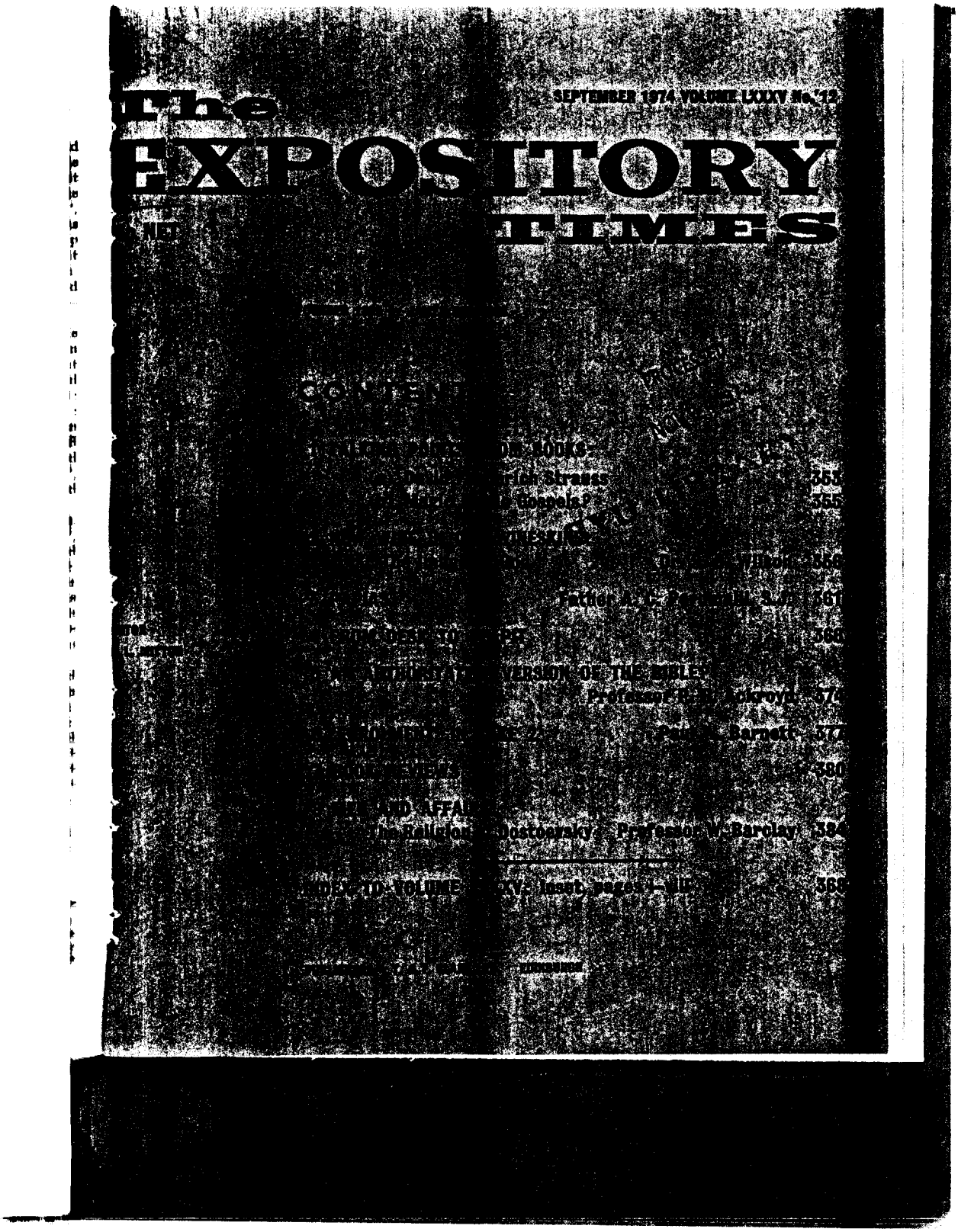
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People were healed 'in the name of Jesus' and magicians used the 'name' as an effective device. But there seems to me nothing to warrant the claim of the author that the New Testament treats Jesus as the 'Master Magician'. Such a claim is surely very misleading, and an utter travesty of the Jesus of the gospels. He does not use secret rituals and esoterical signs to gain control over evil powers or to coerce a reluctant God to further his ends. Indeed the author himself seems to have misgiving towards the end. He notes the high degree of 'restraint' in the gospels' picture of the 'Master Magician'. He reminds us that Jesus himself told his followers to rejoice not because the spirits are subject to them, but because their names are written in heaven. His own prayer to God was not that God would do what he wanted but that he might do God's will. So the concluding words of the book supply some balance to the picture: 'The records of magic contain nothing like the self-sacrifice of the Gethsemane Christ'.

What the book needed more than anything is a precise definition of magic, instead of allowing so much extraneous matter to come under the heading. After all it is not really magic—though we sometimes say it acts 'like magic'—when a mother's kisses soothe away the pain of a child's injured knee, or the friendly reassurance of an arm round one's shoulder restores sagging courage. It is sadly true that at times the Church has allowed magical ideas to affect her doctrine of the sacraments, allowing them to appear as man-controlled rituals which almost force God's hands, but there is very little evidence that the synoptic writers or Jesus himself share any of that guilt.

New Wine in Old Wineskins:

IX. Image of God

By Dr. S. G. Wilson, Carleton University, Ottawa

Man as the Image of God in the Old Testament

The few references to 'image of God' occur in Genesis and are normally assigned to the Priestly writer.[1] The basic text is Gn 1^{26}: 'And God said, let us make man in (*beth*) our image (*ṣelem*), after (*caph*) our likeness (*dᵉmuth*); and let them have dominion. . . .' The others are Gn 1^{27}, 5^{1}, 9^{6} (cf. Ec 17^{3}; Wis $2^{23\text{-}24}$; Ps $8^{4\text{-}8}$). The account of man's creation in Gn 2^{7} does not mention image of God. There is no attempt to reconcile this concept with the common prohibition of images of God in the Old Testament (cf. Ex $20^{4\,f.}$; Lv 26^{1}; Dt $4^{16\,f.}$, 27^{15}).

The philological evidence is ambiguous. The particles *beth* (used with *dᵉmuth* in $5^{1,3}$) and *caph* (used with *ṣelem* in 5^{3}) may signify comparison (man is a copy of God's image) or identity (man is God's image). *Ṣelem* predominantly means something concrete or physical[2]—'statue', 'model', 'duplicate' (cf. 2 S 6^{5}; 2 K 11^{18})—and should probably be given a similar meaning in Gn $1^{26\text{-}7}$.

The secondary term *dᵉmuth*, introduced to define and limit *ṣelem*, is more abstract and means 'similarity' or 'analogy' (cf. Ezk $1^{5,\,10,\,26}$). In the Ancient Near Eastern world an image was primarily a representative rather than a resemblance of something. By using two terms the Priestly writer both asserts that man represents and resembles God and avoids a grossly physical understanding of *ṣelem*.

The only way in which Genesis explains the image of God[3] is to define its purpose—man's dominion over creation—rather than its nature or location (cf. Ec 17^{3}, Wis $2^{23\text{-}24}$). Man is unique within creation. He represents God's rule on earth. Thus his creation results from special divine resolution and activity; it is not simply creation by command. In the Ancient Near East kings, as representatives of the divine on earth, were called image of God. This also suggests a regal function for man where he is called God's image and contrasts with the menial rôle of ordinary men in contemporary creation stories.

K. Barth[4] argues that the creation of male and female (Gn 1^{27}) is the key to image of God. He finds an *analogia relationis*: the I-Thou ... ship between man and woman (i...

[1] Useful summaries of the Old Testament material, with extensive bibliographies, can be found in *Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible* (New York, 1962), 682–685, and D. J. A. Clines, 'The Image of God in Man', *Tyndale Bulletin*, 19 (1968), 53–103.

[2] On the two apparent exceptions (Pss 39^{6}, 73^{20}), see *Interpreter's Dictionary*, 683, and J. Barr, 'The Image of God in the Book of Genesis—a Study of Terminology', *B.J.R.L.*, 51 (1968), 11–26, here 21.

[3] For a summary ... K. Barth, *Ch...* 192 f.

kind) exemplifies a similar relationship both within the godhead and between man and God. However, Barth's view rests on the unlikely assumption that the sexual distinction is a manifestation of man's status as God's image.

The image of God belongs to all men and not, as often in the contemporary world, exclusively to the king. And, as Gn 9^6 shows, it is not lost through the Fall.

NEW TESTAMENT: INTRODUCTION

Image of God is used exclusively by Paul, if one considers Colossians to be Pauline: 1 Co 11^7; 2 Co 4^4; Col 1^{15}, cf. 'likeness of God' in Ja 3^9. To these should be added Paul's notion of image of Christ: Ro 8^{29}; 1 Co 15^{49}; 2 Co 3^{18}; Col 3^{10}. Similar concepts, expressed in different terminology, are found in Ph 2^6, He 1^3 and the Fourth Gospel.

Paul's infrequent and unsystematic use of these concepts is what we might expect in occasional correspondence. But they are never the centre of interest. They are used in passing to illustrate one point in an argument. This incidental usage suggests that Paul borrowed them from the early communities, or at least that they were familiar with them. This did not preclude him, of course, from giving them his own peculiar twist.

CHRIST AS THE IMAGE OF GOD

2 Co 4^4 and Col 1^{15} depart most radically from the Old Testament use of image of God. The phrase is interpreted christologically: Christ, not man, is the image of God.

The phrase 'the gospel of the glory (δόξα) of Christ, who is the image of God (εἰκὼν τοῦ Θεοῦ)' in 2 Co 4^4 closely connects image with glory, which is a central word in Paul's argument in 3^{1} f.. This is a recurring feature of Paul's use of εἰκών, and is based on Septuagint and Rabbinic usage. As the parallelism with 4^6 shows, the glory is the glory of God himself. It is revealed in Christ, his image. The implication is that the relationship between image and original is not simply one of formal similarity but of substantial identity. They share the same glory. Image is also connected with the theme of revelation, since 3^{1}–4^6 is primarily about the true revelation of God in the world and the authority of those who teach it. Paul compares Law and Gospel in terms of their relative glory. The setting is his controversy with false teachers, probably Judaizers, at Corinth, who assert the permanent validity of the Mosaic law for all Christians. He contrasts the temporary and fading glory of the Mosaic dispensation with the permanence and unfading glory of the Gospel of Christ ($3^{7\text{-}18}$). The glory of God is revealed only in Christ, his 'image and glory', and it comes to men through the apostles and their preaching ($4^{4\text{-}6}$).

Col $1^{15\text{-}20}$ is a hymn which the author has incorporated, with modifications, into his epistle. Possibly non-Christian in origin, it may have been 'christianized' before the author used it. It is a hymn of praise extolling the exalted Christ. V. 15 calls him 'the image (εἰκών) of the invisible God, the firstborn (πρωτότοκος) of all creation'. Image and revelation are again connected: the invisible God is revealed in Christ his image. And as an image Christ is not a poor substitute for the real thing, for he is uniquely related to God. He is the creator of all things (vv. 16–17), the one in whom God's fulness dwells (v. 19). Thus v. 15b means 'the firstborn before all creation', since Christ stands not with the creation but with the creator. He is not only revealer but also creator.

However, the author's main interest is in redemption. Christ has conquered the cosmic powers and it is in him and not them that God's fulness dwells. His conquest brings peace and harmony to the universe and redemption to the Church (vv. 18, 20). The common opinion that 'the Church' (v. 18) and 'the blood of the cross' (v. 20) are the author's additions to the original hymn reinforces the view that his emphasis is on redemption. As the image of God, Christ has a threefold function: creator, revealer and redeemer. This passage, like 2 Co 4^4, speaks of the exalted rather than the earthly Christ as God's image.

Ph 2^6 speaks of Christ 'being in the form (μορφή) of God'. Interpreted in terms of LXX usage, where εἰκών and μορφή are equivalents, this verse says the same as 2 Co 4^4 and Col 1^{15}. Christ and God share the same essence (cf. 2^7, ἴσα θεῷ).[5] The emphasis is on the eternal relationship of Christ with God rather than his relationship with the world, though the latter theme follows immediately (2^{7} f.). Ph 2^6 also occurs in a pre-Pauline hymn. He 1^3 describes Christ as 'the reflection (ἀπαύγασμα) of the glory and the express image (χαρακτήρ) of the essence (ὑποστάσεως) of God'. χαρακτήρ is very close in meaning to εἰκών; it means an 'exact reproduction' or 'facsimile'. The author makes it clear that Christ does not merely resemble God but is an exact representation of his essence. The implication is that he shares this essence. This, as well as the connexion with glory, revelation and creation (vv. 1–3), affords a close parallel to 2 Co 4^4, Col 1^{15}, Ph 2^6. Similar teaching, but without the phrase 'image of God' or a close equivalent, is found in Jn $1^{1\text{-}18}$, 12^{45}, 14^{9}.[6]

[5] R. P. Martin, *Carmen Christi* (Cambridge, 1967), 99 f. It may be significant that some gnostics used μορφή as a synonym for εἰκών when translating Gn 1^{26}—see J. Jervell, *Imago Dei* (Göttingen, 1960), 229.

[6] On the Johannine material see P. Schwanz, *Imago Dei* (Leipzig, 1970), 59 f.

MAN AS THE IMAGE OF GOD

Ja 3[9] alludes to Gn 1[26], speaking of the tongue with which we curse men ' who are made after the likeness of God (*καθ' ὁμοίωσιν Θεοῦ*) '. In the LXX *ὁμοίωσις* is used to translate *d'muth* in Gn 1[26]. It is implied that when we curse men we are cursing God, since man is his representative in the world.

1 Co 11[7] is the only unambiguous Pauline reference to man as the image of God. In one of his least memorable arguments Paul attempts to justify his ruling that men should worship with uncovered, and women with covered, heads. He alludes to Gn 1[26-7], 2[18 f.]: man, he concludes, is the ' image and glory of God ', but woman the ' glory of man '. ' Image and glory ' may be Paul's interpretation of ' image and likeness ' in Gn 1[26], following Rabbinic usage.[7] The description of woman as the ' glory of man ' is presumably his summary of Gn 2[18 f.].

It is improbable that by describing women simply as the ' glory of man ' Paul implies that they are also the ' image of God '.[8] Indeed, in view of the virtual synonymity of image and glory in Paul we should perhaps assume that women are the image as well as the glory of man. Moreover, if he is not excluding women from the image of God, an already weak argument would be virtually annulled. For the point seems to be that while the ' glory of man ' (in woman) should be covered during worship so that it does not intrude in the sight of God, the ' image and glory of God ' (in man) can remain uncovered since it is not an intrusion. If, by implication, women are also the image of God, the contrast is considerably weakened. Thus Paul appears to exclude women from the image of God, implying a descending sequence, God—man—woman, akin to that in v. 3, God—Christ—man—woman.[9]

MAN AS THE IMAGE OF CHRIST

The phrase ' image of Christ ' does not occur in the New Testament, but the idea is implicit in Ro 8[29], 1 Co 15[49], 2 Co 3[18], Col 3[10]. The use of the word ' image ', as well as the proximity of 2 Co 3[18] to 4[4], and Col 1[15] to 3[10], suggests their relevance to a study of image of God.

According to Col 3[10], Christians have put off the old man and put on the new man ' which is renewed in knowledge (*ἐπίγνωσις*) after the image (*κατ' εἰκόνα*) of him that created him '. If there is a threefold reference here—to God (creator), Christ (image) and man (who is renewed according to this image)—there would be a direct link between Christ as the image of God and man as the image of Christ. Alternatively, the reference could be twofold—to God or Christ as the creator and man as the image. While the New Testament normally refers to God as creator (Ro 1[25], 1 Co 11[3], etc.), in the immediate context a reference to Christ is possible (cf. Col 1[15 f.], 3[11]). Whichever interpretation we accept, the passage clearly speaks of the new creation of Christians rather than the original creation (cf. Gal 6[15], 2 Co 5[17]). The reference is probably to baptism, when Christians are newly created in the image of Christ, which they have continually to renew. If there is an allusion to Gn 1[26] it is only to use the language of the old creation to describe the reality of the new creation.

ἐπίγνωσις means to know and do God's will.[10] Thus possession of the image has ethical ramifications (3[18 f.]), though it cannot be defined solely in these terms. It is the presupposition of an ethical life, which is thus the result rather than the content of the image. Clearly, too, the image is something men possess in the present.

The same is true of 2 Co 3[18]: ' But we all, with open face beholding as in a mirror (*κατοπτριζόμενοι*) the glory of the Lord, are changed into the same image (*τὴν αὐτὴν εἰκόνα*) from glory to glory '. As the present tense (*μεταμορφούμεθα*) shows, the reference is to a present experience of transformation. ' Lord ' is probably Christ (cf. v. 16), though it could be God. *κατοπτρίζομαι* means either ' see in a mirror ' or ' reflect '. The end result of either translation is the same, namely that men are transformed into the image of Christ. Their vision of the glory of Christ is the basis of their transformation. The permanent glory of Christ, in which believers share, is contrasted with the temporary Mosaic dispensation with its fading glory. Again we note the intimate connexion between image and glory.

The remaining references to image of Christ speak of it primarily as a future possession: ' For whom he did foreknow, he also did predestinate to be conformed to the image of his son (*τῆς εἰκόνος τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ*), that he might be the firstborn (*πρωτότοκος*) among many brethren ' (Ro 8[29]). Despite the unexpected past tense (' he glorified ', *ἐδόξασεν*) in v. 30, which is probably no more than a triumphant anticipation of a certain future, the general context here is clearly futuristic. Men, like the cosmos, await a future transformation (v. 22 f.). Being the image of the son will mean adoption as younger brothers of Christ. ' Firstborn ' recalls

[7] See below p. 20.

[8] Against F. F. Bruce, *1 and 2 Corinthians* (London, 1971), 105.

[9] Jervell argues, unconvincingly, that 1 Co 11[7] is relatively unimportant for Paul's use of image. It is a unique usage in Paul but, if Colossians is post-Pauline, so is 2 Co 4[4]. See Jervell, *Imago*, 292 f.; followed by Schwanz, *Imago*, 19.

[10] E. Lohse, *Colossians and Philemon* (Philadelphia, 1971), 143.

Col 1^{15}, and image and glory are again related (v. 30).

In 1 Co $15^{35 ff.}$ Paul answers the question 'how are the dead raised up and with what body do they come?' Presumably it is the question of a sceptical enquirer, perhaps one who understands resurrection to mean reanimation of corpses. Paul replies with two points: that death is but one stage in a process of transformation, and that there are various types of body in the universe (vv. 36–44). On this basis he asserts that man has both a natural (ψυκικόν) and a spiritual (πνευματικόν) body (v. 44). The natural body, animated by the soul, is the habitation of man's essential self in this age; the spiritual body, animated by God's spirit, is the new body appropriate for life after death. Paul then introduces the archetypal figures Adam and Christ by alluding to Gn 2^{7} and introducing a contrast between the first and last Adams. The idea of a second or last Adam was familiar to Judaism and probably had its roots in the widespread speculations in the contemporary world about a heavenly or archetypal man. Man's two bodies are traced to these archetypal figures: 'As we have borne the image of the earthy, so we shall also bear the image of the heavenly' (v. 49). As the image of the first Adam, man has a body which is earthy, corrupt and mortal, which bars his entrance into the Kingdom of God (v. 50 f.). As the image of the second Adam men have a body which is heavenly, incorrupt and appropriate to resurrection existence. Possession of the image of Christ is defined as resurrection to a spiritual body, and the reference is clearly to a future event.

In conclusion, a few observations apply to all four passages. First, being the image of Christ is the exclusive right of Christians and not the natural property of all men. Second, it is the exalted rather than the earthly Christ whose image believers are. Third, being the image of Christ involves essential identity with him. Fourth, while many important themes are associated with image of Christ—ethics, glory, Law and Gospel, adoption, resurrection—the primary framework of all four passages is eschatological. They express the characteristic tension of Pauline eschatology, between a partial realization in the present (2 Co 3^{18}; Col 3^{10}) and full possession in the future (Ro 8^{29}; 1 Co 15^{49}). In so far as Gn 1^{26}, 2^{7} are in the background, they are interpreted eschatologically rather than protologically.

Loss of the Image of God

W. G. Kümmel [11] argues that the New Testament supports the idea of a loss of the image of God as a result of man's sin. In Col 3^{10} he thinks that the image that is 'being renewed' is the original image of God given at creation. If it is being renewed then presumably it has been lost. However, we have already seen that Col 3^{10} refers to the new rather than the old creation. The language of the original creation may be used, but only to express the reality of the new creation in Christ.

J. Jervell [12] argues similarly, but on the basis of Ro 1^{23}: men have 'changed the glory of the incorruptible God into an image made like to corruptible man, and to birds, and fourfooted beasts, and creeping things'. Jervell thinks that in $1^{18 f.}$ Paul is speaking of Jews as well as Gentiles. He notes that the language is typical of Jewish anti-Gentile polemics, but thinks that Paul is here turning it back on the Jews themselves. The chief allusion, he suggests, is to Gn 1^{26} and Rabbinic speculation stemming from it. The 'glory of the incorruptible God' is man as the image of God, since image and glory are synonymous in Paul, and the 'image of corruptible man' is man as the image of corrupt Adam, that is, man bound by sin and death. In worshipping the creatures man becomes like them and, as in Rabbinic speculation, those whom he should have governed become the demonic forces which enslave him. Thus man's originally perfect relation with God and the created order, expressed in his possession of the image of God, is abandoned in favour of idolatry and corruption. Man has lost the image of God.

It is doubtful, however, whether Jervell's intriguing exegesis of Ro 1^{23} can be sustained. Certainly, Paul is in no doubt that 'all have sinned and fall short of the glory of God' (Ro 3^{23}). But he nowhere unambiguously refers to loss of the image of God even when, as in Romans 1–3, it would have been singularly appropriate to do so. Moreover, while the Gentiles are not specifically mentioned in $1^{18 f.}$ and while Paul is clearly aware of Jewish idolatry, it seems that the Gentiles are uppermost in his mind in $1^{18 f.}$ Thus unless he is asserting that the Gentiles have lost the image of God but the Jews have not, a reference to a loss of the image is unlikely. The primary objection, however, is the positive use made of image of God in 1 Co 11^{7} which, despite Jervell, remains an important strand in Paul's understanding of image. It is possible that Paul contradicted himself, but if other acceptable explanations are available we should perhaps give him the benefit of the doubt. Ro 1^{23} can be interpreted in line with 1^{21}: men worship the creatures (in the form of anthropomorphic and zoomorphic idols) rather than the creator (the incorruptible God). It may well be that Paul is influenced by Rabbinic speculation

[11] W. G. Kümmel, *Man in the New Testament* (Philadelphia, 1963), 67 f.

[12] Jervell, *Imago*, 312 f.

about the effects of the Fall on man's relation to the created order, but he does not appear to connect this with a loss of the image of God.

Thus the New Testament, like the Old Testament, nowhere suggests that man has lost the image of God. Indeed, the evidence is to the contrary (Ja 3^9, 1 Co 11^7).

THE BACKGROUND

Gn 1^{26-7} is a relatively remote source for the varied New Testament use of image. It is important mainly as the starting point for later speculation. It is frequently alluded to but never exactly or fully quoted: Ja 3^9 is a partial quotation, and while 1 Co 11^7 is a clear allusion, it alters the wording and draws conclusions which are foreign to Gn 1^{26-7}. The use of Gn 2^7 in 1 Co 15^{49} is of the same order. Other allusions either simply pick up the term 'image' or interpret it christologically.

Jewish speculation on image of God is a more fruitful source. Their interpretations are complex and varied and are more concerned to explain the plural ('Let us make') than the image of God, but they do shed light on the New Testament. Paul's association, and at times identification, of image with glory is based on LXX and Rabbinic rather than classical usage. In the LXX both εἰκών and δόξα are used to translate *ṣelem*, and Rabbinic writings commonly define the image of God as the possession of glory.[15] Being the image of God was also defined as the potential ability to fulfil the Law. It was seen as both the basis and the goal of ethics, for it could be lost, and its retention was dependent on obedience to the Law.[14] Paul does not reckon with the loss of the image, but his emphasis on its ethical implications (Col 3^{10}) is thoroughly Jewish. Paul's use of Gn 1^{26} in 1 Co 11^7 is similar to the Rabbinic view that women are excluded from the image of God because they lack man's lordliness or religious responsibilities.[15]

Judaism offers various parallels to Paul's idea of Christ as the image of God and man the image of Christ. The introduction of an intermediary, whereby man becomes the image of an image, is found in various forms, usually with the purpose of preserving the uniqueness and incomparability of God. The intermediary could be the angels, Adam or the Logos. Philo's Logos concept is the closest to Paul (*Op. Mund.*, 25; *Rer. Div. Her.*, 231). The Logos is the image of God who reveals and represents God and participates in creation. He is also the prototype of man, who is created in his image. The Logos element resides in the intelligible part of man's soul. The sequence God—Logos—man is close to Paul's sequence God—Christ—man, as is the idea of a substantial identity between man and the intermediary. However, it is uncertain whether Paul either knew or used Philo. The Jewish view of Wisdom as the image of God active in creation, revelation and redemption (Wis $7^{22\,f.}$ etc.) is close to Col $1^{15\,f.}$, He 1^3, but the idea of man as an image does not arise in this connexion.

In the Hermetic literature the cosmos is the image of God and man the image of the cosmos (*Corp. Herm.* 5:2, 11:15, 8:5). The sequence God–cosmos–man is akin to Philo and Paul.[16] For some gnostics[17] Gn 1^{26} described the creation of the *Urmensch*, the original man, normally called Anthropos. As an emanation from the High God he was substantially one with him. As the Anthropos figure was the image of God, so man was the image of Anthropos, who lived in man as his true or inner self. Anthropos, like Christ or the Logos, was both a copy (of God) and a prototype (of man). This scheme is structurally close to Paul's, but there are marked differences. For gnosticism salvation, through knowledge, was the recognition of an already existing situation, a realization that man's inner self was the image of God. For Paul salvation was a new creation, received through faith. Moreover, the Anthropos figure, unlike Christ, was a revealer rather than a creator or redeemer. It is also uncertain how much, if any, gnostic speculation on image of God predates the New Testament.

This brief survey makes it clear that no single source provides an exact parallel to Paul's use of image. And this is what one would expect, because for Paul Christology is central. 'Image' is but one concept among many others which he uses to expound the significance of Christ. He borrows freely from the Old Testament, Judaism, early Christian communities, and possibly from Philo and the gnostics. But his purpose was not to borrow a religious or mythological system; it was to give him the means of expressing the centrality and significance of Christ.

CONCLUSIONS

Paul has two distinct strands in his teaching on image of God. The first speaks of a natural image of God, given to all men at creation and still in existence. The second involves a radical christological interpretation of the concept, whereby Christ becomes the image of God and creates for his followers a new image, the image of Christ. Between the two there is no obvious connexion.

[13] Jervell, *Imago*, 100 f., and 15 f. for the Jewish background in general.
[14] Jervell, *Imago*, 24 f., 84 f.
[15] Jervell, *Imago*, 292 f.
[16] On the Greek material see F. W. Eltester, *Eikon im Neuen Testament* (Berlin, 1958), 1 f.
[17] Jervell, *Imago*, 122 f.

F. W. Eltester [18] thinks there is an implicit connexion: if Christ is the image of God, men who are the image of Christ are also the image of God. But if so, this image of God cannot be equated with that of the original creation. Nor does it help to speak of the image of Christ as an extension or realization of the natural image of God. They are two distinct concepts which cannot readily be related.

To summarize: when Paul departs from the Old Testament understanding of image of God it is for christological reasons. Christ the creator, revealer and redeemer becomes the image of God. In turn, Christians become the image of Christ, a notion which is defined in eschatological and ethical terms.

[18] Eltester, *Eikon*, 165.

Papias

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I

There were two important men in the early Church about whom we know only very little. One was Presbyter John, a 'disciple of the Lord', the other, Papias, Presbyter John's disciple and bishop of Hierapolis in Phrygia in Asia Minor.

Modern scholars have written much on Papias and his words. However, no two authors have come to an agreement; there is much controversy[1] both as to his times and as to the meaning of his words. It is almost impossible for anyone to come to the truth about Papias, if one were to rely on the interpretations of our modern scholars. It is more profitable for us to leave these conflicting opinions aside and go straight to the testimonies of persons who lived very close to the time of Papias.

From Irenaeus of Lyons (120?–202)[2] a sub-apostolic Father of the Church, we come to know that Papias was a 'hearer (*akoustēs*) of John'[3] and a 'companion' (*etairos*)[4] of Polycarp[5] and that he wrote a treatise of five volumes.[6] From Eusebius (265–340) we know that Polycarp was an associate (*omilētēs*) of the Apostles[7] and bishop of Smyrna and that Papias was a 'distinguished (*egnōrizeto*)[8] contemporary' of Ignatius of Antioch, the second bishop of that See after St. Peter.[9] He tells us also that the book of Papias was called *The interpretations on the words of the Lord*.[10]

Papias was bishop, but it does not appear that he was famous on that account. It must be the *Interpretations*, the Commentary on the words of our Lord, that made him famous in his time and made Eusebius write, at a later date, that Papias was one of the distinguished men.[11]

Ignatius was the second bishop of Antioch after St. Peter. We do not know when he was born;

[1] Kümmel, Faine-Behm-, *Introduction to the New Testament* (14th edit., translated by A. J. Mattil, Jr., Nashville Abingdon Press, New York, 1966) 5.3.2; p. 43. INT.

[2] Different dates are assigned to the birth of Irenaeus. In *Butler's Lives of the Saints*, edited by Kelly, 28th June, the date is *c.* 120; in the same *Lives*, edited by Thurston and Attwater, it is *c.* 125; in *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 1768 (1955), it is *c.* 130; *The New Catholic Encyclopedia* assigns it to *c.* A.D. 140. However, since Irenaeus speaks of his association with several disciples of Apostle John (AH 2.22.5; HE 3.23.3), his date of birth cannot be placed as late as A.D. 140. It must be placed before 140, say in 130 or A.D. 120. His death, however, is assigned to A.D. 202.

[3] Eusebius HE 3.39.1; AH 5.33.4.

[4] HE 3.39.1.

[5] Polycarp, according to his own words (HE 4.15.20), lived till the age of 86 years when he was martyred. His time of martyrdom is generally assigned to A.D. 155–56; consequently his date of birth falls some time in A.D. 69–70. Irenaeus in his *Adversus Haereses* 3.3.4; HE 4.14.3, says that Polycarp was instructed by the Apostles (*hypo Apostolōn*) and was appointed bishop of Smyrna by them. If he was born in A.D. 69–70, even at A.D. 85 he was only 15 years old and too young to be associated with the Apostles and to be appointed bishop by them. His date of martyrdom and his date of birth have to be considered again.

Were there several Apostles still living in Asia Minor after A.D. 85? According to Irenaeus (AH 2.22.5; 3.3.4; HE 3.23.3–4) Apostle John lived till A.D. 98, the time of Trajan (*mechri tōn Traianou chronōn*). Was there any other Apostle living at that time? We have no information except the statement of Irenaeus. Since, however, he was a sub-apostolic man who was in association with several apostolic Elders (ib.) like Polycarp, we have to conclude that he had correct information about the presence of some other Apostles in Asia Minor during the nineties of the first century.

[6] HE 3.39.1.

[7] HE 3.36.1.

[8] HE 3.36.2.

[9] Ib.

[10] HE 3.39.1.

[11] HE 3.36.2. Here Eusebius speaks of Papias as a man of distinction (*egnōrisato*), but on account of Papias' acceptance of the popular 'millennium belief', later on (3.39.13) he calls Papias a 'man of little intelligence'. Did not Sts Paul and John believe in the immediate parousia? Will any one call them 'men of little intelligence'? The remark of Eusebius was only a sudden outburst of his. In his sober moments he had realized the importance of Papias and wrote that he was a distinguished man of his times. Moreover, as Prof. W. Barclay remarks 'no one has ever questioned Papias' honesty' (W. Barclay, *The First Three Gospels*, p. 160).