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On

T H E A U T H O R S H I P of the F O U R T H G O S P E L.

By

Hjortur J. Leo.

February 1911.

# LIST of BOOKS CONSULTED. ---

1. The Gospel according to St. John.
2. Origen: De Principiis.
3. Origen: Contra Celsum.
4. Tertullian: Ad Marcionem  
De Praescriptione Haereticorum.  
De Monogamia  
De Carne Christi.
5. Clement of Alexandria: Miscellanies (  
Exhortation to the Greeks.  
The Instructor.
6. Eusebius: Historia Ecclesiastica.
7. Theoplihus of Antioch: Ad Autolycum.
8. Irenaeus: Epistola ad Florinum.  
Adversus Haereses Books I.-V.
9. American Encyclopaedia.
10. Theodor Zahn: Introduction to the New Testament  
Volumes I.- III.
11. Adolf Julicher: Introduction to the New Testament
12. Kurtz: Church History.
13. Sanday: Criticism of the Fourth Gospel.
14. Godet: Commentary on the New Testament:  
Gospel of St. John, Vols. I.-II.
15. Athenagoras: Apology.
16. Justin Martyr: 1. Apology  
2. Apology.  
3. Dialogue with Trypho.
17. G.W. Gilmore: The Johannean Problem.
18. The Expositor's Greek Testament: Gospel of St. John.
19. James Orr: The Virgin Birth of Christ.
20. Hippolytus: Refutation of all Haeresies  
(Philosophumena).
21. Salmon: Introduction to New Testament.
22. Encyclo~~paedia~~<sup>lopaedia</sup>: Letter of Church at Smyrna.
23. Polycarp: Letter to Philippians.
24. Ignatius: Letter to the Ephesians.

## THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE FOURTH GOSPEL.

The great majority of theological writers of renown are prepared to accept the authenticity and genuineness of the Synoptic Gospels. Many indeed give forced interpretations to various passages, interpretations that remind one of the Gnostics of old, but most scholars admit that the titles of the Synoptic Gospels are true.

The fires of criticism, however, burn brightly about the Fourth Gospel. Since the publication of Bretschneider's able work in 1820, theologians of note have struggled with the question of the authorship of the Fourth Gospel. I will not for a moment intimate that either side had any ulterior motive, although the speculations, pro and con, have sometimes reminded me more of the arguments of a skilled lawyer than the serene and even-handed justice and calm reflective abilities of a scientist. Such speculations, while showing the ability and individuality of the writer, are to my mind of a questionable benefit. Aristotle's law of the golden mean is of service here as elsewhere. And forced interpretations are almost as odious as logical fallacies. In the following pages I will do my best to avoid both. I will try to prove my own views on the subject I discuss - though mathematical proof is not obtainable - in the best way I can, but try to be fair.

The question before me is an historic one. Whatever views we may entertain, facts of history contain the final criterion of the question.

What then are the facts of history bearing on this case ?

Despite some extravagances of imagination, it must, I think be conceded that primitive Christianity (40 -300 A.D.) was earnest and zealous in attempting to obey the Master's command to lead the world to Him. Confessions of faith had not been written; how was it possible that differ-

ent systems would not be formulated?

Even the chief of the Apostles made a mistake at Antioch that could easily be construed as antagonizing the theology of Paul. Men approach perfection by divine aid only, and none but the Apostles had, in the <sup>1</sup>literal sense, been the disciples of the Lord. One fact, however, holds my attention as I read the pages written by the Fathers of the Church.

Their moral earnestness is indisputable.

They speculated, but their very speculation shows zeal for the cause they advocate.

They may err, but they do not fabricate. And they are far from showing any puerility of intellect. It is true that legendary writings, were published in that period, but even these show how greatly the writers delighted in thinking on theological subjects. I do not think that there is any fact of history to prove that the writers of the New Testament Apocrypha or Pseudepigraphs intended that their writings should be regarded inspired. They wrote, I believe, according to their own understanding, and could no more desist from writing than a poet can cease to sing or a bird can quit warbling. It was spontaneous outburst of religious fervor, the motive being to glorify God, whatever we think about their views. And even if we have to admit that some apocryphal writings were quoted by the Fathers of the Church as Holy Scripture, (as Irenaeus, Clement and Origin regarded "Pastor Hermae"), these were exceptional cases.

The early Church, moreover, does not show any marked signs of fanaticism, with the possible exception of Montanists. This is all the more to be wondered at when we consider the persecutions of Christians during the first three centuries. The calm fortitude displayed by the Christian martyrs under all conceivable forms of torture, speaks volumes in defence of the credibility of the writers who wielded their pen in



in defence of their faith during the second and third centuries. This bravery of resignation, which has not the least resemblance to bravery of despair, had the effect of spreading Christianity speedily and surely. Now, I will not strive to minimize the <sup>ych</sup>psychological effect of one mind on another mind. That certainly has its great value. Neither do I deny that Christ fulfilled, during those times of trouble, in a special way, His promise to be always with His disciples. Yet it seems to me necessary inference that there were then some writings of acknowledged apostolic authorship, in order to harmonize faith and reason in the minds of Christians, but more especially to satisfy those cultured men and women who swelled the ranks of Christians during the first two centuries. I cannot believe that master-minds as the two Clements, Irenæus and especially Origen possessed, could have been converted to Christianity, no matter how beautiful her teachings, and in whatever contrast to the immortality of heathenism, had there not been any writings of "apostles or apostolic men", that could fully be relied on. To become a Christian in those times meant to renounce the pleasures of the world, protection of the law, life itself if need be. Men will not lay aside all hopes of earthly happiness, unless they are convinced, not only of the beauty of Christianity but also of the truth of it. Men with such acknowledged intellectual abilities must have been converted by the written word as Paul was converted by the living Word.

But, it may be asked: What has this to do with the Fourth Gospel? Are not the Synoptic Gospels sufficient for this purpose? Yes, they are. And yet the Fourth Gospel shows such intimate understanding of Jesus, such tender affinity between Master and disciple, such Christological completeness, so child like faith, that I fail to see its parallel in even the Synoptic Gospels. I see, therefore, in the

Fourth Gospel, ( provided it is proved authentic), a mightier weapon for converting souls, than even in the Gospel of Luke.

Now what are the facts? The first I will adduce is this: All the ancient church, - with the exception of the Alogi, who never rose to the dignity of a sect, - believed that St. John was the author of the Gospel that bears his name.

Such is the voice of tradition, and yet, during all the second century, and especially during the first half of it, it was easy to find out who the author was, and it is the height of presumption to impute to primitive Christianity such lack of earnestness and practical common sense, that they would not try to find out who was the author of that unique work, - the most beautiful they ever read or we ever will peruse, - the strongest bulwark of Christianity of all times.

I contend then, that this tradition, undisputed for about seventeen hundred years, furnishes strong antecedent probability in favor of apostolic authorship of the gospel. The least I can claim is that such tradition be disproved if possible, but not simply ruled out of court as improbable, because the gospel contains narratives of miracles. "The presumption is in favor of that which exists". Let us then proceed to see whether we can find a connected chain of evidence for apostolic authorship, extending throughout the second century. If this can be done the question is practically solved. But if that cannot be accomplished, - if the evidence is broken or vague, or if there is not to be found <sup>a</sup> consensus of opinion regarding this question, - the problem remains unsolved, the probability, however, being on the side of the greater number of trustworthy testimonies adduced.

It may, I believe, be taken for granted that about the

year 200 A.D., the Fourth Gospel was universally acknowledged as the work of St. John. I will then proceed from that date and trace the evidence backward, as far as I can.

My first witness is Origen (185-254). A mere glance at his great dogmatic work *Περί ἀρχῶν* is sufficient. He quotes there the Fourth Gospel over thirty times. It is undeniable that he regards it of the same rank as the other Gospels of our Canon or the books of the Old Testament. Special quotations would be superfluous in this case. Origen wrote in Greek. Unfortunately most of his manuscripts are lost, but Rufinus has given us a Latin translation of Origen's works. It is true that Jerome and others accuse Rufinus of having treated the works of Origen in an arbitrary way. Be that as it may; even the poorest translation is sufficient for our purpose, showing abundantly the dependence of Origen on our Gospel as other books of Scripture.

So much for the evidence furnished by the great scholar of Alexandria. From African Carthage a voice is heard about 220 A.D., quoting the Fourth Gospel. In the writings of Tertullian such quotations are numerous. Yet, as he uses them less profusely than Origen I will insert two or three from that author.

1. "Thus, in the Gospel of John, the woman of Samaria, when conversing with the Lord at the well, says, "No doubt Thou art greater" etc; and again, " Our fathers worshipped in this mountain, but Ye say, that in Jerusalem is the place where men ought to worship". ( John 4: 12,20).

2. " Salvation was of the Jews". ( John 4: 22, with change of tense).

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1. Adv. Marcionem IV. 35

2. Adv. Marcionem IV. 35

1. " I still have many things to say unto you, but ye are not yet able to bear them, when the Holy Spirit shall come He will lead you into all truth". ( In substance John 16: 12-13).

I have said enough to prove that the Fourth Gospel was treated in the same manner as other books of Scripture about the close of the second century. We will now examine the writings that were published before 200 A.D. Clement of Alexandria ( ? - 220 ) is my next witness. That he made use of the Fourth Gospel cannot be disputed. He quotes the Gospel at least sixty times in the Miscellanies (*ΣΤΡΩΜΑΤΕΙΣ*) and his other writings bear the same testimony. I will insert three examples one from each of his chief works.

2. "For the Lord says, ' Ye are of your father, the devil; and the lusts of your father will ye do. He was a murderer from the beginning, and abode not in truth, because there is no truth in him. When he speaketh a lie, he speaketh of his own; for he is a liar, and the father of it". ( John 8: 44 )

3. "You are hurried to destruction, because ' light is come into the world, and men have loved the darkness rather than light". ( John 3: 19).

4. "He speaks of him as one, 'that they all may be one: as Thou, Father, art in me and I am in Thee, that they may also be one in us: that the world may also believe that Thou hast sent me. And the glory which Thou hast given me, I have given them, that they may be one as we are one: I in them and Thou in me, that they may be perfect in one". (John 17: 21-23)

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1. De Monogamia I. 2
  2. Miscellanies I. 17
  3. Exhort. to the Greeks Ch. I.
  4. The Instructor I. 8

Clement also tells us in what order the Gospels were written. He says that "John, last of all, perceiving that what had reference to the body in the Gospel of our Saviour, was sufficiently detailed, and being encouraged by his familiar friends, and urged by the Spirit, he wrote a spiritual Gospel".<sup>1/</sup> Enough has been said to prove that Clement regarded the Fourth Gospel to be the work of St. John.

I will now adduce the testimony of Theophilus of Antioch (115-188 A.D.), whom Eusebius declares to have been the sixth bishop of Antioch in Syria, from the apostles. 2/ In his work to Autolyous written about 170 A.D. there are found some few expressions that more or less reflect the thought of the Fourth Gospel. In one place only, is a direct quotation, "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God"/ 3/ This sentence is said by Theophilus to be the words of John one of "the inspired men". This quotation settles all doubts as to the value of the other passages in the same work that seem to be of Johannine origin.

Irenaeus, bishop of Lyons (born 135, died 202), is the most important writer during the second half of the second century. His great work against the heretics (Gnostics) is more complete than the writings of any other contemporaneous apologist. He is, therefore, our most important witness during this period.

In a letter to Florinus, a Valentinian Gnostic Irenaeus reminds him that they were both disciples of Polycarp. But these are his words. 4/" For, while I was yet a boy, I saw thee in lower Asia with Polycarp, distinguishing thyself in

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1. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. VI. 14.
  2. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. IV. 20
  3. Ad. Autol. II. 22
  4. Epist. ad Flor. II.

the royal court, and endeavoring to gain his approbation.

..... I can even describe the place where the blessed Polycarp used to sit and discourse, - his going out too and coming in, - his general mode of life and personal appearance, together with the discourses he delivered to the people; also how he would speak of his familiar intercourse with John and with the rest who had seen the Lord; and how he would call their words to remembrance,..... both with regard to His miracles and His teaching".

Here we have, in the first place, a declaration by Irenaeus that he was familiar with Polycarp, - his disciple in fact, - and that Polycarp was a disciple of John the Apostle. The language employed denotes intimacy. This is not to be wondered at when we consider that Irenaeus was a contemporary of Polycarp for about 20 years, since Polycarp died Feb. 23rd 155<sup>1/</sup> (or, some say, in 168) and Irenaeus was born in 135. 2/ Allowing a few years for possible error in dates, we still have left so many that there is ample time for the two men to have associated for years. Moreover, Irenaeus was born in Smyrna or near that place, and Polycarp was bishop of Smyrna at that time. And that city is about forty miles from Ephesus, the scene of St. John's activity. We have here therefore "a chain of tradition from Jesus to Irenaeus", notwithstanding Jülicher's attempt to show that such idea is ludicrous when he says, "Those who picture the matter in the following light - that, when Irenaeus as a boy heard the aged Polycarp preach and tell of his experiences, he asked him whether the disciple of whom he was thus speaking, were the same as he who had written the wonderful Logos - Gospel, and that Polycarp thereupon

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1. Introd. to New Test. Vol. 3. - Th. Zahn, Transl. 1909.

2. Am. Encycl. Vol. XIII. P. 685.

made him a kindly sign of assent - such may look upon the chain of tradition from Jesus to Irenæus, through John and Polycarp as marvellously complete". 1/

I do not wish to "picture the matter" in any special light, but merely take facts as I find them. Hence I regard the "chain of tradition complete", and of the highest importance, for it is very probable that Irenæus was lead to study the Gospel, and believe, it by Polycarp, who could not possibly be in error as to the authorship of the Gospel. It is difficult to conceive that they never spoke about the Gospel, and if they mentioned it but once, that would determine the credence that Irenæus placed in its contents, more than any other consideration could do. On the other hand, if Polycarp knew nothing of the Fourth Gospel, - if it were composed after 155 ( or 168), - it is hard to believe that Irenæus did not refuse to believe it, since Polycarp never mentioned it to him. How then could Irenæus believe that it was the work of St. John? Yet he quotes the Fourth Gospel at least eighty times, gives it salient features, and calls it by the name ~~as~~ now bears. Moreover he attempts to give reasons why there should be four Gospels and only four. He says, " It is not possible that the Gospels can be either more or fewer in number than they are. For since there are four zones of the world in which we live and four principal winds, ..... it is fitting that ( the Church) should have four pillars". 2/ The analogy does not prove anything but it shows how firmly Irenæus believed, that there were only four genuine Gospels, and they are the same as ours.

It is then highly probable that Irenæus was introduced to the study of the Fourth Gospel by Polycarp, and his firmness of conviction was greatly augmented by that circumstances.

1. Adolf Jülicher: Introd. to the New Testament, p. 405.  
Translated from the German 1904

2. Adv. Haer. III. 11:8

One thing we may consider settled at this stage. Irenaeus wrote his great work in Gaul about 180 A.D. His opinions were settled when he came there sometime after 169 A.D. 1/ Now a Gospel, especially if not written by an apostle would need twenty years or more to gain ground and be accepted by all the Church. The Tübingen theory, (advocated by F.C. Baur and his colleagues), that the Gospel was written between 160 and 170 A.D. is therefore worthless.

I insert here a few quotations from the Gospel, taken from the pages of Irenaeus. "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, the same was in the beginning with God" 2/ (John I: 1-2)

"He (Judas) was called son of perdition by Him" 3/ (Comp. John 17:12).

"He that committeth sin is the slave of sin" 4/ (John 8: 34).

"Ye have not chosen me, but I have chosen you" 5/ (John 15: 16).

"He spake this however of the temple of his body. 6/ (John 2: 21).

It is interesting in this connection to note the authorities Irenaeus refers to concerning the validity of the Gospel. For his knowledge of the truthfulness of John's writings he appeals often to "the elders," *οἱ πρεσβύτεροι*, some of whom were bishops as Polycarp and Papias, some personal disciples of Polycarp. How natural then to suppose that Irenaeus conversed with both and was personally acquainted with their character since he refers to them so unhesitatingly 7/ It is even very probable that others who had seen

1. Kurtz's Church Hist. Vol. I. p. 150
  2. Adv. Haer I. 8:5
  3. Adv. Haer II. 20:5
  4. Adv. Haer III. 8:1
  5. Adv. Haer IV. 14:1
  6. Adv. Haer V. 6:2
  7. Comp. Ir:Adv. Haer V. 30,1; 33,3; 33,4; 36,1-3.
- Also *Eus.* III 23



and heard Papias and Polycarp were with Irenaeus at Lyons, and also that some such men lived in Vienna, in the time of Irenaeus.

Of the testimony of Papias himself I will have occasion to speak later on. Meanwhile I urge the fact that it is not the times of Irenaeus alone, that is concerned with this problem, in consequence of his testimony, but the contemporaries of "John of Asia", unless we choose to brand him as a fabricator. For that procedure I see no reason. Nay, more, the general character of his writings, that bear the stamp of artless truthfulness forbid that his veracity should be questioned. And, to quote the words of Prof. Sanday: "What one desiderates most is greater simplicity, greater readiness to believe that as a rule, in ancient times as well as modern people meant what they said and said what they meant, and that more often than not they had some substantial reason for saying it". I/.

Accordingly, when Irenaeus tells us that John wrote the Gospel against the errors of Nicolaus and Cerinthus 2/, and that despite the fact that he must have known that the Alogi claimed that the Gospel was the work of Cerinthus ( who was a contemporary of John), I regard his statement worthy of acceptance, unless destroyed by uncontrovertible historical facts.

Leaving the testimony of Irenaeus for the present I continue my quest of facts.

Hardly less important is the testimony of Polycrates (circa 190 A.D.), mentioned by Eusebius 3/. The passage is too long to be quoted here. The salient points are that, during a controversy between the East and the West respecting the day of Easter celebration. Polycrates, bishop of *Ephesus*

writes to Victor bishop of Rome, concerning the matter, stat-

1. Sanday : Criticism of the Fourth Gospel p. 50
2. Adv. Haer III. II:1
3. Eus. Hist. Eccl. III. 31, V. 24

es his opinion that the day should be observed "on the day when the people threw away the leaven". In support of this opinion he mentions the name of Philip, his two daughters, John who rested on the bosom of the Lord, I/ and a few other names of people who lived in Asia about the year 100 A.D. Moreover he mentions the fact that seven of his relatives were bishops and he was the eighth, and all these have observed the "genuine day", (14th Nisan). Here their authority must have been the Fourth Gospel and not the Synoptics. And Polycrates' appeal to the "great lights" is quite instructive, for it shows, that in the vicinity of Ephesus, where tradition tells us that John worked during his last years, the Fourth Gospel was considered authoritative, where it seemingly differed from the Synoptics. If then the Gospel was written during the life time of these "lights", it exerted influence at once, which could have happened only if it were of apostolic origin, if not, we must still conclude that their Paschal observance was held at such time as John regarded proper, and the Gospels' coincidence with the opinion of John, is at least worthy of consideration, especially when we notice the verbal coincidence between the words of Polycrates and John 13: 25.

Melito bishop of Sardis shows his acquaintance with the Gospel by stating that Jesus worked publicly three years 2/ after his baptism; Athenagoras of Athens in his Apology addressed to Marcus Aurelius 3/ says, "The Son of God is the Word of the Father, by Him all things are made". Both men wrote about 170 A.D. Apollinaris of Hierapolis ( C.170) states that if the view of those persons who celebrated the Passover Supper on the evening on

1. Comp. Gospel of St. John 13: 23, 25
2. F. Godet: Commentary on N.T. Gospel of St. John Vol. I. p. 144.\*
3. Godet: Com. on N.T. Gospel of St. John Vol. I. p. 144  
Comp: Apol. of Athenagoras Ch.10.

14th Nisan were right, the Gospels must contradict each other; he also gives in substance John 19: 34 1/. The Clementine Homilies and Celsus, both adversaries to the Trinitarian doctrine, quote the Fourth Gospel as they do the Synoptics, 2/ about the year 165. No one, who has not a special theory to maintain could hold that the Gospel was written between 160 and 170, against these facts. The Versions of Scripture written about this time form very valuable piece of evidence for the extending distribution of the Gospel at an early age. Tertullian born in 160, quotes a Latin translation of which he says that it is used by the Christians of the time, 2/. He also refers to another translation which had fallen into disuse, 3/.

Allowing due time for circulation we must conclude that this version was written about 170 as Dr. Westcott holds. In Syria the Peschito was read about the close of the second century and this was preceded by another version, the Curetonian.

We thus see that about 160 the Fourth Gospel - for both translations contain parts of it at least - was read in Greek, Latin and Syriac, throughout most of the Roman world, at the very time F.C. Baur thought the Gospel was written.

The Muratori Fragment (composed 160 or before) states that the Gospel of John is the fourth in order of composition 4/, mentioning the fact that he was a "disciple". And then follows an account of the causes that led John to write, which, I admit, looks like a legend. But ~~th~~

the fact that the narrative mentions Andrew, the Apostle,

1. Godet: Com. on N.T. Gospel of St. John Vol. I. p. 146 146
2. ~~Godet~~ *Godet*: Com. on N.T. Gospel of St. John Vol. I. pp 144-146
3. De Monog. II.
4. Godet: Commentary on St. John Vol. I. p. 146

and states that he was "a fellow-disciple" of John, shows plainly what the writers opinion is of the rank of the writer of the Gospel. Whether true or false in its details, the story proves that in the minds of the people among whom it originated there was no doubt that St. John did write the Fourth Gospel. The fact that this legend existed side by side with the more plausible story that Eusebius quotes from Clement of Alexandria I/, merely gives greater emphasis to the characteristic common to both i.e. to ascribe the Gospel to St. John.

Moreover, time must be allowed for the formation and circulation of the legend, especially since the fragment is written either in Italy or Rome. For that at least 25-30 years are needed. But the fact that the versions mentioned above existed about 160 -170 proves conclusively that the Gospel was written not later than about 140 A.D., especially when we consider the difficulties attending travels in those days. There were no steamship lines, no compasses, no railways, no telegraph systems. The art of navigation was in its infancy. The way of the traveler on sea or land was bestrewn with difficulties, robbers infested the lonely mountain passes and the deserts, pirates swarmed the seas. All this would tend to minimize communication between countries. The scholar of to-day is often too apt to look at problems like these from the standpoint of modern civilization; for an impartial consideration it is necessary, even indispensable, to look at such problems in the light afforded by our knowledge of the history of civilization in those times.

And when we find that, despite those difficulties, which modern travelers would consider all but insuperable, the Gospel was believed by thousands, from Mesopotamia to Gaul, throughout the Roman Empire, and was read in at least three languages, about 160-170, we are forced to assign

I. Eus. Hist. Eccl. VI.14; Comp. Eus. Hist. Eccl. III. 24.

to it a date not later <sup>h</sup> than 130-140 A.D.

One more practical consideration is not out of place at this stage. Many of the Christians that believed the Fourth Gospel during the third quarter of the second century were men of exceptional talents and had labored through the labyrinth of the philosophy of those times. Such preliminary training is to me a proof that they were not over-credulous, and sifted such evidence as they obtained with all due care. They were men of brains, energy and integrity. How they could risk all earthly prosperity by accepting the doctrine emphasised by the Fourth Gospel, knowing it to be false, is utterly inexplicable; that they could be lured into believing that it was written by an apostle is just as difficult to conceive. The only possible solution is that they knew that the story of its origin, published by Clement, corroborated by the essential constituent of the Muratorian legend, and ratified by the tradition of the church, was true. This assumption I hope to verify as I examine the evidence left us by authors that lived and wrote about the middle of the second century and before that time.

Justin Martyr (114-165 or 6) is an author whose writings it is necessary to scrutinize closely to ascertain his views on the subject of this thesis, especially when we consider that he lived so near the time of St. John that all impartial critics must admit that for him it was an easy matter to find out the truth about the authorship of the writings he quoted. So painstaking a student as he was is not likely to have left that undone. Let us then try to ascertain what use he made of our Gospel.

First I wish to call attention to the fact that Irenaeus quotes Justin very often I/, and seems to look on Justin as his master. They had probably met, since they were contemporaries for about twenty years.

I/ See Adv. Haer. I. 23, II. 34, IV. 6, V. 26

Irenaeus does not sound any uncertain note regarding the value of our four gospels. May it not be safely inferred that Justin held the same views as Irenaeus regarding our gospels?

Let Justin himself answer.

He often quotes writings that he calls the "Memoirs". Sometimes he is more explicit. He calls them "Memoirs of the Apostles".<sup>1/</sup> Once when he quotes the Gospel of Luke (1:32), he adds this explanation: "Thus they-who have recorded all that concerns our Saviour Jesus Christ have taught".<sup>2/</sup> He also explains minutely to what writings he alludes by the term "Memoirs", when he says, "The Apostles, in the memoirs composed by them, which are called Gospels, have thus delivered unto us what was enjoined upon them".<sup>3/</sup> Since one of the disciples of Justin compiled an Harmony of the Gospels (Diatessaron), it can scarcely be doubted that Justin refers to our four gospels by the term memoirs which he may have preferred, as Godet says, because "he was addressing himself not to Christians but to the Emperor and Senate".<sup>4/</sup> Be that as it may, the fact remains that the Christians in the time of Justin read from these memoirs at their religious services, as they also did from the books of the Old Testament, which everyone regarded inspired. This we have on the authority of Justin himself. He says, <sup>5/</sup> "On a day called Sunday (τῇ τοῦ Ἁγλίου λεγομένη ἡμέρᾳ) all ..... gathered together to one place, and the memoirs of the apostles or the writings of the prophets are read, as long as time permits".

1. I. Apol. 66, 67 etc. Dial. 101, 102 etc.
2. I. Apol. 33.
3. I. Apol. 66.
4. Godet: Commentary on the N.T. Gosp. of St. John Vol. I. page 149
5. I. Apol. 67.
6. Dial. 80.

Now we would expect that, if the Fourth Gospel was one of the memoirs, we should be able to find quotations from that Gospel in the writings of Justin. That is an easy task. I insert some of his quotations to prove this statement.

a. "He" (John the Baptist) "cried to them saying, I am ~~km~~ not the Christ but the voice of one crying" 1/(John I: 20-23)

b. "He was the only -begotten of the Father of all things" 2/ (Comp. John I: 14)

c. "Except ye be born again, ye shall not enter the kingdom of heaven" 3/ (John 3: 5)

d. "His son, the only one who may properly be called Son, the Logos who was begotten by Him before created things, when He created all things by Him ..... is called Christ" 4/

This last example is not a quotation from the Gospel, but it shows such intimate acquaintance with the prologue (John I: 1-18), that Justin's dependence on the Gospel cannot be seriously questioned. The more closely I read the works of Justin, the more I am convinced that he not only had read the Gospel, but that his mind was imbued with its teachings. Passages to prove that point are many but too long to copy them. Reference to a few of them are given in a foot note 5/

Lastly let us note that Justin says 6/ that the memoirs were written by the apostles and those who accompanied them. This corresponds exactly with the traditional view, for Matthew and John were apostles, Luke a companion of Paul and Mark of Peter.

The above citations from Justin prove conclusively to my mind that the Fourth Gospel was studied and read as any

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| 1. | Dial. 88.3  | 2/ Dial. 105 |
| 3. | 1. Apol. 61   |              |
| 34 | 2. Apol. 6.   |              |
| 5. | 1. Apol. 3, 21, 23, 32, 33, 46, 64; Dial 48, 88, 105 etc. |              |
| 6. | Dial. 103.  |              |

as any other part of Scripture at the religious services of Christians in the time of Justin, and that he himself regarded it as authoritative as any other book of the Bible. This conclusion is arrived at not only by champions of orthodoxy, but by so careful a critic as Ezra Abbott, who at least is free from doctrinal bias, and who has closely studied the writings of Justin.

I am aware that there are objections raised to this view. The most childish of them all is the one that the author of the Gospel (who, some critics allege was an otherwise unknown Christian living a little later than Justin) imitated that Father. This objection does scarcely need to be refuted, for anyone reading Justin will see in him the speculator, the theologian, while the narrative of John so simple, yet profound, does not show any tendency to speculate. Surely then the former must be derived from the latter. Besides, how would the reverse be possible since Justin quotes the Gospel, unless the alleged author of the Gospel and Justin had agreed about carrying out a scheme, that were a model of knavery. And how could this "pseudo-John" be so vile and yet be the author of the Fourth Gospel?

Another objection is that Justin obtained his ideas of the Logos not from John, but from Philo. About the differences between John and Philo I will write later on. In this connection it is sufficient to point out that Justin's idea of Logos agrees with the Gospel and differs from Philo's. The words of the Gospel "*καὶ ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο*", express the essence of Justin's idea of the Logos, but this idea of incarnation is foreign to Philonian speculation.

A graver objection is that Justin quotes loosely. This I admit, but he has that fault in common with most of the Fathers. Had we only two or three quotations, varying



more or less from the words of the Gospel to depend on, I would regard the objections valid. But we have more, for Justin's mode of thought, his theology, his forms of expression are powerfully influenced by the Gospel.

I have mentioned the fact that one of Justin's disciples wrote an harmony of the Gospels. This man is Tatian (110-172). The exact date of his Diatessaron is debated, but its date may be safely placed at 160-165, and hence about 20-25 years later than the first Apology of Justin.

The Diatessaron, whose original is lost, is preserved in translations (Armenian, Latin, Arabic and Egyptian) Zahn affirms that it was originally composed in Syriac, while this is positively denied by Harnack 1/, and this seems more plausible since the Syrians used the Greek name Diatessaron exclusively. It is known that this work of Tatian began with the opening words of the Gospel 2/, ended with a quotation from it (21: 25), worked up the substantial contents of Chapter 21 3/, and, according to the calculation of Harman contain about ninety per cent of the Fourth Gospel 4/. Moreover Godet reports, on the authority of the doctrine of Addus, ( composed about 250), that the people(of Edessa) "met for service and for prayer and for the reading of the Old Testament and the New in the Diatessaron". He also tells us that bishop Theodoret (c 420) "found in his diocese two hundred copies of Tatian's books", and since it was heterodox in some points he substituted for them "the Gospels of the four evangelists", 5/ This corresponds

1. Kurts' Church History Vol. I. p. 148
2. Godet: Commentary on N.T. Gospel of St. John, Vol I. page 149.
3. Zahn: Introd. to the N.T. Vol. 3, p. 250
4. Gilmore: The Johannean Problem. p. 32
5. Godet: Com. on the N.T. Gospel of St. John, Vol. I. page 149.

to what Zahn tells us "that the Diatessaron was primarily for ecclesiastical use, not for scholarly purposes". 1/ No wonder that Harnack in his article on Tatian in the Encycl. Brit. says: "We learn from the Diatessaron that about A.D. 160 our four Gospels had already taken a place of prominence in the Church, and that no others had done so; that in particular the Fourth Gospel had already taken a fixed place alongside of the three Synoptics"2/

Regarding the text of the Gospel used in the composition of the Diatessaron two remarks might be added:

(1) that "the Arabic versions ( of the Diatessaron) show very much closer agreement with the Curetorian Syriac than with the Greek of the Gospels"3/ (2) That Prof. Sanday has shown that the Gospel text does not represent the original autograph..... but that several copies had been taken,.... and the text of the copy used was very corrupt<sup>(2')</sup>". Hence, as Dr. Dods says, " the date of the Gospel is pushed back considerably".

Another of Tatian's works that deserves special mention here is his *Oratio ad Graecos*, composed about 153 A.D. There Tatian quotes our Gospel three times 4/, other books of Scripture seven times and the works of heathen authors nearly as often as the Bible. Since he is addressing Greeks it is natural that he should quote Greek authors. The fact that he quotes the Fourth Gospel just as often and as literally as the Gospel of Matthew, Genesis or the two principal Epistles of Paul, shows the rank the Fourth Gospel occupies in his estimation. On the other hand, the contents of the *Oratio* show plainly what importance he attaches to the Greek writers he quotes.

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1. Zahn: *Introd. to the N.T.* Vol. 2. p. 421
  2. 2' The *Expositors Greek Testament*. Vol. I. p. 661
  3. Gilmore: *The Johannan Problem* p. 32
  4. John I: 3, I:5; 4: 24.

At this stage I think it proper to emphasize the following facts:-

1. Justin quotes the Fourth Gospel and otherwise shows his dependence on it. He is often quoted by Irenaeus. Tatian, the pupil of Justin uses the Fourth Gospel alongside the Synoptics. Hence the probability, that in Justin's time the Fourth Gospel had attained the rank it now holds, rises almost to a certainty.

2. The statement of Theodoret, quoted above, shows that the Diatessaron was used in the Church and that the Christian congregations regarded the Gospels as valuable as the Old Testament. Hence I infer that the originals, from which Tatian drew his materials and all existing copies of them were held in no less honor than the Diatessaron itself.

3. That between 150 and 160 A.D., the Fourth Gospel was read and believed in Gaul, Italy, Africa, Asia, Minor and Egypt, - in fact throughout the civilized world, - and had been translated into Latin and Syriac. To attain such prominence and to be distributed so widely it must have been composed from 100 to 125 A.D. or earlier.

We have now left several important witnesses among whom are Polycarp, Ignatius, Papias and several Gnostics. Consideration of their testimony will, I believe, make it necessary to place the date of composition of the Fourth Gospel still earlier.

Marion has been placed in the ranks of the Gnostics by many writers, but it is questionable whether that classification is logical, for his procedure was different from theirs. Theirs was the attempt to reconcile Christianity and Greek philosophy, Marion made an entirely new system for himself, based on ten of the Pauline Epistles and most of the Gospel of Luke I/. His rejection of the rest of Scripture does not appear to be caused by any doubt concerning the

<sup>1.</sup> Omitting however Chap.'s I. II/ III. 2-38, IV 1-30

See Our: *The Virgin Birth of Christ*. p. 47.

authenticity, or genuineness of any of the books of Scripture, it was rather a natural consequence of his inability to harmonize the teachings of the Old Testament and the New. Accordingly, every book was discarded which he considered antagonistic to his rejection of the Old Testament, and the dual principle<sup>le</sup> of creation that he felt himself called upon to formulate, in order to solve, in his own way, the problem of evil. It is not surprising then, that he rejected the Fourth Gospel and its teachings of the pre-existence of the Logos. Moreover, even if Marcion had rejected the prologue he would have found little satisfaction in the rest of the Gospel. It is true that the Fourth Gospel is anti-Jewish; so is Marcion, (and this circumstance has been made much of at times, to show the existence of Pauline and Petrine parties in Marcion's time). But at this point the analogy fails. Repeatedly, references to the Old Testament appear I/ and these Marcion would not have tolerated. The sentence 'Salvation is of the Jews', may in one sense be said to be the key note of the Fourth Gospel for there is found the doctrine of atonement brought into light more strongly than in the Synoptics. And that atonement was the fulfilment of Old Testament prophecy, sounding almost like a refrain, through nearly all its books. When we consider that Marcion regarded Jehovah an evil Being, and the Jews, in a special sense 'His people' we are not surprised that Marcion did not make use of the Fourth Gospel. Hence on a priori grounds it does not prove that the Gospel had not been written in Marcion's time even if it were ~~not~~ proved that he never quoted it. Arguments from silence seldom if ever constitute proofs. In this case, however, such argument would be futile on other grounds.

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I. John 2: 16; 3:14; 4:22; 5: 39; 6: 32; 8: 56; 12: 41 etc.

The whole of John 13:4-15:34, 15:19, possibly also portions of John 6:33 f.f, were found in Marcion's Gospel 1/. Had we nothing more than this it would be sufficient to prove that Marcion knew the Fourth Gospel. But it is not difficult to adduce other proofs besides this. Tertullian in his book against Marcion 2/ says, " of the apostles therefore John and Matthew first instil faith into us, whilst of apostolic men Luke and Mark renew it afterwards. These all start with the same principles of faith". Having described those principles Tertullian says, " Of the authors whom we possess Marcion seems to have singled out Luke for his mutilating process". That Tertullian here names the writers of the Gospels in pairs is significant indeed. But when he says Marcion 'singled out' Luke's Gospel it must be inferred that Marcion also knew the other Gospels. This follows also elsewhere 3/, where Tertullian charges Marcion with "laboring very hard to destroy the character of those Gospels that are published as genuine," for Marcion could not labor to destroy that which he knew not of. This opinion of Tertullian is, however, more fully brought out 4/, when he says, " If you (Marcion) had not purposely rejected in some instances, and corrupted in others, the Scriptures that are opposed to your opinion, you would have been confuted by the Gospel of John, when it declares that the Spirit descended in the body of a dove and sat upon the Lord". This clear statement needs no comment. Marcion came to Rome in 138 A.D. he died in 165. His "Gospel" must have been written during that period. Hence it is evident that the Fourth Gospel was known in Rome about 158 A.D. or earlier.

1. Zahn : Introd. to the N.T. Vol 3.p.p. 176-177
2. Adv. Marc. IV. 2
3. Adv. Marc. IV. 3
4. De Carne Christi Ch. 3

Very likely Marcion possessed copies of the Gospels in Greek. But however this may be the fact remains that in Marcion's time the Gospel of John was accepted as the work of the Apostle in Rome, about the middle of the second century and hence we may safely infer that it was then recognized as such in Asia Minor, for it could not have been accepted in Rome without first being received nearer to its place of composition. Here I am assuming what I will try to prove later on, that the Fourth Gospel was written in Ephesus.

Heracleon, a disciple of the Gnostic Valentinus wrote a commentary on the Gospels, in the year 160 A.D. He quotes the Fourth Gospel as the other three, which shows that he regards it of equal rank with them. This is very significant, for the Gnostics could not use the Fourth Gospel to prove their wild theories except by doing gross injustice to the text. They had to exercise their talents to make the Gospels say what they desired, and they were so successful in this that Origen regarded it necessary to refute Heracleon, who, we may assume, merely wrote what was in harmony with the views recognized among the members of his sect. Obviously it would have been far easier for the Gnostics to deny the genuineness of the Fourth Gospel if such a course had been possible. But this they did not do, neither Marcion, Heracleon, or any one else. This proves that the Fourth Gospel was a book whose genuineness was recognized then and had been recognized by Christians and heretics alike, for a long time before the middle of the century, - had in fact "been recognized from the beginning," as Dr. Abbot says.

"Valentinus developed his system before the year 140, outlined his list of sons under the dominating influence of the Johannine prologue. The whole school of Valentinus

value<sup>d</sup> the Fourth Gospel highly and regarded it the work of an Apostle. " 1/ The names of the pairs of sons, *μονογενής, ζωή, ἀληθεία, χάρις, Πνεῦμα, φῶς, λόγος, Παράκλητος,* show conclusively the connection between the Fourth Gospel and the system of Valentinus. Some, who claim late authorship for the Fourth Gospel, think the reverse is the case, -that the Gospel was composed under the influence of the Gnostic system. But how does that correspond with the psychological maxim, " From the simple to the complex," that we know is all but <sup>the</sup> universal rule in matters of this kind? I believe it is far easier to account for the similarity between the prologue and the names of sons on the ground that the former was written first, for how could the Gospel <sup>have</sup> been received in Christian circles if the reverse were true? Besides, ~~xx~~ Tertullian tells us that Valentinus used all the Gospels entire. 2/ Add to this the statement of Hippolytus that Valentinus says that all the prophets and the law spoke according to the Demiurge,..... and that this is the reason why the Saviour said: " All those who came before me are thieves and robbers." 3/( Comp. John 10:8). Whether Hippolytus is right when he claims that Valentinus spoke in this manner is an idle speculation, for there is no particular reason to discredit his statement, no evidence to oppose to it so far as I have seen. And it is, on the whole, improbable that there was a difference concerning such a vital question between ~~xxx~~ that gifted leader and his "school." I conclude then, that Valentinus knew and recognized the Fourth Gospel as the work of an Apostle, especially since Heracleon recognized it. He would hardly

have done so if his master had doubted its genuineness

- 1/ Zahn: Introd. to New Test. Vol. 3.p. 176
2. De Praescr. haer. 36
3. Godet: Commentary on N.T. Gospel of St. John Vol. I. p. 155.

I will merely mention, in passing, the proofs we have that Ptolomus, a disciple of Valentinus, knew the Fourth Gospel. 1/, since Valentinus himself is an earlier writer. I pass on to examine what evidence I find regarding Basilides, a Gnostic leader who wrote about 125 A.D.

Basilides claimed to teach merely what he had heard from Matthias the apostle. Hence Basilides must have been a contemporary of Matthias, which is strengthened by the testimony of the Disputation of Archelaus and Manes, which states that Basilides lived "a little after the time of the apostles" 2/. It is of course incredible that Basilides derived his Gnostic ideas from the teaching of Matthias, but, with respect to time, the story is not improbable, for mere reference to apostolic authority would considerably strengthen the position of Basilides, and, on the other hand, had he invented the story of meeting that apostle, he would have been exposed at once.

The writings of Basilides are now lost, but fragments are saved in the writings of Hippolytus (Philosophumena). Yet we know of what nature his writings were. Eusebius tells us that he wrote twenty-four books on the Gospel; 3/ Clement of Alexandria talks about the "exegetica dissertations of Basilides". 4/ From these facts Godet infers that Basilides' work was an explanation of the Gospels

1. (a) Quotation (John 1:3) preceded by 'the Apostle says' (Epiph. Haer. 33:3-7)  
(b) Examples of Ptolomus' exegesis of John's prologue (Adv. Haer. I.8.5)
2. Godet: Commentary on N.T. Gospel of St. John Vol. I page 157.
3. Eus. Hist. Eccl. 7: 7.
4. Strom. 4:12.



This is rendered more plausible because Hippolytus tells us that Basilides quoted the Fourth Gospel I/ (John 1: 8; 2: 4) The quotations are exact. "The formulary 'in the Gospels', adopted by Basilides reads very like a recognition of an agreed collection of authorized accounts of our Lords' life and sayings".<sup>2/</sup>

The quotations are admitted genuine by many eminent scholars, such as Zahn, Abbot, Westcott, Hort and Matthew Arnold, besides many others. This is not merely argumentum ad verecundiam, for these scholars certainly differ in many topics. But even if these quotations emanate from the Basilidean "School" and not from its founder himself, Dr. Salmon's argument holds good. He says; "The Basilideans and orthodox agreed in their reverence for St. John's Gospel. Neither party would have acknowledged as authoritative any book published by the other in post-apostolic days. Therefore both sides must have acknowledged the Fourth Gospel before Basilides separated from the Church."<sup>3/</sup>

This fact is of very great importance for our problem, in fact it goes far to solve the question of authorship. The two sides were engaged in strenuous conflict during the second quarter of the second century; keen arguments and uncompromising fidelity to their cause characterized both sides. It is reasonable to suppose, even take for granted, that, at the time Basilides wrote, there were many men living, who had seen St. John. Basilides himself cannot have been in any doubt regarding the identity of the authors he quoted. On the other hand it is already shown that any book written during the Gnostic controversy could not speedily obtain recognition. Hence we have the choice of two conclusions, (1) that the Gospel was written by the apostle; on that hypothesis the early recognition of it is certain, or (2) that the Gospel was written later, by some 'pseudo-John'

1. Philos: 7:10, 7:15

2. Transl. of Ref. of all Haer. Edinb. 1870. Ed. note p. 22.

3. Salmon's Introd. to NT - page 55.

and then it is impossible to see any reason why the Gnostics accepted it, or why the traditional view of its authorship was universally accepted about 150 A.D.

I can scarcely dismiss my subject, as far <sup>as</sup> ~~at~~ the Gnostics are concerned, without mentioning the Ophites and the Peratae. There is, however, this difficulty to contend with, that it is very hard to determine the time during which they flourished. The American Encyclopaedia states <sup>that</sup> they were among the last of the Gnostic sects. Kurtz tells us 1/ ~~th~~ that the Naassenes were among the oldest sects of the Ophites. Hippolytus, who at this stage must be our chief authority since it is through him that we know their system, says: 2/ " I shall not be silent as regards the opinions (of heresarchs), who follow these (Ophites)," and since the translator of the works of Hippolytus, on whose work I depend, says that the discussion of the heretical systems dealt with is arranged in chronological order 3/, starting with the Ophites, I feel confident that the <sup>Naassenes were not later than</sup> Basilides, i.e. that they <sup>e</sup> flourished during the first quarter of the second century or still earlier. In fact I believe, from these indications, that the sect originated about 90 A.D. If this be not far from the mark, it is highly important to search for evidences of their dependence on the Fourth Gospel, if not, their testimony ~~is~~ still of value, showing that these ramifications of Gnosticism knew the Gospel also, early in the second century. To a later date it is not possible to ascribe their activity.

Evidences of their use of the Fourth Gospel are copious in the description of their system as given by Hippolytus. I insert a few of the references to the Fourth Gospel that I have found 4/ Others may be given.

1. Kurtz: Church Hist. Vol. I. p. III.
2. Philos. VI. I.
3. Ref. of all Haer. MacMahon, Edinb. 1870. Preface. p. 21.
4. (a) Philos V. 2; (b) c, d) Philos V: 3; (c) Philos V. II.

(a) "He (the Naassene) says that this is written: 'That which is born of the flesh is flesh, and that which is born of the spirit is spirit'. (John 3: 16).

(b) "For all things", he says, "were made by Him, and not even one thing was made without Him, and what was made in Him is life". (John 1: 3,4)

(c) "He says Jesus uses the words, 'I am the true gate'. (John 10:9).

(d) He says the Saviour has declared, "No one can come unto me, except my heavenly Father draw some one unto me". (John 6:44).

(e) "He (the Peratic) says it has been declared, 'In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God,.....' ( John 1: 1-4) I/

(f) "He says .... when Jesus remarks, 'Your father is a murderer from the beginning', he alludes to the Ruler and Demiurge of matter". (Comp. John 8: 44).

(g) "This he, ( the Peratic), says is what is spoken; 'I am the door'?. ( Comp. John 10: 7).

It would be just as easy to show that the Justinians and Sethians used the Fourth Gospel, or were at least acquainted with its contents. The former seems to me to be the true conclusion, not only because the words 'he says' are prefixed by Hippolytus when he shows their use of the sentences quoted from the Gospel, (which Godet thinks is a strong indication that Valentinus was familiar with the Gospel), but more especially because of the words 'it is written', quoted above ( 1a). It is impossible, in that case, to avoid the conclusion, that they were quoting written documents, unless one puts Hippolytus down for an inventor of the quotation, in which case he would have been very foolish

I/ (Continued) f.g, Philos V. 12.

to attempt to make it appear, that he was trying to refute a point the Naassenes never stated. I am convinced then, that the earliest Gnostic sects knew that the Fourth Gospel had been published in their time. The only alternative I can see, (if I give full credit to Hippolytus) is that some disciples of John in Asia had copied some of his sayings, and spread them, which is very improbable indeed, for the Gnostics would not in that case have found it necessary to pay any attention to it. It is only because they knew the Gospel as an authoritative document that they quoted it at all, as is further evidenced by the fact, that they quote other books of Scripture in the same way as the Gospel of John.

In consideration of the facts already enumerated, I think it can be safely inferred that the Gospel of John was not written later than about 90 A.D. as Zahn and others, who have given many years to the study of this problem, maintain. We have yet to deal with the writings of a few of the 'Elders' that Irenaeus refers to in connection with some of his statements, to see whether they corroborate this view or furnish arguments against it.

It is difficult, if not impossible, to ascertain with certainty the exact date of the public ministry of Polycarp. Zahn maintains that he died at the stake in the year 155, as I have quoted above. Others place his death at 166 or 169. The fact that he claims that he had served the Lord for <sup>six</sup> eighty years, 1/ when on his way to martyrdom, shows however that he must have been converted to Christianity when he was a young man. We can assume then, that he was born not later than about the year 80 A.D., Eusebius 2/ tells us that he was "an intimate disciple of the apostle" and "received the episcopate of the church at Smyrna, at the hands of the eye-witnesses of the Lord".

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1. Encycl. Ep. of Church at Smyrna. Ch. 9.
  2. Hist. Eccl. III. 36.

Comparing this with another statement of Eusebius I/ (which he quotes from Irenaeus ), I infer, that Polycarp must have been a disciple of John. He was one of the 'Elders' from whom Irenaeus derived his information, and moreover taught Irenaeus to revere Christianity.2/

Polycarp shows more than a passing acquaintance with St. John. In the first place the passage of Eusebius (IV: 14) proves this. Secondly the story of Polycarp's visit to Rome, in the time of Anicetus, to represent the Johannine side of the Paschal controversy 3/, shows beyond doubt whence Polycarp derived his doctrines. Thirdly, the story of St. John's flight from the bath-house in Ephesus, given on the authority of Polycarp,4/ shows how he valued even small incidents in the Apostle's life. Moreover, it seems to me that one cannot fail to observe that Polycarp's letter to the Philippians reflects the spirit of John, although the Fourth Gospel is never quoted there.

This letter, consisting of fourteen brief chapters, is most probably written in the year 110 A.D. We have these two quotations from the first Epistle of John. While he is exhorting the Philippians to avoid the Docetists he says/5/"For whosoever does not confess that Jesus Christ has come in the flesh is an antichrist" ( Comp. 1 John 4: 3). In the next chapter 6/ we find these words: "He ..... endured all things for us, that we might live in Him". (Comp. 1 John 4:9)

Now this is a very important fact, for everyone must admit that the writer of the First Epistle is also the author of the Fourth Gospel. Even Dr. Göllicher who takes pride in

1. Adv. Haer. III. 3.4. Eus. Hist. Eccl. IV. 14.
2. Eus. Hist. Eccl. V. 20.
3. Eus. Hist. Eccl. V. 24.
4. Eus. Hist. Eccl. IV. 14.
5. Ep. ad Phil 7.
6. Ep. ad Phil. 8.

never having allowed himself 'to be driven on a false road by special interests of theology', says on this point: "The writer of the First Epistle of John is identical with the writer of the Fourth Gospel" 1/. Which of the two was written first, is here a matter of minor importance. In the opinion of Lightfoot the Epistle is a commendatory postscript to the Gospel. 2/ Godet, also, offers demonstration that the Epistle was written after the Gospel. However, it is evident that Polycarp must have known the Gospel, for the date of composition of the Gospel cannot be far removed from that of the Epistle. Zahn places them both between 80 and 90 A.D. We can therefore, with, great probability, feel certain that Polycarp knew the Fourth Gospel.

Coming to the Ignatian Epistles I approach a hotly contested subject, and it would be highly presumptuous for me to attempt to judge between scholars of renown, with respect to their authenticity. It may be held as certain that the longer text of the Ignatian letters is spurious, for ~~this~~ this seems to be a universal opinion. But with respect to the shorter form, which I have read, I feel confident that they are by the same person. As Godet says, 3/ "There is a man in these letters, and a man who is not manufactured." Their style is unique; feeling so intense, humility so deep can only point to a common source. Zahn is certain about their genuineness. If he is right, which I am inclined to believe, basing my view on comparison of the quality of the contents of the Epistles, with what I have read and heard regarding the idiosyncrasy of Ignatius, his letters contain valuable testimonies to the early date of the Gospel. Moreover, Zahn tells us that the dependence of Ignatius upon

1. Jülicher: Introd. to N.T. p. 247.
2. The Expositor's Greek Testament. Vol. V.p. 156
3. Commentary on N.T. Gospel of St. John. Vol. I. p. 165.

John has been used as an argument against the genuineness and the antiquity of the Ignatian letters" I/ This dependence then, has, at any rate, been felt by many. A single quotation ( given by Godet 2/,) beside many others is the following from the Epistle to the Romans Ch. 7". The living water which speaks in me says to me inwardly: come to the Father, I take no pleasure either in corruptible food or in the joys of this life; I desire the bread of God which is the flesh of Jesus Christ ..... I desire as drink His blood, which is incorruptible love ." Godet says of the quotation: " The entire Gospel of John is, as it were, included in this cry of the martyr, but compare more especially the words (of the Gospel) 4: 14; 14: 6; 6: 27; 32, 51, 55, 56."

I contend then that these letters furnish proofs for the antiquity of the Gospel. If they are written by Ignatius, as is almost certain their date is about 110 A.D., if not how can we account for the fact that Eusebius mentions, not only his capture, travels and martyrdom, but also enumerates the very epistles that tradition ascribes to Ignatius. This strengthens immensely the belief that they are genuine. Eusebius tells us<sup>3/</sup> that tradition affirms that Ignatius was sent from Syria to Rome to suffer death on account of his testimony to Christ; that he exhorted the brethren, wherever he tarried, to remain steadfast in the faith; that he wrote many epistles which he designated by name, giving the substance of the fifth chapter of the letter to the Romans, and a part of the third chapter of the letter to the Smyrnaeans. Eusebius also explains that ~~Ignatius~~ Irenaeus quotes a passage from Ignatius. The passage is from Ep. ad Rom 4, and is quoted by Irenaeus 4/ without naming the author. All this tends

1. Zahn Introd. to N.T. Vol. 3. p. 176
2. Commentary on the N.T. Gospel of St. John Vol. I. p. 165
3. Eus. Hist. Eccl. III. 36
4. Adv. Haer. V. 28.

to show that in the time of Eusebius there was no doubt concerning the genuineness of the Ignatian letters. To my mind this appeal<sup>s</sup> more strongly than any mere theorizing can do. Hence I believe that the Ignatian letters are genuine.

Lastly let us note what Ignatius says I/ "... The Christians of Ephesus ... have ~~always~~ always been of the same mind with the apostles through the power of Jesus Christ". Is it possible that this church would at that very time or a few years later raise no ~~objection~~ protest if, as some hold, some otherwise unknown author wrote the Fourth Gospel during the first quarter of the second century, and tried to pass it as the work of the Apostle who had raised their church ~~at~~ to that state of efficiency?

The last person (to) whose testimony to the antiquity of the Gospel I will ~~adduce~~ adduce, is Papias of Hierapolis. It is admitted that he died in 155 A.D. Irenæus calls him a man of Christian antiquity (*ἀρχαῖος ἀνὴρ*) the hearer of John (*Ἰωάννου ἀκουστής*) and a companion of Polycarp (*Πολυκάρπου ἑταῖρος*) <sup>2</sup>. In a famous passage which Eusebius quotes from Papias, the writer claims that certain disciples of the Lord (*οἱ τοῦ Κυρίου μαθηταί*) were living at the time he wrote. Considering all this, it is evident, that he heard John preach, and was a contemporary of other disciples of Jesus as well, for it is more natural to take the descriptive phrase 'disciples of the Lord' to mean those that were<sup>s</sup> in a special sense, than a designation of the Christian community. Add to this the fact that we have (in Codex Regina 14 in the Vatican a very ancient document)

the following argument for the Gospel of John: 'Evangelium

1. Ep. ad Eph. II.
2. <sup>3</sup> *Godet* Commentary on the N.T. Gospel of St. John Vol. I. p. 42
3. *Ens. Hist. Eccl.* III. 39.

4. *Zahn: Introd. to N.T. Vol. 3. p. 196.*



Johannis manifestum et datum est ecclesiis ab Johanne adhuc in corpore constituto, sicut Papias nomine Hierapolitanus discipulus Johannis carus ..... in quinque libris retulit,<sup>3</sup> and it cannot be denied that Papias was both a contemporary of St. John and his personal disciple

Papias does not quote the Fourth Gospel in the fragment of his books that had been preserved, and which obviously belongs to the preface. But Eusebius I/ tells us that Papias quoted the First Epistle of <sup>John</sup>~~Peter~~. Hence he must have known the Fourth Gospel. According to the data given above he cannot have written his Oracles later than 110-120 A.D. He is then an important witness to the antiquity of the Gospel.

In the preceding pages I have summarized such evidence as I have found for the antiquity of the Gospel. I have tried to insert such historic facts as I could, believing that, after all, they are more to be relied on than more or less probable speculations, that too often become special pleas for such results as harmonize with the theological position of the writer. Reasoning historic evidence worthless, alleging motives, or arguing from mere silence of the historians about incidents it seems to us he ought to have spoken of, is, to say the least, liable to mislead. On the other hand I acknowledge that isolated statements of ancient authors may be fallacious, but when we have, - besides mere tradition, which, being all but universal and continuous throughout seventeen centuries is by no means to be despised, - an unbroken chain of historic evidence for the antiquity of the Gospel from apostolic times, I think it amounts to a proof.

Suppose now that the Gospel had been written from 100 to 32 110 A.D. as Julicher holds, by someone who was

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I. Eas. Hist. Eccl. III. 39.

not an apostle. Would Papias, Polycarp/ Ignatius and scores of others, who had seen the apostles have accepted it and quoted writings coming from the same pen? Would any of them have attested the truth of the <sup>contents of the</sup> Gospel? I/ In short: would not the churches of Ephesus and other Asiatic cities have protested at once, especially since the incidents and discourses which the Gospel told them of, were, for the most part, not found in the Synoptics? If it was written a little later, why did the Gnostics accept it as authentic? If it were written about the middle of the century why did Justin Martyr quote it in his Memoirs? Why did Tatian and Heraclion include it in their commentaries? Add to this the fact that we have an unbroken chain of personal acquaintance from Polycarp to Irenaeus, and that he has no doubt whatever regarding the antiquity and authorship of the Gospel, may it not be safely inferred that the Gospel was written about 80 to 90 A.D.? To my mind no other answer is possible.

This then completes my discussion of the date of composition. But who was the author? Before I try to answer that question I have to compare the traditional view with the rationalistic and produce such internal evidence as I find.

Even since the conflict about the authorship of the Fourth Gospel commenced, only two solutions have been considered possible so far as I know, - either that the Gospel is written by St. John, or by someone else, who wished to suppress his own identity, and gain apostolic authority for his composition by making it appear that the Apostle were the author. The pseudo John, or John the Presbyter is, in modern times, the only alternative offered by the rationalistic side. Different writers make him write at different  
I. Comp. John 21: 24.

periods during the second century.

I have already alluded to the difficulty this view has to contend against, on the historic side. To me, this difficulty seems all but insuperable. Another difficulty, nearly as grave as the first is met, when we compare the character of the literary works composed during the second century with that of the Synoptics, the Pauline Epistles and the Acts of the Apostles. This difference is so enormous that the most superficial reader cannot fail to notice it. Could then such masterpiece as the Fourth Gospel appear during the second century and yet "not raise a ripple on the calm surface"?

Yet, we search in vain for any such phenomena during the second century. No debates occur concerning the value of the Gospel, no doubts are expressed, except by the Alogi (and that most probably at a later date) who ascribe the Gospel to Cerinthus, a contemporary of St. John, which in itself is a remarkable fact. The Gospel is acknowledged by orthodox and heterodox writers throughout the century.

We have to suppose then that John the Presbyter either did not exist or that he was a contemporary of St. John himself, if, indeed, *ὁ πρεσβύτερος*, is not merely a designation given to the Apostle by his disciples and friends at Ephesus. Let us try to form an opinion regarding the plausibility of these theories.

The theory concerning John the Presbyter arises from two principal sources on the historic side. These are (1) a passage quoted from Papias by Eusebius 1/, and another quoted from Dionysius 2/, a pupil of Origen, by the same

1. Ens. Hist. Eccl. 111. 39.
2. Ens. Hist. Eccl. 111. 25.

historian. The first of these I will have to quote, in order to express my views concerning them.

The passage from Papias is as follows: " I shall not regret to subjoin to my interpretations, also, for your benefit, whatsoever I have at any time accurately ascertained and ~~xxx~~ treasured up in my memory, as I have received it from the elders, and have recorded it in order to give additional confirmation to the truth, by my testimony. For I have never, like many, delighted to hear those that tell many things, but those that teach the truth; neither those that record foreign precepts, but those that are given from the Lord, to our faith, and that come from the truth itself. But, if I met with anyone, who had been a follower of the elders any where, I made it a point to inquire what were the declarations of the elders. What was said by Andrew, Peter or Philip. What by Thomas, James, John, Matthew, or any other of the disciples of our Lord. What is said by Aristion and the (other) presbyter John, disciples of the Lord; for I do not think that I derived so much benefit from books as from the living voice of those that are still surviving."

It is evident that Papias places full reliance in the words of the 'elders' that he refers to, and that he discriminates between their words and the "foreign precepts". There are, in his opinion, legends invented and spread, in his time. The opinions of the 'elders', however, are accurate, they are the precepts that are "given from the Lord", "coming from the truth itself". Evidently it was Papias' custom to sift such evidence that he got hold of. Of all such evidence he places implicit confidence in the opinions of the 'elders'. There had been living in his time

some who had been followers of the "elders", he had met them and conversed with them. Who then were these "elders"? Papias tells us that in plain words. He says, "I made it a ~~point~~ <sup>point</sup> to inquire what were the declarations of the "elders" Then he explains by adding, "what was said by Andrew, Peter, Philip etc." It seems obvious that this is merely an explanatory enumeration, showing what "elders" he means. I infer, then, that the "elders" were the apostles themselves and their intimate associates. Papias evidently uses words rather loosely, hence I do not think much stress can be laid on single names as "elders", an uncommon designation of the apostles, but I trust rather to what I consider to be the sequence of thought in his narrative. Other authors, who wrote a little later than Papias, show the same tendency to use descriptive appellations loosely.

Ptolemaeus calls the evangelist now *Ἰωάννης ὁ μαθ. τοῦ Κυρίου*, now *ἀποστόλος*. 1/

Heracleon designates him first as *ὁ μαθητής*, in order to distinguish him from the Baptist and classifies him directly afterwards among *οἱ ἀποστόλοι*. (2).

Irenaeus regularly uses *μαθητής τοῦ Κυρίου*, when he speaks of John as the author of the Gospel 3/, yet he says in one place "now *σὺν* Johannem, sed et alias apostolos viderunt", in one place he calls the apostle *μαθ. τοῦ Κυρίου* and then ~~uses~~ includes him among the *οἱ ἀπόστολοι*. 4/. Eusebius quotes him as saying

"John, the disciple of the Lord and the other apostles" 5/

1. Iren. 1. 8, 5; Epiph. Haer. XXXIII. 3.
2. Origen. tom. VI. 2, in Jo. 3/ Adv. Haer. III. 1, 1. etc.
4. Adv. Haer. III. 3, 4, 5/ Hist. Eccl. V. 24.

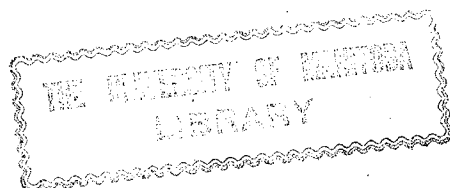
The statement " quartum evangeliorum Johannis ex  
discipulis " 1/, and the reference to Andrew as an apostle,  
yet one of the condiscipuli of John, is yet another instance  
of the habitual lack of exactness displayed by second cent-  
ury writers. The above examples, which I have copied from  
Zahn, should be enough to convince anyone that too much  
stress can be laid on the use of the name 'elder' by Papias.  
Nor was there present in his time any reason why he should  
strive to be exact. It was natural for him and his fellow-  
Christians to speak of the apostles as οἱ πρεσβύτεροι  
the ancient, the venerable. It is doubtful whether Papias  
claims to have received any information <sup>directly</sup> from the "elders",  
for, although he says he "treasures up in his memory"  
what he "received from the "elders" he does not say that  
he received information from them in person, and since he  
explains that he enquired from anyone who had been a  
"follower of the "elders", what they said (εἶπον ) there  
is reason to ~~think~~ think that at least the greater part of  
his information was received not from the apostles themselves,  
but their disciples. Yet, the fact that Cardinal Thomasius  
names Papias ' discipulum Johannis carum', as I have  
shown above, shows that John and Papias were contemporaries.  
This is also arrived at in another way. The order of nam-  
ing the apostles is obviously derived from the Fourth  
Gospel, showing that Papias had read it, and unconsciously  
follows it, rather than the Synoptics, which shows that  
he had made special study of that Gospel. Now, when Papias  
has named all the apostles he had heard anything from --  
1. Can. Mur. 1. 9.

concerning the Lord, he changes the tense. "What is said ( λέγεται ) by Aristion and the Presbyter John, disciples of the Lord". Why does he change the tense? Because those in the second list were not dead at the time he wrote, nor does that necessarily mean that those named in the first group were so either. But Papias had enquired from thoses who had heard the apostles, about the ~~things~~ doings and discourses of Jesus. He begins to specify their names, and very naturally includes in the list all those he had any reports from. He includes John also, - and is it unnatural that he enquired from others concerning such sayings of John as he had not himself heard? - but then wishes to imply that one of those he had named were yet alive, and so includes him in the second group also, along with Aristion. The designation "disciples of the Lord" at the close of both lists, proves that he considers members of both groups of the same authority, if, indeed, any stress can be laid on that coincidence, which I do not claim, but merely that, if that course be taken, the above explanation is the most probable, as well as the simplest. To attempt to get rid of the words 'disciples of the Lord', as a gloss, seems to me unreasonable.

To Eusebius it seems that this passage of Papias implies that there were two Johns in Asia, which is denied by Julicher. Well, we have two ancient authors: Eusebius, who thinks that Papias here confirms the story of the two graves in Ephesus 1/, and Irenaeus who knows that Papias was a

disciple of St. John 2/.

1. Ens. Hist. Eccl. III. 39.
2. Adv. Haer. V. 33, 4.



Eusèbius lived about 325 A.D. and gives his story as his own opinion merely. Irenaeus lived from 135 to 189 A.D., and he states what he says as a fact. The former made a theory, the latter~~#~~ stated what we have reason to believe he knew well. I, therefore, give more heed to the opinion of Irenaeus. Moreover it seems certain, that, if there really existed another John, who wrote the Gospel, during the lifetime of John the apostle, or within a few years after his death, he could not at that time have given publicity to it and passed it as the work of the apostle, unless he had been the amenuensis of St. John, in which case St. John would be the author. The publication would have had no chance to obtain recognition so early as it did, and without ant strife, by friends and foes alike, under any othe conditions. Otherwise the Christians of Ephesus, Smyrna etc. would have remonstrated. At a later date the Gospel was not written as I have shown above.

An interesting sidelight bearing on this subject is found in the remarks of Papias about the order of St. Mark's composition. He says that Mark was the interpreter (*ἑρμηνεύς*) of Peter, wrote down accurately all that he remembered of the things that were either said or done by Christ, but not in order. How did he know? It is very unlikely that he saw St. Peter, or heard him preach. No person could have told Papias this except St. John himself. None else would be able to speak with authority on this topic, at that time.

I am fully aware, that some critics of renown maintain that this Presbyter John was a certain supernumerary apostle, closely allied with the Twelve and yet not one of them.



Why then do we not hear of him in the Gospel? It is evident that the one by that name who was present in the garden, saw the transfiguration, came with Peter to the sepulchre etc. It is likely that the apostle was present at the last Supper, for that event seems to have been celebrated by the Twelve and the Master Himself only. If so, it was the apostle also that "leaned on the breast of Jesus", and is named "the disciple that Jesus loved". Time and time again we read that Jesus took only the ~~three~~ with Him. "Peter, James and John". It is then very unlikely that there was another John, not one of the Twelve, but almost identified with that group, and yet not a passing mention of him in the Synoptics.

Lastly let us notice again the opinion of Eusebius, which is contrary to the tradition of the church and the opinion of writers of renown before his time. Papias says: "If I met with anyone who had been a follower" of the "elders" anywhere I made it a point to inquire what were the declarations of the "elders" (*τοὺς τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἀνέκρνον λόγους*) He designates the apostles by the name of "elders" as Eusebius holds. Papias uses the same word again to designate John when he mentions that name again, but does not so designate Aristion. Why so? If it means anything with respect to rank it implies that this John also is of the same rank as the members of the first group, - in other words. Papias names that apostle twice. But all of these are *ματ. τ. κειμένων* Why does Eusebius not see this indication? Simply because his eye is directed to the two groups, he recognizes the names of the apostles in the first,

and then infers that the others are placed separately because they belong to a subordinate rank. His mind is pre-possessed with the story of the two graves at Ephesus, he notices in the arrangement of Papias a support for that theory, giving more heed to form than thought. He did not mean to contradict truth; the clumsy arrangement of the narrative of Papias led him into error.

I believe then that the 'Presbyter John' whom Papias mentions here is St. John himself, recognizing that on this point, many eminent writers, among the orthodox authors hold the opposite view, among them is Godet, the man, whose judgment, on such <sup>a</sup> question, is more valuable than <sup>that</sup> of any other author that I have read. But on this point I must differ from him.

Coming to the passage quoted from Dionysius by Eusebius which is too long to be reproduced here in full, I will only give its important points arranged in order.

He begins the chapter telling us that some have ascribed the Apocalypse to Cerinthus. This opinion he disposes of successfully, and expresses his appreciation of the book, confessing that he is unable to understand it fully, yet his admiration for its contents does not decrease on that account. He does not deny that the book is written by a man called John, - but not the son of Zebedee. His reasons are as follows:

(1) That the evangelist never <sup>gives</sup> ~~prefixes~~ his name either in the Gospel or Epistles, but the author of the Apocalypse states his name three times.

(2) That the Gospel and Epistles may be traced back

to a common origin on the basis of internal evidence (similarity of thought, general tone, certain catch words, style etc ), which he says is unlike the Apocalypse.

(3) Specially the contrast between what he calls ~~xxxxxxxx~~ 'barbarism and solecism' of the Apocalypse and the elegant diction of the Gospel. On these grounds he conjectures that the Gospel and the Apocalypse belong to different authors. He, however, does not claim any real knowledge ~~of~~ about the matter, except that St. John was the author of the Gospel and the Epistles. Hence Dionysius may be added to the group of authors whose testimony to the antiquity of the Gospel I have adduced.

It is beyond the range of this thesis to discuss the authorship of the Apocalypse. I mentioned the arguments of Dionysius merely to show that he himself does not feel capable to offer any proofs regarding even the existence of 'Presbyter John'. He merely conjectures, hence he does not seem to be an authority on the matter at all.

Now it may be asked: ' Why did not Dionysius avail himself of the passage I quoted from Papias? It is unlikely that he did not see the Oracles, for Dionysius was born nearly half a century after the death of Papias. Arguing from silence, with some considerable degree of probability, I infer that Dionysius did not find in the writings of Papias so strong <sup>an</sup> indication of dual authorship as to think it worth producing to prove his conjecture. Moreover, if Papias, indeed, implies that there was a second John, Dionysius distinctly declares that our Gospel was not written by him for he directly accredits St. John with its

authorship.

An interesting fact should be noticed here. Dionysius was pupil of Origen, whose tutor was Clement of Alexandria, whose testimony concerning the Fourth Gospel I have treated already. He states, without any hesitation the story concerning the composition of the "spiritual Gospel". This makes the testimony of Dionysius more valuable than it would otherwise be.

If the arguments presented up to this point have value they prove:- (1) that the Gospel was written about 80 -90 A.D., (2) that it could not have been written by a Gnostic (3) that about the end of the first century (110 A.D.) its value was not questioned by the disciples of the Apostle, (4) that after that time its genuineness was not questioned either by heretics or Christians, (5) that it is, to say the least, very doubtful whether the person called "Presbyter John" really did exist, (6) that even if he did exist it is highly improbable that he wrote the Gospel.

Now let us take a brief survey of the contents of the Gospel itself, to see whether the internal evidence harmonizes with the external, which we now have before us. Here I approach a more familiar ground; nevertheless this part of my subject has been so fully treated, by different writers that I cannot advance any claim to originality.

The most difficult question to decide at the outset is whence the writer of the Fourth Gospel derived his idea of the Logos. I have not the works of Philo; hence I cannot form my judgment independently. But all the authors I have read on this subject (Westcott, Godet, Zahn, Sanday, Salmon, Abbot, etc.) state, that Philo never speaks of the Logos as incarnated. This doctrine is emphasized in St. John. There is the fundamental difference between Philo and the Fourth Gospel. To Philo as other Platonists it would be the height of folly to think that the divine and human could

become one. The material things were in their opinion evil. Sin, they said, arises from matter. The soul is defiled by connection with the body. The thought that the Logos appeared in a human person having both soul and body, was odious to them.

With John the appearance of the Logos is a postulate of eternal love, and at the same time an historical fact; with Philo the notion of the Logos is a metaphysical theory. Philo uses the term to denote the Divine reason, the *ἰδέα ἰδεῶν* when he wishes to denote the idea that the word *λόγος* stands for in the Gospel, he also uses the word *ῥήμα* along with the other. Thus he says *τῷ ἑαυτοῦ λόγῳ ῥήματι* and says the world was made *διὰ ῥήματος τοῦ αἰτίου*. John says the Logos came to enlighten every man that comes into the world. Not so in the Philonic system. There are some men, the sages, that by immediate contemplation rise to the knowledge of God without the aid of the Logos. Philo's language is not clear, John's is as vivid as can be, with Philo the Logos is sometimes personal and sometimes he treats it as if it were not. John treats ~~(Philo)~~ of the Logos as an historic, living Being, energizing and enlightening the world, yet that Being is God. Philo, it is true, thinks of the Logos as a second God- *πρὸς τὸν δεῦτερον θεόν, ὅς ἐστιν ἐκεῖνον λόγος* (Sanday), and the Word was Himself God, and the *ὄργανον* of creation. Moreover the attributes ascribed to the Logos are to a certain extent similar. Philo's Logos also is free from sin, is a <sup>s</sup>teersman, father, guide, etc. Yet it seems to me that, on the whole, the Logos of Philo is rather an effusion of Divine Power, an eternal emanation from God, than a distinct separate Person. And the vivid picture of Christ that the Fourth Gospel shows is essentially human as well as divine, the Logos of Philo is essentially free from human attributes.

Both writers were students of the Old Testament. It is therefore impossible to decide whether the writer of the Fourth Gospel is influenced to any extent by the ideas of Philo or not. The term used is the same in both; the characteristics differ. Hence I think that the true solution is that Philo's ideas had made their way to the places where the Gospel was written, brought to Ephesus by Alexandrian Jews, or that the writer of the Gospel had heard of the Philonic doctrine while in Palestine. The first I consider more probable. If so, ~~that~~ the author of the Gospel had occasions to debate the respective merits of Christianity, and the philosophy of Philo. He sees the <sup>point</sup> of resemblance, and when he writes, introduces the name Logos, but uses it to denote Christ, personal, historic, divine and true. It is the same kind of tact as St. Paul uses in "Athens I/", and for the same purpose. It merely shows high homiletic skill. The resemblances between the two doctrines are skilfully used to bring out clearly the differences that exist, yet without harping on the imperfections of Philonism or even naming it. These differences show that the author of the Gospel was not a student of Philo but a disciple of Christ.

I admit then that the writer of the Gospel was dependent on Philo to the extent of using some of his special catch-words. Thus far the charge is true, but he uses them for the purpose I have shown above. It is an admirably constructed preface to <sup>induce</sup> ~~include~~ his immediate readers to give heed to his narrative.

This discussion opens the way to consider <sup>or</sup> ~~for~~ whom the author of the Fourth Gospel wrote. He wrote in Greek and his readers were acquainted with the Logos doctrine of Philo. Hence they were Greek-speaking people. But what can we learn from the Gospel regarding its author?

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I. Acts 21: 23.

The customary procedure in studying the Gospel for this purpose is to show that (1) the writer was a Jew, (2) of Palestine, (3) an eye-witness, (4) an apostle, (5) John the son of Zebedee. This will also be my arrangement.

That the writer was a Jew is shown by his use of the Greek language. The author thinks in Hebrew though he writes Greek. His Greek is faultless, but it is because he attempts so little. His sentences are short. The rounded periods so natural to the Greek language are wanting. The optative is never used. His use of particles is confined to a few. He uses co-ordinate conjunctions where adversative relation is intended, as for instance in this sentence:

"I am come in my Father's name and ye receive me not:..... How can ye believe which receive glory of one another, and yet the glory that cometh from ~~and~~ the only God ye seek not" ~~and~~ I/ This is obviously Hebraism, for in Hebrew the same word ( / ) means both "and" and "yet" and "but". The word *ἀλλήλ* doubled twenty times in the Gospel at the beginning of declarations is also a sign of Hebrew origin. The author explains Hebrew proper names to his readers, such words as Cephas, Messias, Golgotha, Thomas, Rabboni, Gabbatha. This is an indication that the author was a Jew, although it is by no means a decisive one, but it proves that the author was writing for some that needed that explanation.

The author is well learned in the Old Testament prophecies. He quotes the Old Testament about twenty times.

He is acquainted with Jewish habits of thought, and their customs. Baptism was known to the Jews before the advent of John the Baptist. This is also brought out indirectly in the Gospel. The Baptist is not asked what new thing he is doing, but why he baptised, since he did not claim for himself any official position<sup>2</sup>. He knows

1. John 5: 43, 44.

2. John 1: 25;

the Vivalry between the Jews and the Samaritans 1/, he knows the Rabbinical notions that sickness is caused by sin 2/ the rule against conversing with a woman 3/, the act of purification before the passover 4/, "the water-pots after the manner of purifying of the Jews 5/ the fear of the members of the Sanhedron to pollute themselves by entering the Praetorium 6/, and the scruples about allowing the bodies to remain on the cross on the Sabbath-day 7/. He knows the current opinion respecting the Messiah 8/, the estimate of the national schools 9/, the estimate of Abraham and the Prophets 10/ and above all, the anti-Gnostic declaration 'Salvation is of the Jews' 11/ corroborates the claim of the Jews to be the people of God, chosen in a special manner, and the problem concerning the Messiah.

The author knows the Jewish customs regarding feasts. He alone tells us about three passovers; from the narrative in the Synoptics alone we would be inclined to infer that our Lord's ministry lasted one year only; John tells us about three passovers 12/ and a fourth feast 13/ which may have been a passover. He tells us that the last day of the feast of Tabernacles was the great day of the feast 14/ thus showing the minuteness of his knowledge of the Jewish customs.

That he was a Jew of Palestine is best shown by the fact that he prefers the original of the Old Testament, to the version, (Septuagint) where they differed.

1. Ch. 4/; 2. 9:2; 3. 4: 27.; 4/ 11: 55;  
5/ 2: 6; 6/ 18: 28; 7/ 19: 31; 8/ 1: 19-28, 45-49,  
51; 4: 25; 6: 14, 15; 7: 26, etc.; 11/ 4: 22.  
9/ 7: 15; 10/ 8: 52, 53, etc.;  
12/ John 2: 13-23; 6: 4; 13: 1; 18: 28.  
13/ 5: 1; 14/ 7: 37;



He there takes the liberty to translate from the Hebrew text 1/, (~~Zech~~<sup>Isaiah</sup> Zech 12:10; Ps 41:9). This fact alone proves Palestinian descent of the author. Had any "Jew of the Dispersion" written it he would have followed the Septuagint; so would also a Gentile author. His topographical knowledge furnishes additional proof. I will write down only a few of such instances. "He knows Cana in Galilee 2/, a small town mentioned by no earlier writer, Bethsaida is the native place of Philip, Peter and Andrew 3/, Aenon is near Salina where John baptized 4/ Jacob's well was 'deep' 5/, and so it was (more than a hundred feet) .

The author has minute knowledge of Jerusalem and its suburbs. He knows of the treasury 6/, the location of the garden and the brook Kedron 7/. Pilate sat in judgment in a place called Gabbatha 8/, <sup>3</sup>J<sup>3</sup>esus was led forth to Golgotha 9/. The author knows of the contempt that the inhabitants of Judea regarded the Galileans with 10/. He knows the haughty manners of the Phariseans and Sadducees, and their opinion of the common people 11/ "The people who knoweth not the law are cursed".

He knows the prejudices of each sect among the Jews. He hints, what is otherwise proved, that the Sadducees were the ruling faction in the Sanhedrim in our Lord's time although fewer in number. The chief priests were of the sect of the Sadducees. But the chief priests had to cater to the wishes of the more populous party, as was very natural from political standpoint. The Gospel shows that its authors ~~were~~ aware of this fact. The Pharisees are the prosecuting element of the Sanhedrim, the chief priests

1/ 19:37; 12: 40; 13: 18. 2/ 2: 1-11; 4: 46.  
3/ 1:44; 4/ 3: 23. 5/ 4: 11. 6/ John 1/8:20.  
7/ 18:1. 8/ 19:13. 9/ 19: 17. 10/ 1: 46, 7:41; 7:52.  
11/ 7: 49.

merely act as their executive.

It is noteworthy that the Synoptics name both sects; on the other hand we read in the Fourth Gospel

"οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ φαρισαῖοι."

These ἀρχιερεῖς usually remain in the background, but become specially active after Lazarus was raised from the dead, as was very natural since they denied the possibility of resurrection. Furthermore the author shows minute knowledge of the coarse, haughty manner of the Sadducees, when he tells us the remark of Caiaphas 'ye know nothing at all'. That this is a true delineation of the manner of Sadducees we know from Josephus.

One of the strongest arguments to prove that the author was a Palestinian Jew is the historical accuracy he displays about the temple of Herod 1/. Here I will quote verbatim the words of Bishop Lightfoot 2/. "Let us suppose the Gospel to have been written in the middle of the second century, and ask ourselves what strong improbabilities the hypothesis involves. The writer must first have made himself acquainted with a number of facts connected with the temple of Herod. He must not only have known that the temple was commenced in a particular year, but also that it was incomplete at the time of our Lord's ministry. So far as we know he could have got these facts only from Josephus. Even Josephus however does not state the actual date of the commencement of the temple. It requires some patient research to arrive at this date by a comparison of several passages. We have therefore to suppose, first, that the forger of the Fourth Gospel went through an elaborate critical investigation for the sake of ascertaining the date. But, secondly, he must have made himself acquainted with the chronology of Gospel history.

1/ John 8: 30.

2/ Quoted by Gilmore: The Johannine Problem p. 30-31.

At all events he must have ascertained the date of the Commencement of our Lord's ministry. The most favorable supposition is that he had before him the Gospel of Luke, though he no where else betrays the slightest acquaintance with the Gospel. Here he would find the date he wanted, reckoned by the years of the Roman governors. Thirdly, after arriving at these two results by separate processes, he must combine them; thus connecting the chronology of the Roman emperors, with the chronology of the Jewish kings, the chronology of the temple erections with the chronology of our Lord's life.

When he had taken all these pains, and worked up the subject so elaborately, he drops in the notice which has given him so much trouble in an incidental and inobtrusive way. It has no bearing on his history; it does not subserve the purpose of his theology. It leads to nothing, proves nothing. Certainly the art of concealing art was never exercised in a more masterly way than here. And yet this was an age which perpetuated the most crude and bungling forgeries, and is denounced by modern criticism for its utter incapacity of criticism".

"It leads to nothing, proves nothing," Lightfoot says. For almost all of the many signs of the author's topographical and historical knowledge this observation is valid. What proves my point is not so much the fact that these incidents are recorded as their unobtrusive, artless spontaneity. We can discern no purpose, yet most of them demand deep and thorough study/ from any Gentile or Jew of the Dispersion. Is it likely then that a second century forger would or could become so thorough a student of Jewish history or Palestinian topography~~xxx~~, especially in an age when they were most cruelly treated, most thoroughly despised - had become a nation without a home. Who would now think of studying as thoroughly the history of medieval or modern

Greece as that of ancient Hellas, yet the comparison falls far short of the mark. On the other hand, if the author were a Palestinian Jew, all these remarks, that show, in an incidental way, the author's grasp of the minutiae of detail would come without any conscious effort, and be sure to appear, as they, indeed, so frequently do.

In connection with this charge of forgery, so frequently asserted, and with so much self-confidence, I believe it is incumbent on those that make such assertions to show in whose interest such forgery was written, and, in the second place, among what class of people such a man would be likely to appear? Would a thorough Christian do this, and then try to connect the name of St. John with his act? An act of forgery involves conscious and pre-mediated duplicity, such that a real Christian would shrink from it. Besides, the Fourth Gospel shows fully as intimate knowledge of Jesus as the Synoptics. The author was thoroughly imbued with the spirit of Christ. If he were a forger he was a psychological enigma.

Was it a lukewarm Christian? Such <sup>a</sup> person would be likely to be arrogant and boastful. Why then is the name of John, the supposed writer, not even mentioned? Besides, the writer, whoever he was, was a model of Christian humility. The very identity of one the writer wishes to personify is hid from view. This, too, is an unlikely view.

Was it a Gnostic, as some hold? How then can we explain the fact that the Father found in it an armory of weapons against the Gnostics, and Marcion purposely rejected it? If the author was a Gnostic he was of a small mental calibre, which does not compare very favorably with the profound insight displayed by the writer.

Was the author a Jew, who cherished the memories of the past, - a devout believer in Mosaic revelation and the

words of the prophets, but no more? No; for in that sense the Fourth Gospel is certainly anti-Jewish. Proofs of this appear on almost every page, so it is useless to enumerate them.

Was it a Philonist? How then can we account for the fact that the subject of the Gospel is in fundamental opposition to Platonic tenets? "The Word became flesh and dwelt among us and we beheld His glory". This is the keynote of the Gospel, and is antagonistic to Platonic dualism.

Secondly, the quality of the Gospel itself is the strongest protest possible, not only when we compare its aim, piety and spiritual insight and didactic skill with works written during the second century, but with any uninspired religious book. So great is the difference that a comparison is scarcely possible. The author combines with the unflinching skill of heart and mind the deepest wisdom of a Christian sage with the simplicity and candor of a child. Some parts of the Gospel are such that no mere man ~~xxx~~ could have formed the ideas contained in them. Take for instance Chapter 17. I assert with all confidence that no merely human being could have written that prayer without having heard its substantial contents from the lips of Jesus. We are thus led, even by a priori considerations to enquire whether the author was an eye-witness of the scenes he describes or not. The following facts furnish the proof required.

What is most readily retained in memory after reading the Gospel even superficially are minute details concerning

times of actions or occurrences. These are recorded in great numbers and for them at least no possible motive could be found on the assumption that the Gospel were written by a forger. The two disciples visit Jesus at the tenth hour 1/, the Baptist sees Jesus the day after he answered the Levites 2/ Jesus went to Galilee gave the name Cephas to Peter 3/, He went to the marriage-feast at Cana on the third day after He spoke to Nathanael 4/, He sat down at the well in the sixth hour 5/, He dwelt with the Samaritans two days 6/ the son of the nobleman of Capernaum regained his health at the seventh hour 7/, the people observe that there was no boat in the place the morning after the disciples started to cross the sea 8/, Jesus declares that if anyone thirst that one should come to Him 9/, etc., on the last day of the feast, He tarried two days after they heard of the sickness of Lazarus 10/, the body had lain in the grave four days when Jesus came 11/, Jesus went to Jerusalem six days before the passover 12/, a great multitude was gathered to the feast 13/, the morning after seeing Jesus and Lazarus at Bethany, the sixth hour 14/, the eve of the Sabbath 15/, the first day of the Sabbath 16/, the evening of that day 17/, eight days 18/, etc. To insert these details serves no purpose whatever, but would come quite naturally if the writer were one of the group of the

- 1/. John 1: 40; 2/. John 1: 29; 3/. John 1: 44;  
4/. JOHN 2: 1; 5/. John 4:6; 6/. John 4:40; 7/ John 4:52;  
8/ John 6:22; 9/ John 7:37; 10/ John 11:6; 11/ John 11:17;  
12/ John 12:1; 13/ John 12:12; 14/ John 19: 14;  
15/ John 19: 31; 16/ John 20:1; 17/ John 20:19; 18/ John 20: 11; 18/ John 20:26;

personal disciples of Jesus. A forger would certainly give heed to make his narrative serve the purpose of writing, he might even attempt to heighten the effect of his work by graphic portrayal of scenes, but it is impossible that he would continually insert these spontaneous notes of time. All such are obviously undesigned.

All persons described in the Gospel are described in such a way that it seems the writer had them vividly before him. Of this fact I think orthodox writers have made too much. Shakspeare and many other creative minds give us lifelike personae dramatis, So do Milton, Goethe and many others. But it seems to me that, despite all their skill, there is a more or less of an effort to render such characters vivid and natural. There is Art at her highest, but the doubtful reader is more or less conscious of that fact. Not so with the Fourth Gospel. If the Gospel is anything but what it purports to be,-- a narrative of events seen by the writer,-- the author was the greatest poet the world has produced. "Summa ars artem celavit". And yet all attempts to know even his name end in an interrogation mark : To my mind this seems almost miraculous escape from notoriety.

But there are other indications of apostolic authorship that I have not yet pointed out. The loaves the boy had were barley loaves 1/. A forger might have specified their number, though it is very unlikely, but he would not have told us what kind of loaves they were. Details like these are very common in the Gospel. References to a few of them are given in a footnote 2/, in order to economize

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1/ John 6:9; 2/ John 9:9; 12: 2,3; 19: 1-7; 20: 2,4, 5,7,8,11<sup>2</sup>, 16, 26, etc.

space.

The eighteenth and twentieth chapters are especially crowded with indications that show that the author was an <sup>eye</sup>~~ear~~-witness. The minute tracing of the course from the city to the garden, the description of the group led by Judas, their falling to the ground when Jesus spoke to them, the trial scene, which is so minutely and graphically depicted that one is naturally led to think that the "other disciple" (18:15) was the author himself, - these are strong indications indeed.

Lastly, I will point out a few instances where the author makes a direct claim to be an eye-witness. When he says: "The Word..... dwelt among us and we beheld His glory etc; I instructively think of the scene of transfiguration. To be sure the personal disciples of Jesus "beheld His glory" during the whole period of their discipleship, but yet it seems to me that the author must have had specially in his mind those instances when that "glory" was least veiled, such as the transfiguration and the appearances of the Lord after the resurrection. The argument that the "we" in this verse refers to the whole number of Christians is strained, for evidently the Gospel purports to come from a group, from a small body of Christians who bear witness to the Christian Church.

Now let us look at 19: 35:- "And he that hath seen hath borne witness, and his witness is true, and he knoweth that he saith true, that ye also may believe". It is not possible to express more clearly the claim to be an eye-witness whether Zahn or Sanday express the right view when they



they think the second "he" (*ἐκεῖνος*) refers to Christ.

If that is true the latter part of the sentence has the force of an oath, if not the statement *ὁ εὐρακὴς μαρτυροῦν* is still an indisputable indication.

The passage 1 John 1:1-3 is yet more specific. "That which our hands have handled", the author says. Harnack may be able to dispose of John 1:3-14 as "mystical vision" as Sanday reports; this statement however is such that it cannot be explained in that way. Moreover, since the word *θεᾶσθαι* used twenty-two times in the New Testament, and always in the sense of bodily visions 1/, there is no special reason that it should not retain the same meaning in 1 John, also, and hence also the word *ἐθεασάμεθα* in John 1: 14.

All the passages enumerated above, besides many others point to the same conclusion. The author was an eye-witness. But if that is admitted one has to look for him among the Twelve, for he claims knowledge that no one <sup>else</sup> could have possessed. He knows that the disciples believed in Him after the miracle of Cana 1/, that they were surprised that He should talk to a woman 2/, that they were afraid seeing Jesus walk on the sea 3/, that they were mystified at the Master's sayings 4/, they did not yet understand the Scripture 5/, etc. He knows the mind of Jesus, the reasons of His acts, 6/ and the haunts of the disciples 7/. He also knows the Master's feelings 8/. It is entirely impossible that anyone not

1/. John 2:11; 2/. 4:27; 3/. 6:19; 4/. 6: 60; 13: 22, 28; 5/. 20: 9; 6/. 2:24; 5:6; 25 6:25; 7:1. etc.  
7/. 11:54; 18:2; 20:19. 8/ 11:33, 38, etc.

belonging to the circle of intimate disciples could have borne witness to these things. Hence the author was an apostle; hence by a very simple process of exclusion the apostle John, for of all the apostles the only ones that could ~~xxx~~ seriously be thought of in this connection are the three that were most intimate with Jesus: Peter, James and John. Both these <sup>James and Peter</sup> apostles <sub>1</sub> were put to death before 70 A.D. John was the only one living at the time the Gospel was written and in the region where tradition affirms that the Gospel was written.

There are three facts, however, that seem to me to be more weighty than all others of the internal evidence to determine who the author was. I will now discuss them one by one.

I. In the Synoptic Gospels the brothers John and James are mentioned very often. They are conspicuous there being named after Peter in the list. How does it come then that in the Fourth Gospel John's name is never mentioned, and when the Baptist is spoken of ~~he~~ is simply named John? Not this only, but the same silence is maintained regarding the mother of Jesus. If St. John is not the author of the Gospel this circumstance is wholly inexplicable, but otherwise the reason is clear: John delights in being remembered as 'the disciple who Jesus loved', and partly from this and partly because of his modest nature he refrains from mentioning <sup>ing</sup> his own name, ~~xxxx~~ and withholds also the names of the members of his family as well as the name of his adopted mother. He screens the names of the nearest and dearest from the public gaze. For himself it is the greatest, purest and keenest delight to be known simply as 'the disciple whom Jesus loved' whether we hold with Canday that he unconsciously imitates the Master when He named Himself Son of Man, or we assign any other cause. I believe rather that the omission of these names results merely from the temperament of John, and his

love for the Master. But, at any rate: this circumstance is an enigma if St. John was not the author.

2. The 'disciple that Jesus loved' was present at the crucifixion 1/, and the Master committed his mother to his care. We do not find this in the records of the Synoptics; it is mentioned in the Fourth Gospel only. How natural to infer that the disciple to whom the charge was committed wrote the narrative that states this circumstance, and how unlikely that a forger would have invented that story! But this is not all. This disciple is present at the Last Supper: he is one of the Twelve 2/. Jesus answers him alone, when he is asked about the traitor. This disciple leaned on the breast of Jesus 3/. "John who rested on the bosom of the Lord", as the author of the Gospel is so frequently named by the Fathers is therefore 'the disciple whom Jesus loved'. This disciple is working with Peter after the resurrection; both are present when the miraculous draught of fishes was given them 4/. This disciple was close by when the Lord gave to Peter the charge to feed His sheep. 5/. The evangelist tells us that the opinion that this disciple would never die was derived from this circumstance, by the "brethren"

But this is exactly the same belief concerning St. John that we find a little later in Asia Minor. Concerning this "disciple whom Jesus loved" this is the disciple that bears witness concerning these things, and who writes this, and we know that his testimony is true" 6/.

This is no doubt the earliest attestation to the Gospel. It comes from a group of the author's disciples. Hence we have ample reason to believe the tradition of the church concerning St. John originated <sup>from that group.</sup> In fact this

1/ John 19: 26. 2/ John 13: 23. 3/ John 13: 25.

4/ John 21:7. 5/ John 21:20. 6/ John 21: 24.

circumstance is as strong a proof as well can be obtained, where it is not possible to furnish mathematical demonstration.

3. The convergence of both internal and external testimony towards St. John is to me the strongest indication of all. On the historic side not a dissenting voice is heard, except from the Alogi. Orthodox writers, Docetists, ~~Xxxxx~~ Montanists, Gnostics, representatives of every religious opinion held during the second century so far as is known, <sup>v</sup> favor the traditional view. True, it may be said that they should have told us more. But we must bear in mind that they were writing for their own age, and, if anyone even dreamed about the value that would, in future ages be attached to their testimonies and the close scrutiny they would be subjected to, he must have been a prophet. Hence arguments from silence and style, even if more or less probable should take secondary place and can I believe in most cases be met in a satisfactory manner.

The internal testimony, as we have seen, is even stronger. It has been shown that the author was a Jew of Palestine, ~~an~~ eye-witness and an apostle, most probably St. John. But it is said that we have scanty proofs to show that John lived at Ephesus about the end of the first century. Let us then produce some of the indications that show that such was the case.

(1). Legends, that grew and spread in the second century, may not be true in details, but nevertheless they prove that it was the unanimous opinion of the church that John resided at Ephesus after he returned from Patmos. Such legends are the story that John met Corinthus in a bath-house, the legend about the bandit already told, the story that the apostles changed stones and sticks to gold, that he raised a dead man by divine power, I/ and that his last

sermons consisted only of the words ' little children, love one another', which I believe is true, for it is thoroughly Johannine. Now let us adduce some facts.

(2) Irenaeus says as follows:" The church in Ephesus founded by Paul and having John among them permanently until the times of Trajan is a true witness of the tradition of the apostles " 1/ Now Trajan reigned nineteen years (98-117 A.D.). Hence we know that St. John lived at least to the end of the first century, and dwelt in Ephesus.

(3) The same writer says:" John, the disciple of the Lord who also leaned upon His breast did himself composed a Gospel during his residence in Asia." 2/ When we recall, what I have already shown, that the words *ἀνελκόμενος ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ* and the expression *ὁ ἀγαπῶν ὁ Ἰησοῦς* refer to the same person and the unknown writer of John 21:24 testifies to his truthfulness we must conclude that Irenaeus means John the Apostle.

(4) Polycrates tells us that " John who rested on the bosom of the Lord' is buried at Ephesus. 3/ This proves as Godet says ' that, at Ephesus, John was regarded as the author of the Gospel, since no one doubted that he was the beloved disciple who is spoken of in John 13:25"

(5) Clement of Alexandria tells us that John composed a spiritual Gospel 4/

(6) The title of the Gospel *Κατὰ Ἰωάννην* is found in the oldest manuscripts and hence furnishes a strong testimony to my view of the authorship of the Gospel.

1. Adv. Haer. III. 3, 4.

2/ Adv. Haer. III. I, I.

3/ Eus/ Hist. Eccl. V. 31.

4/ Eus. Hist. Eccl. VI. 14.

(7) It has been shown that the Fourth Gospel was one of the memoirs of Justin Martyr, and was used at services in his time, for he quotes the Fourth Gospel in the same way as the Synoptics. Hence I infer that the Gospel was also regarded "according to John" about the middle of the second century, since no manuscript has been found where that title is not inserted. Moreover Justin says; in the course of his debate with Trypho, held at Ephesus "a man among us, one of the apostles of Christ has prophesied in a revelation that was given to him."

(8) The letter of Irenaeus to Florinus, a passage from which I have already quoted is a valuable piece of evidence, especially the words: "He (Polycarp) had always observed (the passover) with John, the disciple of the Lord, and the rest of the disciples with whom he associated" I/

The fact that Polycarp and other pillars of Asiatic churches never denied that the Gospel was genuine, as they surely would had it been spurious, is to my mind one of the strongest indications that John wrote the Gospel during his residence in Ephesus.

(9) Ptolemaeus, as we have already seen quoted the Gospel with the introduction "the apostle declares". Heracleon also believed that it was written by St. John. Their opinions were surely those of ~~the~~ other Gnostics who were their contemporaries, and hence very likely those of Valentinus, Basilides and the Ophites.

(10) Regarding the date of John's death the following points may be noted:-

(a) The testimony of Irenaeus. (Comp 2)

(b) Jerome says that he died sixty-three years after the Passion.

(c) The tradition that he lived to a very advanced age so that his disciples, wrongly construing John 21:23  
I/ Eas. Hist. Eccl. V. 24.

imagined that he would never die, and even after he was buried refused to believe that he was really dead; even if it looks in some respects like a legend is a testimony to the high age to which he attained.

(11) Irenaeus says: "the Gospel according to John ..... declares, 'in the beginning was the Word and with the Word was ~~the~~ God, and the Word was God'" I/. (John 1:1) This proves that the Fourth Gospel used in the second century was identical with ours.

(12) The quotation from the Muratorian fragment already given shows the writer's opinion regarding our subject.

(13) The Alogi believed that the Gospel was written at Ephesus, since they ascribed it to Cerinthus, a contemporary of St. John.

(14) The testimony ( John 21:24) coming from the intimate associate of St. John, as it obviously does is as weighty a testimony to the antiquity <sup>and</sup> authorship of the Gospel as anyone could wish.

(15) The fact that those who deny Johannine authorship cannot arrive at any consensus <sup>of</sup> opinion regarding the identity of the author, despite all their research and theories, goes far to establish the traditional views. Discarding this view, they cannot point out anyone who in their opinion would be the author. Not only this: they cannot agree as to the time of composition either. Their different theories place the date from 110 to 170 A.D. Surely higher criticism has no 'settled result' to offer in this case.

This completes my stock of facts. I have sought to state historic data and such passages from the Gospel itself that are clear and to the point. Vague allusions I have  
I/ Adv. Haer. III. II, 8.

purposely avoided as well as conflicting theories; these, after all, are rarely free from doctrinal bias, whether they originate in rationalistic ~~xxx~~ or orthodox camps. Men will, even unconsciously, ~~depend~~ the theological stand they have already taken. Historic fact however cannot lead astray; quotations ~~from~~ the documents under discussion can safely be relied on. Hence I have confined my discussions to these only. The result is that I think the following points have been established beyond reasonable doubt;—

- (a) That the Gospel was written not later than about 90 A.D.
- (b) That it could not have been written by a Gnostic.
- (c) That it was not ~~w~~questioned either by Christians or their opponents about 110 A.D. or later, until the time of the Alogi.
- (d) That it is very doubtful whether Papias implied that 'John the Presbyter' was any other than St. John himself.
- (e) That it is unreasonable to suppose the Gospel was written by a forger while the disciples of St. John lived.
- (f) That after their death it is universally recognized.
- (g) That Irenæus could not have been mistaken about the question of Johannine authorship of the Gospel.
- (h) That John lived in Ephesus about 80 - 100 A.D.
- (i) That he wrote a Gospel in Ephesus.
- (j) That the writer was a Jew of Palestine.
- (k) That he was an eye-witness, and apostle, - St. John himself.

Here I could stop, having attempted to prove what I set out to establish. To conclude, I will mention the objections commonly urged against the traditional view of ~~a~~ authorship and comment on some of them.

- (I) That the Fourth Gospel is dependent on the



Synoptics.

It is true that some events are recorded by all the evangelists, But ~~we~~ this does not necessarily show dependence for we must remember that they were all influenced directly or indirectly by the great (capital) Source of the Gospel narrative. If A and B attend the classes of Professor X, and A tells the public some facts he learns, and writes a book containing these, B, writing later, and stating the same fact, would not be accused of borrowing from A. He might have seen A's book or he might not. It is very likely that St. John had read the Synoptics but whether he read them or not he was equally competent to record facts he knew, if he thought it necessary to do so.

(2) That the Fourth Gospel differs so much from the Synoptics in (a) style, (b) facts recorded, (c) discourses.

(a) Style is the property of the individual employing it. This argument merely proves that the Fourth Gospel was not written by the Synoptics.

(b) This is nothing more than could be expected. We know the reasons why John wrote the Gospel, on the authority of Clement and Papias, as I have quoted above. The very nature of the case demands that the facts recorded should for the most part be others than those recorded by the Synoptics, and other scenes of activity described, for why should St. John, writing for a special purpose simply repeat what the Synoptics had said? Moreover, since St. John has a special aim in writing I/, it is natural that he should tell, not merely that 'signs' were performed but what was the motive of the Lord for doing them.

(c) The discourses recorded serve his purpose as the facts do, perhaps better. Since St. John wrote to convince his readers of the deity of Jesus, His own testimony concerning Himself is of the highest value for the evangel-  
I/ John 20:31.

ist's purpose. But, concerning these <sup>o</sup>points I cannot ~~xxx~~ refrain from making the remark that these critics are certainly difficult to please. If passages are found containing informations which is ~~xxxxxxx~~ also given by the Synoptics, St. John imitated them. If the contents of the Fourth Gospel consist of things foreign to the Synoptics it is alleged that they did not know what they did not say; hence it is inferred that the contents of the Fourth Gospel are not trustworthy. Surely ~~argumentum~~ *e silentio* is mis-applied in this case.

(3) That St. John cannot be the author because the Gospel is anti-Jewish ~~in~~ its theology and general tone. It seems that those who make this charge forget that St. John was a disciple of the Founder of Christianity and 'believed' when he saw the sepulchre. This fact alone should be a sufficient answer. But other proofs serve equally well. The destruction of Jerusalem (70 A.D.) made a continuation of Jewish rites impossible. The temple was destroyed; the Jews had lost their fatherland. Surely a disciple of Jesus could not fail to read these signs. Let us take a parallel case. Peter neglects the Mosaic law until the men from Jerusalem came to Antioch. This shows that, with him, observance of the law was a matter of practice, not of principle, yet he was as thorough a Jew as St. John. His weakness was that by changing his procedure when devout Jews observed his action he became liable to a charge of hypocrisy, which, though most probably false could not be successfully turned aside. Peter certainly was too strong a man to act a hypocrite. His action prove merely that he did not lay any stress on observance of the law, neglected <sup>it</sup> among the Gentiles but observed it, to please the Jews, when he was among them, not seeing that such a change would be turned against him and also against the activity of Paul, who consequently censured him. Since Peter thought so little of observance

of the law we may be sure that John did, especially since he was in touch with those that had been converted to Christianity by the great Apostle to the Gentiles. John had thoroughly grasped the significants of the new era; he was more intimate with Jesus than any other disciple. This we know from the Synoptics, hence this is not begging the question. Hence we have reason to believe that he was the most capable man to preach and represent Christ. Now, we know from the Synoptics that legalism is contrary to the Christian ideal; that the Jews persecuted Jesus because He neither hesitated to heal people on the day of rest, nor did He cease to censure the Pharisees on account of their barren legalism. For my part I consider this an amply sufficient reason why we should expect that St. John's Gospel should be free from legalistic tenets. And this we find to be the case.

But it has been urged that the author was not a Jew because he speaks of them as one who was not himself a Jew naturally would. 'it was the custom of the Jews,' 'the Jews answered and said', are expressions frequently met with. But this point is easily defended. In speaking to a Briton concerning Icelandic customs I would say 'This is the custom of the Icelanders'. Moreover, the Jews could scarcely be thought of as a nation after the fall of Jerusalem. On the other hand St. John knew no other lord than Christ, no message except His, no philosophy of life but Christianity, which in its very nature is cosmopolitan. Christ is his lord, Christianity his kingdom, Christians his people, heaven his home. To such a man it is natural to speak of every nation in the same terms.

(4) That the Apocalypse and the Gospel cannot be written by the same author, because they are so unlike one another.

(a) As to language. It is true that there are found in the Apocalypse violations of grammatical laws. But

this indicates that the author of that book was not a Greek. Let us consider the conditions under which the books were written. The Apocalypse was written on Patmos, according to the traditional view concerning the origin of that book. Vision follows vision in more or less rapid succession. They are recorded as they are seen. If the writer uses a foreign language his lack of familiarity with it will be sure to appear. On the other hand the Gospel is written while its author was surrounded by friends and had ample time for his task and is moreover writing dear and consoling reminiscences. He thinks in Hebrew still but now he has every facility to attend to his language, and is calmly contemplating the events of the best and most glorious years of his life. This is enough to show why rules of grammar are not violated in the Gospel although such violations appear in the Apocalypse.

(b) The difference in style is to be expected on account of the enormous difference of themes and circumstances under which each book was written.

(c) The charge has been made that words used with special frequency in the Gospel are wholly wanting in the Apocalypse. This is not so. But even if it were, such absence would be readily accounted for. The writer was a man, serene and profound; to demand the catch-words of the Gospel of Love to reappear in the Apocalypse is to belittle the author, for in that case he would almost be reduced to a machine to register stereotyped formulae of expression. In short: absence of catch-words is a valid criticism only when the subjects treated are similar, other considerations being the same.

(d) The fact that the subject of the two books are different is also urged. This charge is foolish, for it implies that the author was writing books of fiction. For, if the author really saw the visions described in the

Apocalypse, and if he was an eye-witness to the scenes described in the Gospel, he had no choice of material with reference to the Apocalypse, and a limited choice only so far as the Gospel is concerned, for the ~~many~~ other evangelists had already written their Gospels. He is not formulating theories, not recording any poetic fancies, but simply writing what he saw and heard.

(5) That the teaching of Christ is not only different from what we read in the Synoptics but inconsistent with their contents.

Dr. Dod's answer to this is the best I have seen. He says:- "The universal Christian consciousness has long since answered that question. The faith which has found its resting-place in the Christ of the Synoptics is not unsettled or perplexed by anything it finds in John. There are not two Christs but one which the four gospels depict; diverse as the profile and front face but one another's complement rather than contradiction. A critical examination of the Gospels leads to the same conclusion. For while the self-assertiveness of Christ is more apparent in the Fourth Gospel it is implicit in them all. Can any claim be greater than that which our Lord urges in the Sermon on the Mount, to be the Supreme law-giver and judge of men? Or that that which is implied in His assertion that He only knows the Father and that only through Him can others know Him; or can we conceive any clearer confidence in His mission than that which He implies when He invites all men to come to Him and trust themselves with Him, or when He forgives sin and proclaims Himself the Messiah, God's representative on earth".

This is a full and decisive answer. But it is equally true that the evangelist translated and condensed the discourses. He remembers how the subjects were treated and some of the sentences, - others are there because they express

the thoughts of the Master, but were chosen by the evangelist. How many of the words are John's and how many Jesus actually uttered nobody can tell. For my part I believe that even the words of the discourses are more Christic than Johannine, while the thought expressed in all of them is entirely Christic. Such then is my view of the Fourth Gospel, the most beautiful, the most profound, as well as the most childlike book of Scripture.