaching of Peter*, 'the Law and the Word.' Christ sums up not only all revelation but all authority. This phrase may have suggested the Ignatian designation of the Roman church as Χριστόνομος (*v. l.* Χριστόννομος), but I attribute the word as also some other phrases in the letter to the direct influence of *the Preaching.*

(τὸν πέμψαντα) (*Eph.* 6). Here we seem to have a conflation of Matt. x 40 with John xiii 20. In δέχεσθαι Ignatius varies with Matthew against John and in τὸν πέμψαντα with John against Matthew.

Order is the condition of unity and unity is our author's motto-word. He is a man *composed unto unity* (*Philad.* 8). Neither the noun nor the cognate verb is found in the N. T. or sub-apostolic literature, but they occur sixteen times in Ignatius. We may compare the series of emphatic 'ones' which are so conspicuous in the Gospel, 'one fold', 'I and my Father are one', 'gather into one', 'that they may be one as we are', and the six instances in Jn. xvii. The phrase 'composed unto unity' may itself be suggested by τετελειωμένοι εἰς ἓν, John xvii 23. We note also ἡνωμένος τῷ πατρὶ (of Christ) (*Smyrn.* 3, *Mag.* 7). This last phrase and the absence from Ignatius of the idea of 'the unity of the Spirit' make the Johannine parallels much closer than those of Eph. iv 3-6.

The eucharistic phraseology of Ignatius is distinctively Johannine. This is well illustrated by his variation of phrase when recalling 1 Cor. x 16-17, an epistle which he uses more than any other scripture: *For there is one flesh of our Lord Jesus Christ and one cup unto unity of His blood* (*Philad.* 4). The next passage is a Mosaic of Johannisms: *There is in me no matter-loving fire but living water, speaking* (καὶ λαλοῦν, v. l. ἀλλόμενον) *and saying within me* (ἐν ἐμοί), *Come to the Father. I do not delight in the nutriment of corruption or in the pleasures of this life. I desire the bread of God which is the flesh of Christ who was of the seed of David, and I desire as drink His blood which is imperishable love* (*Rom.* 7). We observe here not only the Johannine comparison of the Spirit to water but evidence of an allusion to Jn. iv, for the reading of Ps.-Ignatius 'leaping and saying' is far too happy an explanation of the reading λέγων καὶ λαλῶν to be incorrect, and he has often preserved the true text. The words, *come to the Father*, recall St John's 'the Father seeketh such'. Apart from the evidence of Ps.-Ignatius the case for an allusion to Jn. iv is strong; but if we admit his reading there is no room for hesitation, for the word 'leap' is nowhere else applied to water (Abbott *Joh. Grammar* 2314).

The Johannine *bread of God* is explained as Christ's *flesh* and is contrasted, as in John vi 27, with *the nutriment of corruption* ('meat which perisheth'). We observe also that as the discourse in Jn. closes with an emphatic assertion of the spirituality of the doctrine (John vi 63) so in our passage Christ's blood is *imperishable love*. Compare *Trall.* 8, *In faith which is the flesh of the Lord, and in love which is the blood of Jesus Christ*. Again, in *Eph.* 5 the Eucharist supplies the metaphor 'bread of God', but there is a larger reference as in John vi 31 f. If St John writes, 'Except ye eat . . . ye have not life . . . He that eateth

... hath eternal life ... I will raise him up ...' (vi 53, 54), Ignatius calls the Eucharist *a medicine of immortality, the antidote that we should not die, but live for ever in Jesus Christ* (*Eph.* 20). In each passage the truth is stated positively and negatively, and life is 'in' or 'by' Christ. The Eucharist is a pledge of the reality of Christ's manhood in *Sm.* 6, *They abstain from the Eucharist and prayer because they do not confess that the Eucharist is the flesh of our Saviour.* The same doctrine probably underlies John xix 34 and 1 John v 6-8. These passages clearly are allusive to previous teaching and this is especially the case with the second, which is for us obscure. It has been well discussed by Law in *The Tests of Life* p. 119f. If we are right in our interpretation of St John, Ignatius shews great familiarity with his thought. Our view is confirmed by the statement of Ignatius that Christ *was baptized in order that by His passion He might cleanse water* (*Eph.* 18). Here the efficacy of baptism is connected, as in John, with the death of the cross. We may mention at this point and compare with John iii 3 f, *It cannot be that a head be born without limbs* (*Trall.* 11). The case for a reminiscence confirms and is confirmed by the parallel with John iii 8, which we are about to discuss.

The Ignatian doctrine of the Spirit is thoroughly Johannine. It not only reproduces St John's three great metaphors, unction, irrigation, inspiration; it shews on closer examination traces of verbal reminiscence. We read in *Philad.* 7, *For if some wished to deceive me according to the flesh, yet the Spirit is not deceived being from God.* The Spirit is here the Spirit of truth as contrasted with the Spirit of seduction (cf. 1 John iv 6); and He is said to proceed from God, a doctrine explicit in the N. T. only in John. Ignatius continues, *The Spirit is not deceived, for He knoweth whence He cometh and whither He goeth.* This passage is for our purpose one of the most important in Ignatius. We must paraphrase it, 'We know that Jesus said (John iii 8) that we men know not the whence and the whither, but He Himself knows.' The hypothesis of an allusion to this saying is confirmed by the parallel which we have just noticed with John iii 3, and by the form of the sentence which is even more significant. We must paraphrase, 'You remember, I am sure, the saying of Jesus (John iii 8) about the unknown movements of the Spirit, but He Himself knows them.' Moreover, this use of 'whence', 'whither', 'come', 'go' is distinctively Johannine. We observe that Ignatius assumes that his readers will recognize his allusion, and this assumption goes a long way to prove that the *logion* was already embodied in a widely circulated document. We have already observed that Ignatius has the Johannine phrase 'living water'. This water is clearly symbolical of the Spirit, for it is said to speak, and this is a turn of expression very characteristic of

St John. Thus in John xiv 26 He 'teaches', 'brings to memory', in xv 26 He 'testifies', in xvi 8 'reproves', in xvi 13 'speaks'.

Ignatius attaches much importance to knowledge. *Why do we foolishly perish*, writes Ignatius in *Eph.* 17, *not knowing the gift (v. l. unction) which He hath sent? The words follow the phrase the knowledge of God which is Jesus Christ.* This last phrase has a Johannine ring and both citations recall such passages as 1 John v 20, 21. With *Children of [the light of] truth (Philad. 2)* compare 'Every one that is of (ἐκ) the truth' (John xviii 37). The heretics are *advocates of death rather than of the truth (Sm. 5)* and the Ephesians *live according to truth (Eph. 6)*. With *Be truly a disciple of Jesus Christ* compare 'Ye are truly my disciples' (John viii 31, cf. xv 8). In *Eph.* 16 doctrinal is worse than moral corruption. Probably Ignatius means that to be an antinomian in principle is the worse phase of evil, but on the whole the Ignatian conception of knowledge is probably less Hebraistic and ethical than St John's.

A Johannine trait which we find in Ignatius is the fondness for abstract or summarizing nouns. As St John describes Christ as 'the truth', 'the life', 'the true vine', and God as 'love', 'light', 'spirit', so in *Sm.* 10 we have *the perfect fidelity* and by an inversion *knowledge of God which is Jesus Christ*, in *Trall.* 11 *unity of God which is Himself*, in *Mag.* 7 *blameless joy which is Jesus Christ*, in *Mag.* 15 *in concord of God, having acquired unwavering spirit which is Jesus Christ*, and in *Eph.* 14 *faith is the beginning and love the end, and the two being together are God.* Ignatius has St John's antitypal use of ἀληθινός, *in death true life (Eph. 7, of Christ; so Eph. 11, Trall. 9, Sm. 4)*. We may compare Polycarp's description of Christ as *the true (ἀληθίης) love (Phil. 1)*, and we may doubt whether he could have coined the phrase without the help of 1 John iv 16 ('*God is love*'), a memorable aphorism which probably suggested the phrase of *Eph.* 14.

One would have expected that a writer who, according to a tradition which I believe to be primitive but cannot here discuss (*Ap. Const.* vii 46), was a convert of St Paul, was familiar with his epistles and on his way to martyrdom, would have reproduced the Pauline doctrine of the cross. But we might describe Ignatius as less Pauline and more Johannine than St John. If we except the isolated phrase *who suffered for our sins* which occurs somewhat conventionally in a eucharistic context (*Smyrn.* 6), Ignatius only asserts two Johannine doctrines of the cross, its reality and its attractive power. Perhaps his determination to be martyred was deepened by meditation on St John's insistence on the voluntary character of Christ's death, and his strange aspiration that he *may rise in his chains* by meditation on the *stigmata*. I am inclined, however, to think that Ignatius uses the word ἀντίψυχον with more

fullness of meaning than Lightfoot supposed, in *Eph.* 21, *Sm.* 10, *Pol.* 2, 6. The word is wonderfully apt if Ignatius is thinking of the words in which St John a few years before encouraged the churches to which Ignatius wrote to face delation and martyrdom, 'He laid down his life (*ψυχὴν*) for (*ὑπὲρ*) us: and we ought to lay down our lives for the brethren' (1 John iii 16). We thus explain the repetition. St John's words not improbably influenced 1 *Clem.* 49 *ad fin.*

In John xii 32 Christ shortly after the allusion to the Greeks who came to Him says, 'I if I be lifted up will draw all men unto me.' We seem to have an echo of this in *Sm.* 1, *that He might lift an ensign for all ages—whether among Jews or Gentiles*, and perhaps in the curious passage in *Eph.* 9, where the cross is *the engine by which (men) are lifted up to the heights*.

We must now endeavour to disentangle the reminiscences which suggested the following passages: *Shun ye those vile offshoots that gender a deadly fruit, whereof if a man taste, forthwith he dieth. For these men are not the Father's planting; for if they had been, they would have been seen to be branches of the Cross and their fruits imperishable* (*Trall.* 11), and of *which fruit are we, that is, of His most blessed Passion* (*Sm.* 1). The phrase *φτεία πατρός* must be derived ultimately from Matt. xv 3 ('which my heavenly father did not plant') or its source, but the recurrence in this variant form in *Philad.* 3 suggests the influence of an uncanonical Gospel.

Lightfoot's note (p. 291) shows that the comparison of the cross to the tree of life occurs in Justin, Clem. Alex., Melito, and probably Papias. The passage seems to imply the allegory of the vine, for the simile of the branch occurs in the N. T. only in John xv 2. We are confirmed by *γεωργεῖ* in *Philad.* 3, where the suggestion is less probably from 1 Cor. iii 9, and Polycarp's *your fruit*, with which we compare 'beareth much fruit' (John xv 5). Behind the Ignatian *branches of the cross* there probably lies the equation cross=tree=tree of life=vine. The following points support the suggestion. (1) The equation which Dr James (*Apoc. Anecd.* ii p. xxiv) is inclined to attribute to the Gnostics, bush=tree=cross, may be a parody. Perversely understood, the bush of Exodus might become a symbol of that which presents the appearance of sacrifice without its reality. (2) In *Orac. Sibyll.* 5. 256 'the man from the sky stretched forth his hands upon a fruitful (*πολυκάρπου*) tree'. We compare 'very fruitful vine'. This passage has very early roots. (3) The dominant topic of the Letters to the seven churches is the disciplinary measures which St John took against the Nicolaitans and the excommunication of 'Jezebel'. The converse to this is represented in the promises in which the blessings of communion with Christ are prominent. The allusion to 'the tree of life' is probably eucharistic. The tree of life=the vine.

We conclude that the allegory of the vine was known to Ignatius and Polycarp.

For whom did Christ die? Ignatius answers with St John that Christ *raised an ensign . . . both among Jews and among Gentiles* (*Smyrn.* 1); to Him *every tongue hath been gathered together* (*Mag.* 10). The words may be suggested by Isa. lxvi 8, but the thought is that of John xi 52. But the subjects of redemption are *the children of God and the children of [the light of] truth* (*Philad.* 2). Perhaps there is here a tendency to a doctrine of predestination which may underlie his statement that the Trallians are blameless *οὐ κατὰ χρῆσιν ἀλλὰ κατὰ φύσιν* (*Trall.* 1). Ignatius here deserts St Paul and innocently uses language used later in some Gnostic systems. We may compare his use of *pleroma* (*Eph.* inscr.) and 'matter-loving' as = 'carnal' (*Rom.* 7). In this connexion we may notice the over-statement, *No man professing faith sinneth and no man professing love hateeth* (*Eph.* 14). Ignatius wrote with haste, but his generalization recalls 1 John in three ways: (1) The assertion of a principle in the form of an ideal generalization; (2) 'love', 'hate'; (3) the condemnation of profession which is so prominent in the polemic of 1 John. Compare *It is better to keep silence and to be than to talk and not to be* (*Eph.* 15). A little later Papias condemned in the same region *those who say many things and introduce an alien discipline*.

The antithesis, 'love' and 'hate', suggests the sharp bisection of life which is a fundamental characteristic of St John. This appears in the sentence which contains the earliest instance of the word 'Christianity': *The work is not of persuasive rhetoric; Christianity is a thing of might when it is hated by the world* (*Rom.* 3). 'Work' has here a Johannine ring, as has the last half of the sentence (cf. 1 John iii 18). We have the Johannine *the Prince of this world* in *Eph.* 17, *Mag.* 1, *Trall.* 4, *Rom.* 7, *Philad.* 8. The phrase cannot originate in 1 Cor. ii 6, where the rulers are earthly; but this verse may have led Ignatius to substitute *αἰῶνος* for *κόσμου* unconsciously.

The presentation of the Resurrection in our epistles is thoroughly Johannine. In *Smyrn.* 2 we read that Christ *raised Himself*. When Lightfoot described the phrase as unscriptural he probably forgot John x 8, 'I have power to take it again.' The agency of Christ is also asserted in Polycarp's *promised to raise us from the dead* (*Phil.* 5), a promise which is not recorded by the Synoptists but by St John in John v 21, 25, vi 44. It is important to observe that Polycarp is not only acquainted with St John's distinctive teaching, but with the attribution of it to Christ. The Johannine theology was already embodied in a Gospel.

It is characteristic of St John's doctrine that he fuses the physical

and spiritual aspects of the principle of the Resurrection (John xi 24-26; 1 John iii 14, 'We have passed from death unto life because we love the brethren'). With this compare, *to love that they may rise again* (*Smyrn.* 7). So Christ is described as *our true life* (*Smyrn.* 4), *our inseparable life* (*Eph.* 3). Compare *His life* (τὸ ζῆν αὐτοῦ) *is not in us* (*Mag.* 5), where the argument is Pauline but the phrase Johannine.

In *Philad.* 10 we have a reminiscence of St John's doctrine of glory. Ignatius writes *glorify the name*, adding *and ye shall be glorified*. Here we note (i) the 'name' used absolutely (only Acts v 41, 3 John 7, Rev. xv 4); (ii) 'glorify the name' (of God) (only John xii 28, Rev. xv 4); (iii) the connexion of glorifying and being glorified (John xvii 1).

Christ's ascension and return in glory occupy a subordinate position in St John and almost disappear in Ignatius. We find, however, the emphatic phrase *ἔσχατοι καιροί* in *Eph.* 11, with which we may compare *it is the last hour* (1 John ii 18). Future judgement is not mentioned except in the twice-repeated *shall not inherit the kingdom of God* (*Eph.* 16, *Philad.* 3, cf. 1 Cor. vi 9). The phrase is somewhat conventionally used and Christ is nowhere described in terms of kingship.

The power of the ascended Christ is asserted in a sentence already discussed, *Christianity is a thing of might when it is hated by the world*, which is obviously Johannine, and in the striking sentence *Christ, being in the Father, the more appears* (*Rom.* 3). This summarizing phrase indicates long familiarity with the thought of Jn. xiv. Compare 'Greater works . . . because I go to the Father' (*v.* 12), 'the world beholdeth me no more but ye behold me' (*v.* 19), 'ye shall know that I am in the Father' (*v.* 20).

#### *Johannine Incidents.*

In estimating the evidence of allusions to narrative we must remember the extreme rarity of allusions to evangelical incidents other than the credal which characterizes early Christian literature. (1) No negative inference can be drawn from the absence of allusion to our Lord's appearance to Thomas, for it may well be that Ignatius would regard the saying of Christ cited from *The Preaching of Peter* in *Smyrn.* 3 as more conclusive than any deduction from the narrative of that appearance; the strange device by which the docetists met that passage (*Ac. Jo.* 89) may be as old as Ignatius. But is there no allusion to the appearance to Thomas? We may note the following points. After citing from *The Preaching of Peter*, *Lay hold and handle me* (ψηλαφήσατε, cf. Luke xxiv 39, 1 John i 1), Ignatius continues *Straightway they grasped Him* (ἤψαυον) *and believed*. We note this verb is used in John xx 17, and that only in John xx 29 is belief explicitly stated to result from an

appearance after the Resurrection. Again, we have already observed that the Ignatian doctrine of the ministry is an expansion of John xx 21. Again, according to *Eph.* 17, our Lord *breathed upon the church*, to which the only N. T. parallel is that of John xx 21. The modalistic christology of Ignatius, or perhaps one should say terminology, may perhaps be connected with John xx 28.

(2) Ignatius referring to the incident of the anointing writes, *our Lord received the ointment upon His head in order that He might breathe incorruptibility upon His church. Be not anointed with the evil savour of the teaching of the ruler of this world (Eph. 17)*. It is clear that the passage reads back into the incident the metaphors of 1 John ii 20, 27 *Ye have an anointing from the Holy One . . . The anointing which ye have received abideth in you and ye have not need that any should teach you*, and this is confirmed if we accept Zahn's plausible conjecture in *Eph.* 17, *the unction which the Lord hath sent (πέποιμφεν)*. Is there, then, anything in St John's narrative which justifies this interpretation of it? I reply that we may find our clue in the words *The house was filled with the odour of the ointment*. Origen explains the house as 'omnem huius mundi domum ac totius ecclesiae domum', and the fragrance as 'odor doctrinae qui procedit de Christo et Sancti Spiritus fragrantia' (*Hom. i in Cant.* 12 cited by Abbott *Joh. Gram.* 2329). In the Arabic *Preaching of Thomas* (Lewis *Mythological Acts of Apostles* p. 90), in a passage which probably derives from an early source, Christ appears and 'a sweet scent proceeded from his mouth and filled the house with the odour of its fragrance'.

St John, we observe, omits from his narrative the saying of Christ, 'She hath anointed my body beforehand for the burying'; but if we are right he has not so much omitted these words as allegorized them. The ointment was a preservative against corruption, a prophecy of the Resurrection, a sacrament of life. Incorruptibility passed, as Origen suggests in *c. Cels.* vi 79, from the head to the body, which is the Church—from the 'housemaster' (*Eph.* 6) to the house. The same mysticism probably underlies the phrase 'about a hundred pounds weight' in John xix 39. Like so much else in the Gospel and Epistles and Revelation it presupposes St John's oral teaching. Perhaps we may avail ourselves of a phrase which Carlyle might have used and write, 'according to the Gospels he was twice anointed with the antidotes against corruption, a fact significant of much.' The hint which is given in the one incident by the phrase 'the house was filled' is given in the other by the mystical number. If our view of these incidents is justified we have an indication of St John's attitude towards historical fact. He is neither inventing allegories nor reproducing a diary, but preaching about his memories or traditions. His view is that Christ had always

meant more than He seemed to mean. The riding upon an ass into Jerusalem, the withered fig-tree, the feet-washing, the supper, the darkness into which Judas passed, the title, the darkness, the fragrance which filled the house after the anointing, were all 'significant of much'. St John's conception of a Gospel is not at bottom different from St Mark's.

In his next paragraph Ignatius, as we have already observed, again interprets St John's mysticism. He writes, *He was baptized in order that by His passion He might cleanse water (Eph. 18)*. When we remember Polycarp's allusion to the testimony of the cross, it is arbitrary to refuse to connect the passage with John xix 34, 35, 1 John v 6. In *Smyrn. 1* Ignatius again refers to the baptism. Both passages are quasi-credal and like their Johannine parallels polemical, and the phrasing in *Smyrn. 1* has been already shewn to be Johannine.

Our last parallel is important as it indicates a knowledge of St John's teaching in its present forms. In *Philad. 9* Ignatius is picking up the thought of § 5, which ranks the prophets with the apostles because 'they too pointed to the Gospel in their preaching. . . . They too were saved in the unity of Jesus Christ . . . in the Gospel of the common hope'. In § 8 the thought turns to the N. T. again and in § 9 Ignatius returns to the thought of § 5 in the words, *He Himself being the door of the Father, through whom Abraham and Isaac and Jacob and the prophets and the apostles and the church enter in. All these things combine in the unity of God. But the Gospel hath a singular pre-eminence in the advent of the Saviour . . . His Passion, Resurrection . . . the prophets preached of Him*. Not only is the thought of the passage the same as that of the earlier, but the prophets are again associated with the apostles because of their preaching in the unity of God or Christ.

The parallelism is so close that we may assume that both passages spring from the same vein of reminiscence. We are justified, therefore, in completing in § 9 the phrase *enter in* with the help of § 5 and in adding 'and are saved', and we are confirmed by the occurrence of 'Saviour', which he uses elsewhere three times and which may be due here to the reminiscence.

We conclude that the description of Christ as *the door through whom all enter (and are saved)* is a reminiscence of Jn. x 9, 'I am the door; by me if a man enter in he shall be saved.'

The case for an allusion is much strengthened when we observe that the point of the parallel is the unity of the salvation and that this thought is emphasized in John x, and that in this very letter Ignatius seems again to recall that chapter for the purpose of enforcing unity, *Shun divisions and false doctrines; and where the shepherd is, there follow as sheep. For many specious wolves take captive . . .* (§ 2). We compare in the allegory of 'the shepherd of the sheep' the words 'the

sheep follow him' and not the stranger (John x 3 f), and in the allegory of the 'good shepherd' 'the wolf seizeth them . . . my sheep know me . . . hear . . . one flock, one shepherd' (*v.* 12 f). We cannot attribute these parallels to any other Biblical allusion to shepherd and sheep, for in Jn. x alone is the emphasis on heresy and division. Nor can we attribute the parallels to a recollection of St John's oral teaching; for we find in one epistle of Ignatius parallels with each of the three component parts of a Johannine discourse. These metaphors do not occur elsewhere in Ignatius. There is nothing nearer than 'pastor' in *Rom.* 9, which is probably suggested by 1 Pet. ii 25, and 'follow' (*Smyrn.* 8). We may, in conclusion, observe how completely the Johannine similes appear in the letters. We have 'light', 'living (and leaping) water', 'inbreathing', 'unction', 'the door', 'the shepherd', 'wolves', 'the vine'.

*Parallels with POLYC. ad Philip.*

We have already considered two of Polycarp's Johannisms, 'the truth itself' and the promise of Christ to raise the dead. The following passage is as near to 1 John iv 2-3 as any early citation can be expected to be. The context of the passage will be shewn to be Johannine.

Every spirit which confesseth not that Jesus hath come in the flesh is antichrist, and every one who confesseth not the witness of the cross is of the devil (*ad Philip.* 7).

Every spirit which confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is of God: and every spirit which confesseth not Jesus is not of God: and this is the spirit of antichrist (1 John iv 2-3).

The variant phrases 'of the devil', 'antichrist' have parallels in St John's context (1 John iii 8) and in a similar passage (2 John 7). 'The witness of the cross' we have already discussed, and we have suspected that *the true love* was suggested by 1 John iv 16.

I owe to Stanton's *Gospels as Hist. Doc.* the following:—

If we do his will and walk in his commandments and love what he loved (*ad Philip.* 2).

Do his will (John vii 17, cf. 1 John ii 7). If ye love me, keep my commandments (John xiv 15). Walk as he walked (1 John ii 6). Hereby know we that we love God and keep his commandments.

I rejoiced with you (*συνεχάρην*) greatly inasmuch as ye received (*δεξαμένοις*) . . . the fullness of the true love and escorted them (*προπέμψασιν*) and were associated in the truth (*ib.* 1).

Compare the general tenor of 3 John 3-8 and the use of *ἐχάρην*, *προπέμψας*, *συνεργοὶ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ*.

In veritate sociati. Ch. X (*ib.* 10).

In estimating the evidence of Ignatius we must remember that his seven letters printed in large type do not occupy more than thirty octavo pages. Two of the seven have no theological purpose in view. The remaining five were hurriedly dictated and there is a great deal of repetition. Yet how large a part of the Johannine theology can be discovered in this narrow compass! It is the Jewish side of the Gospel which is mainly absent, and on this side Ignatius was, as he confessed to the Philadelphians (§ 8), somewhat ill-equipped. He took higher ground: *My charter is Jesus Christ; the inviolable charter is the cross and His death and His resurrection.* This position is itself Johannine (John v 36-39).

We may go further and assert that the Johannine theology is no recent acquisition of Ignatius. It is at the basis of his thinking, the *datum* and not the *probandum*. St John's thought and methods of expression have become part of the furniture of his mind. When the epistles were written he must have been familiar with it for many years.

It has been thought that the fact that Ignatius and St John belong to the same school of thought is sufficient to account for the parallels which we find in their writings. This explanation is inconsistent with some of the evidence which we have considered and, apart from this, is shipwrecked on the rock of the personality which is revealed to us in the Johannine writings. Critics of the most opposite views have been impressed not only by the spiritual power of *John* but also by its uniqueness. Mr E. F. Scott, for instance, who seems to regard St John as a contemporary or younger contemporary of Ignatius, writes such phrases as 'unique religious temperament', 'The Johannine thought even more than the Pauline is bound up with a personal temperament and experience', 'A single hand rests upon every line of it', 'a work of genius' (*The Fourth Gospel* pp. 15, 16, 30, 32; cf. Sanday *Historical Character &c.* pp. 302-303). But the impress of this master-hand is upon the material used by the bishops of Antioch and Smyrna. Their Johannisms are not from the crude raw-material of *John* but from that material already transfused and moulded. The religious genius which the Johannine writings reveal and yet conceal is that of an older contemporary of our writers.

But our study of the letters has proved, not only the influence of St John, but also that his Epistles and Gospel were already written. The hypothesis of oral influence does not account for the parallelisms. They presuppose the existence of St John's teaching in its present form, and in the instance of the parallels with Jn. x in its present order and arrangement, and in one place Ignatius assumes that a distinctively Johannine logion was known to his readers.

Our conclusion is confirmed by Ignatius's omission to refer to St John in his letter to the Ephesians. To suppose that if St John had been an apostle he would have been associated with St Paul in that letter is, as we have seen, to misunderstand the point of the allusion to the latter apostle; but it is difficult to believe that, if the teacher who so profoundly influenced Ignatius had still been living, Ignatius would not at the close of his letter have addressed to him a salutation.

H. J. BARDSLEY.

### THE DICTION OF THE PSALTER AS A CLUE TO ITS DEVELOPEMENT.

THE received text of the Psalter, omitting the captions and some other extraneous details, amounts to nearly 19,000 words. The vocabulary from which this text is derived consists of over 2,100 words, the exact number depending upon the rigour with which closely allied forms are separated. Such an enumeration, of course, takes no account of conjectural emendations of the text, however plausible.

Even a casual scrutiny of this vocabulary reveals the fact that a small number of words occur many times, while a much larger number occur but few times. About 230 words occur so frequently that they alone constitute about two-thirds of the whole text. These words, which each occur in thirteen or more Psalms, will be called 'common' in the present discussion. On the other hand, about 1,900 words are each found in not more than twelve Psalms. These words will be called 'rare'. Of the 'rare' words, nearly 900 occur in but a single Psalm. (Words occurring in from one to four Psalms constitute about 15½% of the entire text; words in from five to eight Psalms, about 9%; and words in from nine to twelve Psalms, about 7%.) Taken all together, the 'rare' words make up about 32% of the text.

In fixing a feasible line of division between the words to be called 'common' and 'rare', there appear to be good reasons (1) for classifying all the words by the number of Psalms in which they occur rather than by their total number of occurrences (mere repetitions within a single Psalm being much less important than appearances in different Psalms), and (2) for placing the dividing-line so as to set by themselves words that occur in twelve Psalms or fewer. This latter principle was adopted only after long consideration. But, since it is essentially arbitrary, care has been used to avoid making the position of the dividing-line too influential. There can be no doubt about the great difference