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THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

I

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
KIRSOPP LAKE

IN TWO VOLUMES

I

I CLEMENT II CLEMENT IGNATIUS
POLYCARP DIDACHE
BARNABAS



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INTRODUCTION

THE name of "Apostolic Fathers" is so firmly established by usage that it will certainly never be abandoned; but it is not altogether a satisfactory title for the collection of writings to which it is given. It means that the writers in question may be supposed to have had personal knowledge of some of the Apostles, but not actually to have belonged to their number. Thus, for instance, Clement and Hermas are reckoned as disciples of St. Paul, and Polycarp as a disciple of St. John. It is not, however, always possible to maintain this view: Barnabas, to whom one of these writings is ascribed, was not merely a disciple of the Apostles, but belonged to their actual number, and the Didache claims in its title to belong to the circle of "the Twelve." It should also be noted that the title does not represent any ancient tradition: there are no traces of any early collection of "Apostolic Fathers," and each of them has a separate literary history.

There is very little important difference in the text of any of the more recent editions; but various

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discoveries of new MSS. and versions enable the text to be improved in detail from time to time. This is especially the case with I. Clement and Hermas.

For the purposes of the present publication the text has been revised, but it has not been possible to give critical notes unless the evidence was so balanced that more than one reading was capable of defence.

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS
THE FIRST EPISTLE OF CLEMENT
TO THE CORINTHIANS

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

THE FIRST EPISTLE OF CLEMENT TO THE CORINTHIANS

THE writing which has always been known by this name is clearly, from internal evidence, a letter sent by the church of Rome to the church of Corinth in consequence of trouble in the latter community which had led to the deposition of certain Presbyters. The church of Rome writes protesting against this deposition, and the partizanship which has caused it.

The actual name of the writer is not mentioned in the letter itself: indeed, it clearly claims to be not the letter of a single person but of a church. Tradition, however, has always ascribed it to Clement, who was, according to the early episcopal lists,¹ the third or fourth bishop of Rome during the last decades of the first century. There is no reason for rejecting this tradition, for though it is not supported by any corroborative evidence in its favour there is nothing whatever against it.

Nothing certain is known of Clement; but from the amount of pseudepigraphic literature attributed to him it is probable that he was a famous man in his own time. Tradition has naturally identified him with the Clement who is mentioned in Philippians iv. 3.

¹ See Harnack, *Chronologie*, i. pp. 70-230.

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A Clement is also mentioned in the Shepherd of Hermas, Vis. ii. 4, 3, in which it is stated that it was his duty to write to other churches. This certainly points to a Clement in Rome exercising the same functions as the writer of I. Clement; but Hermas is probably somewhat later than I. Clement, and the reference may be merely a literary device based on knowledge of the earlier book.

More complicated and more interesting are suggestions that Clement may be identified or at least connected with Titus Flavius Clemens, a distinguished Roman of the imperial Flavian family. This Titus Flavius Clemens was in 95 A.D. accused of treason or impiety (*ἀθεότης*) by Domitian, his cousin, owing, according to Dio Cassius, to his Jewish proclivities. He was put to death and his wife, Domitilla, was banished. There is no proof that he was really a Christian, but one of the oldest catacombs in Rome is supposed to have belonged to Domitilla, and certainly was connected with this family. It is not probable that T. Flavius Clemens was the writer of I. Clement, but it is an attractive and not improbable hypothesis that a slave or freedman of the Flavian family had the name of Clemens, and held a high position in the Christian community at Rome.

The date of I. Clement is fixed by the following considerations. It appears from chapter 5 to be later than the persecution in the time of Nero, and from chapters 42-44 it is clear that the age of the apostles is regarded as past. It can therefore scarcely be older than 75-80 A.D. On the other hand chapter 44 speaks of presbyters who were appointed by the apostles and were still alive, and there is no trace of any of the controversies or persecutions of the second

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century. It is therefore probably not much later than 100 A.D. If it be assumed that chapter 1, which speaks of trouble and perhaps of persecution, refers to the time of Domitian, it can probably be dated as c. 96 A.D.; but we know very little about the alleged persecution in the time of Domitian, and it would not be prudent to decide that the epistle cannot be another ten or fifteen years later. It is safest to say that it must be dated between 75 and 110 A.D.; but within these limits there is a general agreement among critics to regard as most probable the last decade of the first century.

The evidence for the text of the epistle is as follows:—

The *Codex Alexandrinus*, a Greek uncial of the fifth century in the British Museum, contains the whole text with the exception of one page. It can be consulted in the photographic edition of the whole codex published by the Trustees of the British Museum.

The *Codex Constantinopolitanus*, a Greek minuscule written by Leo the Notary in 1056 A.D. and discovered by Bryennius in Constantinople in 1875; it also contains the second epistle of Clement, the epistle of Barnabas, the Didache, and the interpolated text (see pp. 167 ff.) of the epistles of Ignatius. A photographic edition of the text is given in Lightfoot's edition of Clement.

The Syriac version, extant in only one MS. written in 1169 A.D. and now in the Library of Cambridge University (MS. add. 1700); the date of this version is unknown, but it is probably not early, and may perhaps best be placed in the eighth century. A collation is given in Lightfoot's edition, and the text

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has been published in full by R. H. Kennett (who took up the material of the late Prof. Bensley) in *The Epistles of St. Clement to the Corinthians in Syriac*, London, 1899.

The Latin version, also extant in only one MS which formerly belonged to the Monastery of Florennes, and is now in the Seminary at Namur. The MS. was probably written in the eleventh century, but the version which it represents is extremely ancient. It seems to have been used by Lactantius, and may perhaps be best regarded as a translation of the late second or early third century made in Rome. The text was published in 1894 by Dom Morin in *Anecdota Maredsolana* vol. 2 as *S. Clementis Romani ad Corinthios versio latina antiquissima*.

The Coptic version is extant in two MSS., neither complete, in the Akhmimic dialect. The older and better preserved is MS. orient, fol. 3065 in the Königliche Bibliothek in Berlin. This is a beautiful Papyrus of the fourth century from the famous 'White monastery' of Shenute. It was published in 1908 by C. Schmidt in *Texte und Untersuchungen*, xxxii. 1 as *Der erste Clemensbrief in allkoptischer Übersetzung*. The later and more fragmentary MS. is in Strassburg and was published in 1910 by F. Rösch as *Bruchstücke des I. Clemensbriefes*; it probably was written in the seventh century.

Besides these MSS. and Versions exceptionally valuable evidence is given by numerous quotations in the Stromateis of Clement of Alexandria (flor. c. 200 A.D.). It is noteworthy that I. Clement appears to be treated by Clement of Alexandria as Scripture, and this, especially in connection with its position in the codex Alexandrinus and in the Strassburg

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Coptic MS., where it is directly joined on to the canonical books, suggests that at an early period in Alexandria and Egypt I. Clement was regarded as part of the New Testament.

The relations subsisting between these authorities for the text have not been finally established, but it appears clear that none of them can be regarded as undoubtedly superior to the others, so that any critical text is necessarily eclectic. At the same time there is very little range of variation, and the readings which are in serious doubt are few, and, as a rule, unimportant.

The symbols employed in quoting the textual evidence are as follows :—

A = Codex Alexandrinus.

C = Codex Constantinopolitanus.

L = Latin Version.

S = Syriac Version.

K = Coptic Version (Kb = the Berlin MS., Ks = the Strassburg MS.).

Clem = Clement of Alexandria.

ΚΛΗΜΕΝΤΟΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΚΟΡΙΝΘΙΟΥΣ Ᾱ

Ἡ ἐκκλησία τοῦ θεοῦ ἡ παροικοῦσα Ῥώμην τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ-τῇ παροικούσῃ Κόρινθον, κλητοῖς ἡγιασμένοις ἐν θελήματι θεοῦ διὰ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη ἀπὸ παντοκράτορος θεοῦ διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ πληθυνθείη.

I

1. Διὰ τὰς αἰφνιδίους καὶ ἐπαλλήλους γενομένας ἡμῖν συμφορὰς καὶ περιπτώσεις,¹ βράδιον νομίζομεν ἐπιστροφὴν πεποιῆσθαι περὶ τῶν ἐπιζητούμενων παρ' ὑμῖν πραγμάτων, ἀγαπητοί, τῆς τε ἀλλοτρίας καὶ ξένης τοῖς ἐκλεκτοῖς τοῦ θεοῦ, μιαρᾶς καὶ ἀνοσίτου στάσεως ἣν ὀλίγα πρόσωπα προπετῆ καὶ αὐθάδη ὑπάρχοντα εἰς τοσοῦτον ἀπονοίας ἐξέκαυσαν, ὥστε τὸ σεμνὸν καὶ περιβόητον καὶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἀξιαγάπητον ὄνομα ὑμῶν μεγάλως βλασφημηθῆναι. 2. τίς γὰρ παρεπιδημήσας πρὸς ὑμᾶς τὴν πανάρετον καὶ βεβαίαν ὑμῶν πίστιν οὐκ ἔδοκίμασεν; τὴν τε σώφρονα καὶ ἐπιεικῆ ἐν Χριστῷ εὐσέβειαν οὐκ ἐθαύμασεν; καὶ τὸ μεγαλοπρεπὲς τῆς φιλοξενίας ὑμῶν ἦθος οὐκ ἐκήρυξεν; καὶ τὴν τελείαν καὶ ἀσφαλῆ γνῶσιν

¹ C reads *περιστάσεις* which L perhaps represents by *impedimenta*, and Knopf accepts this.

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THE Church of God which sojourns in Rome to the Salutation.
Church of God which sojourns in Corinth, to those
who are called and sanctified by the will of God
through our Lord Jesus Christ. Grace and peace
from God Almighty be multiplied to you through
Jesus Christ.

I

1. OWING to the sudden and repeated mis- Reason for
delay in
writing
fortunes and calamities¹ which have befallen us,
we consider that our attention has been somewhat
delayed in turning to the questions disputed
among you, beloved, and especially the abominable
and unholy sedition, alien and foreign to the elect
of God, which a few rash and self-willed persons
have made blaze up to such a frenzy that your
name, venerable and famous, and worthy as it
is of all men's love, has been much slandered.

2. For who has stayed with you without making The ancient
fame of
Corinth
proof of the virtue and stedfastness of your faith?
Who has not admired the sobriety and Christian
gentleness of your piety? Who has not reported
your character so magnificent in its hospitality?
And who has not blessed your perfect and secure

¹ Or, with Knopf's text "critical circumstances."

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οὐκ ἑμακάρισεν ; 3. ἀπροσωπολήμπτως γὰρ πάντα ἐποιεῖτε καὶ ἐν τοῖς νομίμοις τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπορεύεσθε, ὑποτασσόμενοι τοῖς ἡγουμένοις ὑμῶν, καὶ τιμὴν τὴν καθήκουσαν ἀπονέμοντες τοῖς παρ' ὑμῶν πρεσβυτέροις· νέοις τε μέτρια καὶ σεμνὰ νοεῖν ἐπετρέπετε· γυναῖξιν τε ἐν ἀμώμῳ καὶ σεμνῇ καὶ ἀγνῇ συνειδήσει πάντα ἐπιτελεῖν παρηγγέλλετε, στεργούσας καθηκόντως τοὺς ἀνδρας ἑαυτῶν· ἐν τῷ κανόνι τῆς ὑποταγῆς ὑπαρχούσας τὰ κατὰ τὸν οἶκον σεμνῶς οἰκουργεῖν ἐδιδάσκετε, πάνυ σοφρονούσας.

II

Acts 20, 85

1. Πάντες τε ἐταπεινοφρονεῖτε μηδὲν ἀλαζονεύομενοι, ὑποτασσόμενοι μᾶλλον ἢ ὑποτάσσοντες, ἡἷδιον διδόντες ἢ λαμβάνοντες. τοῖς ἐφοδίοις τοῦ Χριστοῦ¹ ἀρκούμενοι, καὶ προσέχοντες τοὺς λόγους αὐτοῦ ἐπιμελῶς ἐνεστερνισμένοι ἢ τε τοῖς σπλάγχνοις, καὶ τὰ παθήματα αὐτοῦ ἦν πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ὑμῶν. 2. οὕτως εἰρήνη βαθεῖα καὶ λιπαρὰ ἐδέδοτο πᾶσιν καὶ ἀκόρεστος πόθος εἰς ἀγαθοποιῖαν, καὶ πλήρης πνεύματος ἀγίου ἔκχυσις ἐπὶ πάντας ἐγένετο· 3. μεστοί τε ὁσίας βουλῆς, ἐν ἀγαθῇ προθυμίᾳ μετ' εὐσεβοῦς πεποιθήσεως ἐξετείνετε τὰς χεῖρας ὑμῶν πρὸς τὸν παντοκράτορα θεόν, ἰκετεύοντες αὐτὸν ἰλέως² γενέσθαι, εἴ τι ἄκουτες ἡμάρτετε. 4. ἀγὼν ἦν ὑμῖν ἡμέρας τε καὶ νυκτὸς ὑπὲρ πάσης τῆς ἀδελφότητος, εἰς τὸ σῶζεσθαι μετ'

¹ Θεοῦ "of God" is read by A.

² ἰλεων Q.

I. CLEMENT, I. 2-11. 4

knowledge? 3. For you did all things without respect of persons, and walked in the laws of God, obedient to your rulers, and paying all fitting honour to the older among you. On the young, too, you enjoined temperate and seemly thoughts, and to the women you gave instruction that they should do all things with a blameless and seemly and pure conscience, yielding a dutiful affection to their husbands. And you taught them to remain in the rule of obedience and to manage their households with seemliness, in all circumspection.

II

1. AND you were all humble-minded and in no wise arrogant, yielding subjection rather than demanding it, "giving more gladly than receiving," satisfied with the provision of Christ, and paying attention to his words you stored them up carefully in your hearts, and kept his sufferings before your eyes. 2. Thus a profound and rich peace was given to all, you had an insatiable desire to do good, and the Holy Spirit was poured out in abundance on you all. 3. You were full of holy plans, and with pious confidence you stretched out your hands to Almighty God in a passion of goodness, beseeching him to be merciful towards any unwilling sin. 4. Day and night you strove on behalf of the whole brotherhood

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- ἐλέους¹ καὶ συνειδήσεως² τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν αὐτοῦ. 5. εἰλικρινεῖς καὶ ἀκέραιοι ἦτε καὶ ἀμνησικακοὶ εἰς ἀλλήλους. 6. πᾶσα στάσις καὶ πᾶν σχίσμα βδελυκτὸν ἦν ὑμῖν. ἐπὶ τοῖς παραπτώμασι τῶν πλησίον ἐπενθεῖτε· τὰ ὑστερήματα αὐτῶν ἴδια ἐκρίνετε. 7. ἀμεταμέλητοι ἦτε ἐπὶ πάσῃ ἀγαθοποιῶν, ἔτοιμοι εἰς πᾶν ἔργον ἀγαθόν. 8. τῇ παναρέτῳ καὶ σεβασμίῳ πολιτείᾳ κεκοσμημένοι πάντα ἐν τῷ φόβῳ αὐτοῦ ἐπετελεῖτε· τὰ προστάγματα καὶ τὰ δικαιώματα τοῦ κυρίου ἐπὶ τὰ πλάτη τῆς καρδίας ὑμῶν ἐγγέγραπτο.
- Tit. 3, 1
Prov. 7, 8

III

- Deut. 32, 15 1. Πᾶσα δόξα καὶ πλατυσμὸς ἐδόθη ὑμῖν, καὶ ἐπετελέσθη τὸ γεγραμμένον· Ἐφαγεν καὶ ἐπιεν, καὶ ἐπλατύνη, καὶ ἐπαχύνθη, καὶ ἀπελάκτισεν ὁ ἠγαπημένος. 2. ἐκ τούτου ζῆλος καὶ φθόνος, καὶ ἔρις, καὶ στάσις, διωγμὸς καὶ ἀκαταστασία, πόλεμος καὶ αἰχμαλωσία. 3. οὕτως ἐπηγέρθησαν οἱ ἄτιμοι ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐντίμους, οἱ ἄδοξοι ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐνδόξους, οἱ ἄφρονες ἐπὶ τοὺς φρονίμους, οἱ νέοι ἐπὶ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους. 4. διὰ τοῦτο πόρρω ἄπεστιν ἡ δικαιοσύνη καὶ εἰρήνη, ἐν τῷ ἀπολιπεῖν ἕκαστον τὸν φόβον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἐν τῇ πίστει αὐτοῦ ἀμβλυωπῆσαι, μηδὲ ἐν τοῖς νομίμοις τῶν
- Is. 3, 5
Is. 59, 14

¹ δέους C.

² This must be corrupt: *συναισθήσεως* is perhaps the best emendation.

I. CLEMENT, II. 4-III. 4

that the number of his elect should be saved with mercy and compassion.¹ 5. You were sincere and innocent, and bore no malice to one another. 6. All sedition and all schism was abominable to you. You mourned over the transgressions of your neighbours; you judged their shortcomings as your own. 7. You were without regret in every act of kindness, "ready unto every good work." 8. You were adorned by your virtuous and honourable citizenship and did all things in the fear of God.² The commandments and ordinances of the Lord were "written on the tables of your heart."

III

1. ALL glory and enlargement was given to you, and that which was written was fulfilled, "My Beloved ate and drank, and he was enlarged and waxed fat and kicked." 2. From this arose jealousy and envy, strife and sedition, persecution and disorder, war and captivity. 3. Thus "the worthless" rose up "against those who were in honour," those of no reputation against the renowned, the foolish against the prudent, the "young against the old." 4. For this cause righteousness and peace are far removed, while each deserts the fear of God and the eye of faith in him has grown dim, and men walk neither in the ordinances of his commandments nor

The troubles at Corinth.

¹ The MS. reading means "conscience," which gives no sense. There is also a variant in the previous word: the inferior MS. (C) reads "fear" instead of "mercy."

² "God" is found only in L; the other authorities have "his fear," but the meaning is plain.

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προσταγμάτων αὐτοῦ πορεύεσθαι, μηδὲ πολιτεύεσθαι κατὰ τὸ καθήκον τῷ Χριστῷ, ἀλλὰ ἕκαστον βαδίζειν κατὰ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας τῆς καρδίας αὐτοῦ τῆς πονηρᾶς, ζῆλον ἄδικον καὶ ἀσεβῆ ἀνειληφότας, δι' οὗ καὶ θάνατος εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸν κόσμον.

Wisd. 2, 24

IV

Gen. 4, 3-8 1. Γέγραπται γὰρ οὕτως· Καὶ ἐγένετο μεθ' ἡμέρας, ἤνεγκεν Κάιν ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν τῆς γῆς θυσίαν τῷ θεῷ, καὶ Ἀβελ ἤνεγκεν καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπὸ τῶν πρωτοτόκων τῶν προβάτων καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν στεάτων αὐτῶν. 2. καὶ ἐπεῖδεν ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ Ἀβελ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς δώροις αὐτοῦ, ἐπὶ δὲ Κάιν καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς θυσίαις αὐτοῦ οὐ προσέσχεν. 3. καὶ ἐλυπήθη Κάιν λίαν καὶ συνέπεσεν τῷ προσώπῳ αὐτοῦ. 4. καὶ εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς πρὸς Κάιν· Ἰνατί περίλυπος ἐγένου, καὶ ἵνατί συνέπεσεν τὸ πρόσωπόν σου; οὐκ ἔαν ὀρθῶς προσενέγκῃς, ὀρθῶς δὲ μὴ διέλῃς, ἡμαρτες; 5. ἡσύχασον πρὸς σὲ ἢ ἀποστροφή αὐτοῦ, καὶ σὺ ἄρξεις αὐτοῦ. 6. καὶ εἶπεν Κάιν πρὸς Ἀβελ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ· Διέλθωμεν εἰς τὸ πεδίου. καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ εἶναι αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ, ἀνέστη Κάιν ἐπὶ Ἀβελ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτόν. 7. ὁρᾶτε, ἀδελφοί, ζῆλος καὶ φθόνος ἀδελφοκτονίαν κατειργάσατο.

Gen. 27, 41 ff. 8. διὰ ζῆλος ὁ πατὴρ ἡμῶν Ἰακώβ ἀπέδρα ἀπὸ προσώπου Ἡσαὺ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ. 9. ζῆλος ἐποίησεν Ἰωσήφ μέχρι θανάτου διωχθῆναι καὶ μέχρι δουλείας εἰσελθεῖν. 10. ζῆλος φυγεῖν ἠνάγκασεν Μωϋσῆν ἀπὸ προσώπου Φαραὼ βασιλέως Αἰγύπτου ἐν τῷ ἀκοῦσαι αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὁμοφύλου

Gen. 37

I. CLEMENT, III. 4-IV. 10

use their citizenship worthily of Christ, but each goes according to the lusts of his wicked heart, and has revived the unrighteousness and impious envy, by which also "death came into the world."

IV

1. For it is written thus:—"And it came to pass after certain days that Cain offered to God a sacrifice of the fruits of the earth, and Abel himself also offered of the first-born of the sheep and of their fat. 2 And God looked on Abel and his gifts, but he had no respect to Cain and his sacrifices. 3. And Cain was greatly grieved and his countenance fell. 4. And God said to Cain, Why art thou grieved, and why is thy countenance fallen? If thou offeredst rightly, but didst not divide rightly, didst thou not sin?¹ 5. Be still: he shall turn to thee, and thou shalt rule over him. 6. And Cain said to Abel his brother, Let us go unto the plain. And it came to pass that, while they were in the plain, Cain rose up against Abel his brother and slew him." 7. You see, brethren,—jealousy and envy wrought fratricide. 8. Through jealousy our father Jacob ran from the face of Esau his brother. 9. Jealousy made Joseph to be persecuted to the death, and come into slavery. 10. Jealousy forced Moses to fly from the face of Pharaoh, King of Egypt, when his fellow countryman

Examples
of jealousy.
Cain and
Abel

Jacob and
Esau
Joseph

Moses

¹ This is unintelligible, and does not agree with the Hebrew, which is also unintelligible. It is dealt with at length in all commentaries on Genesis.

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- Exod. 2, 14 *Τίς σε κατέστησεν κριτὴν ἢ δικαστὴν ἐφ' ἡμῶν ; μὴ ἀνελεῖν με σὺ θέλεις, ὃν τρόπον ἀνεῖλες ἐχθρὸς τὸν Αἰγύπτιον ;* 11. *διὰ ζῆλος Ἀαρὼν καὶ Μαρίαμ ἔξω τῆς παρεμβολῆς ἠυλίσθησαν.* 12. *ζῆλος Δαθὰν καὶ Ἀβειρῶν ζῶντας κατήγαγεν εἰς ἄδου διὰ τὸ στασιάσαι αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὸν θεράποντα τοῦ θεοῦ Μωϋσῆν.* 13. *διὰ ζῆλος Δαυεὶδ φθόνον ἔσχεν οὐ μόνον ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλοφύλων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὸ Σαοὺλ βασιλέως Ἰσραὴλ ἐδιώχθη.*

V

1. Ἄλλ' ἵνα τῶν ἀρχαίων ὑποδειγμάτων παυσώμεθα, ἔλθωμεν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἔγγιστα γενομένους ἀθλητάς· λάβωμεν τῆς γενεᾶς ἡμῶν τὰ γενναῖα ὑποδείγματα. 2. διὰ ζῆλον καὶ φθόνον οἱ μέγιστοι καὶ δικαιοτάτοι στύλοι ἐδιώχθησαν καὶ ἕως θανάτου ἤθλησαν. 3. λάβωμεν πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ἡμῶν τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἀποστόλους· 4. Πέτρον, ὃς διὰ ζῆλον ἀδικον οὐχ ἓνα οὐδὲ δύο, ἀλλὰ πλείονας ὑπήνεγκεν πόνους καὶ οὕτω μαρτυρήσας ἐπορεύθη εἰς τὸν ὀφειλόμενον τόπον τῆς δόξης. 5. διὰ ζῆλον καὶ ἔριν Παῦλος ὑπομονῆς βραβεῖον ὑπέδειξεν, 6. ἐπτάκις δεσμὰ φορέσας, φυγαδευθεὶς, λιθασθεὶς, κήρυξ γενόμενος ἐν τε τῇ ἀνατολῇ καὶ ἐν τῇ δύσει, τὸ γενναῖον τῆς πίστεως αὐτοῦ κλέος ἔλαβεν, 7. δικαιοσύνην διδάξας ὅλον τὸν κόσμον, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ τέρμα τῆς δύσεως ἐλθὼν καὶ μαρτυρήσας ἐπὶ τῶν ἡγουμένων, οὕτως ἀπηλλάγη τοῦ κόσμου καὶ εἰς τὸν ἅγιον τόπον ἀνελήμφθη,¹ ὑπομονῆς γενόμενος μέγιστος ὑπογραμμός.

¹ So SLK, ἐπορεύθη AC probably from v. 4.

I. CLEMENT, IV. 10-V. 7

said to him, "Who made thee a judge or a ruler over us? Wouldest thou slay me as thou didst slay the Egyptian yesterday?" 11. Through jealousy Aaron and Miriam were lodged outside the camp. 12. Jealousy brought down Dathan and Abiram alive into Hades, because they rebelled against Moses the servant of God. 13. Through jealousy David incurred envy not only from strangers, but suffered persecution even from Saul, King of Israel.

Aaron and
Miriam

Dathan and
Abiram

David

V

1. BUT, to cease from the examples of old time, let us come to those who contended in the days nearest to us; let us take the noble examples of our own generation. 2. Through jealousy and envy the greatest and most righteous pillars of the Church were persecuted and contended unto death. 3. Let us set before our eyes the good apostles: 4. Peter, who because of unrighteous jealousy suffered not one or two but many trials, and having thus given his testimony went to the glorious place which was his due. 5. Through jealousy and strife Paul showed the way to the prize of endurance; 6. seven times he was in bonds, he was exiled, he was stoned, he was a herald both in the East and in the West, he gained the noble fame of his faith, 7. he taught righteousness to all the world, and when he had reached the limits of the West he gave his testimony before the rulers, and thus passed from the world and was taken up into the Holy Place,—the greatest example of endurance.

Peter and
Paul

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

VI

1. Τούτοις τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ὁσίως πολιτευσαμένοις συνηθροίσθη πολὺ πλῆθος ἐκλεκτῶν, οἵτινες πολλαῖς αἰκίαις καὶ βασάνοις¹ διὰ ζῆλος παθόντες ὑπόδειγμα κάλλιστον ἐγένοντο ἐν ἡμῖν. 2. διὰ ζῆλος διωχθεῖσαι γυναῖκες Δαναῖδες καὶ Δίρκαι,² αἰκίσματα δεινὰ καὶ ἀνόσια παθούσαι, ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς πίστεως βέβαιον δρόμον κατήνησαν καὶ ἔλαβον γέρας γενναῖον αἱ ἀσθενεῖς τῷ σώματι. 3. ζῆλος ἀπηλλοτρίωσεν γαμετὰς ἀνδρῶν καὶ ἠλλοίωσεν τὸ ῥῆθὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἀδάμ· Τοῦτο νῦν ὅστων ἐκ τῶν ὀστέων μου καὶ σὰρξ ἐκ τῆς σαρκός μου. 4. ζῆλος καὶ ἕρις πόλεις μεγάλας κατέστρεψεν καὶ ἔθνη μεγάλα ἐξερίζωσεν.

Gen. 2, 29

VII

1. Ταῦτα, ἀγαπητοί, οὐ μόνον ὑμᾶς νουθετοῦντες ἐπιστέλλομεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἑαυτοὺς ὑπομυμνήσκοντες· ἐν γὰρ τῷ αὐτῷ ἐσμὲν σκάμματι, καὶ ὁ αὐτὸς ἡμῖν ἀγὼν ἐπὶκείται. 2. διὸ ἀπολίπωμεν τὰς κενὰς καὶ ματαίας φροντίδας, καὶ ἔλθωμεν ἐπὶ τὸν εὐκλεῆ καὶ σεμνὸν τῆς παραδόσεως ἡμῶν κανόνα, 3. καὶ ἴδωμεν, τί καλὸν καὶ τί τερπνὸν καὶ τί προσδεκτὸν ἐνώπιον τοῦ ποιήσαντος ἡμᾶς. 4. ἀτενίσωμεν εἰς τὸ αἷμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ γνῶμεν, ὡς ἔστιν

¹ LK perhaps imply πολλὰς αἰκίας καὶ βασάνους.

² This is perhaps corrupt: but no satisfactory emendation is known.

I. CLEMENT, VI. I-VII. 4

VI

1. To these men with their holy lives was gathered ^{The Christian} a great multitude of the chosen, who were the ^{martyrs} victims of jealousy and offered among us the fairest example in their endurance under many indignities and tortures. 2. Through jealousy women were persecuted as Danaids and Dircae,¹ suffering terrible and unholy indignities; they stedfastly finished the course of faith, and received a noble reward, weak in the body though they were. 3. Jealousy has estranged wives from husbands, and made of no effect the saying of our father Adam, "This is now bone of my bone and flesh of my flesh." 4. Jealousy and strife have overthrown great cities, and rooted up mighty nations.

VII

1. WE are not only writing these things to you, ^{Instances of} beloved, for your admonition, but also to remind our- ^{repentance} selves; for we are in the same arena, and the same struggle is before us. 2. Wherefore let us put aside empty and vain cares, and let us come to the glorious and venerable rule of our tradition, 3. and let us see what is good and pleasing and acceptable in the sight of our Maker. 4. Let us fix our gaze on the Blood of Christ, and let us

¹ No satisfactory interpretation has ever been given of this phrase: either it refers to theatrical representations by condemned Christians, or the text is hopelessly corrupt.

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

τίμιον τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ,¹ ὅτι διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν ἐκχυθὲν παντὶ τῷ κόσμῳ μετανοίας χάριν ὑπήνεγκεν. 5. διέλθωμεν εἰς τὰς γενεὰς πάσας, καὶ καταμάθωμεν ὅτι ἐν γενεᾷ καὶ γενεᾷ μετανοίας τόπον ἔδωκεν ὁ δεσπότης τοῖς βουλομένοις ἐπιστραφῆναι ἐπ' αὐτόν. 6. Νῶε ἐκήρυξεν μετάνοιαν, καὶ οἱ ὑπακούσαντες ἐσώθησαν. 7. Ἰω- νᾶς Νινευίταις καταστροφὴν ἐκήρυξεν· οἱ δὲ μετανοήσαντες ἐπὶ τοῖς ἁμαρτήμασιν αὐτῶν ἐξιλάσαντο τὸν θεὸν ἱκετεύσαντες καὶ ἔλαβον σωτηρίαν, καί- περ ἀλλότριοι τοῦ θεοῦ ὄντες.

Wisd. 12, 10
Gen. 7

Jon. 3;
Mt. 12, 41

VIII

Ezek. 38.
11-27

1. Οἱ λειτουργοὶ τῆς χάριτος τοῦ θεοῦ διὰ πνεύ- ματος ἁγίου περὶ μετανοίας ἐλάλησαν, 2. καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ δεσπότης τῶν ἀπάντων περὶ μετανοίας ἐλάλησεν μετὰ ὄρκου· Ζῶ γὰρ ἐγώ, λέγει κύριος, οὐ βούλομαι τὸν θάνατον τοῦ ἁμαρτωλοῦ ὡς τὴν μετάνοιαν, προστιθεὶς καὶ γνώμην ἀγαθὴν· 3. Μετανοήσατε, οἶκος Ἰσραὴλ, ἀπὸ τῆς ἀνομίας ὑμῶν· εἶπον τοῖς υἱοῖς τοῦ λαοῦ μου· Ἐὰν ὧσιν αἱ ἁμαρτίαι ὑμῶν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἕως τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἂν ὧσιν πυρρότεραι κόκκου καὶ μελανώτεραι σάκ- κου, καὶ ἐπιστραφῆτε πρὸς με ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας καὶ εἶπητε· Πάτερ· ἐπακούσομαι ὑμῶν ὡς λαοῦ ἁγίου. 4. καὶ ἐν ἐτέρῳ τόπῳ λέγει οὕτως·

¹ τῷ θεῷ καὶ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ A, τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ τῷ θεῷ C. The text is found in SLK.

I. CLEMENT, VII. 4-VIII. 4

know that it is precious to his Father,¹ because it was poured out for our salvation, and brought the grace of repentance to all the world. 5. Let us review all the generations, and let us learn that in generation after generation the Master has given a place of repentance to those who will turn to him.

6. Noah preached repentance and those who obeyed were saved. Noah 7. Jonah foretold destruction to the men of Nineveh, but when they repented they received forgiveness of their sins from God in answer to their prayer, and gained salvation, though they were aliens to God. Jonah and the Ninevites

VIII

1. THE ministers of the grace of God spoke through the Holy Spirit concerning repentance, 2. and even the Master of the universe himself spoke with an oath concerning repentance; "For as I live, said the Lord, I do not desire the death of the sinner so much as his repentance," and he added a gracious declaration, 3. "Repent, O house of Israel, from your iniquity. Say to the sons of my people, If your sins reach from the earth to Heaven, and if they be redder than scarlet, and blacker than sackcloth, and ye turn to me with all your hearts and say 'Father,' I will listen to you as a holy people."² 4. And in another place he speaks thus, "Wash

Repentance
in the
Prophets

¹ The Greek MSS. insert "his God," but in different places, and the evidence of the versions confirms Lightfoot's view that the words are interpolated.

² The origin of this quotation is obscure: possibly Clement's text of Ezekiel was different from ours and really contained it.

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

Is. 1, 16-20 Λούσασθε καὶ καθαροὶ γένησθε, ἀφέλεσθε τὰς πονηρίας ἀπὸ τῶν ψυχῶν ὑμῶν ἀπέναντι τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν μου· παύσασθε ἀπὸ τῶν πονηριῶν ὑμῶν, μάθετε καλὸν ποιεῖν, ἐκζητήσατε κρίσιν, ῥύσασθε ἀδικούμενον, κρίνατε ὀρφανῶ καὶ δικαιώσατε χήρα· καὶ δεῦτε καὶ διελεγχθῶμεν, λέγει κύριος· καὶ ἂν ὦσιν αἱ ἁμαρτίαι ὑμῶν ὡς φοινικῶν, ὡς χιόνα λευκανῶ· ἂν δὲ ὦσιν ὡς κόκκινον, ὡς ἔριον λευκανῶ· καὶ ἂν θέλητε καὶ εἰσακούσητέ μου, τὰ ἀγαθὰ τῆς γῆς φάγεσθε· ἂν δὲ μὴ θέλητε μηδὲ εἰσακούσητέ μου, μάχαιρα ὑμᾶς κατέδεται· τὸ γὰρ στόμα κυρίου ἐλάλησεν ταῦτα. 5. πάντας οὖν τοὺς ἀγαπητοὺς αὐτοῦ βουλόμενος μετανοίας μετασχεῖν ἐστήριξεν τῷ παντοκρατορικῷ βουλήματι αὐτοῦ.

IX

1. Διὸ ὑπακούσωμεν τῇ μεγαλοπρεπεῖ καὶ ἐνδόξῳ βουλήσει αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἰκέται γενόμενοι τοῦ ἐλέους καὶ τῆς χρηστότητος αὐτοῦ προσπέσωμεν καὶ ἐπιστρέψωμεν ἐπὶ τοὺς οἰκτιρμοὺς αὐτοῦ, ἀπολιπόντες τὴν ματαιοπονίαν τὴν τε ἔριν καὶ τὸ εἰς θάνατον ἄγον ζῆλος. 2. ἀτενίσωμεν εἰς τοὺς τελείως λειτουργήσαντας τῇ μεγαλοπρεπεῖ δόξῃ αὐτοῦ. 3. λάβωμεν Ἐνώχ, ὃς ἐν ὑπακοῇ δίκαιος εὔρεθεις μετετέθη, καὶ οὐχ εὔρεθη αὐτοῦ θάνατος. 4. Νῶε πιστὸς εὔρεθεις διὰ τῆς λειτουργίας αὐτοῦ παλιγγενεσίαν κόσμῳ ἐκήρυξεν, καὶ διέσωσεν δι' αὐτοῦ ὁ δεσπότης τὰ εἰσελθόντα ἐν ὁμοιοῖα ζῶα εἰς τὴν κιβωτόν.

Gen. 5, 24 ;
Heb. 11, 5
Gen. 6, 8; 1, 7;
Heb. 11, 7;
11 Pet. 2, 5

I. CLEMENT, VIII. 4-IX. 4

you, and make you clean, put away your wickedness from your souls before my eyes, cease from your wickedness, learn to do good, seek out judgment, rescue the wronged, give judgment for the orphan, do justice to the widow, and come and let us reason together, saith the Lord; and if your sins be as crimson, I will make them white as snow, and if they be as scarlet, I will make them white as wool, and if ye be willing and hearken to me, ye shall eat the good things of the land, but if ye be not willing, and hearken not to me, a sword shall devour you, for the mouth of the Lord has spoken these things." 5. Thus desiring to give to all his beloved a share in repentance, he established it by his Almighty will.

IX

1. WHEREFORE let us obey his excellent and glorious will; let us fall before him as suppliants of his mercy and goodness; let us turn to his pity, and abandon the vain toil and strife and jealousy which leads to death. 2. Let us fix our gaze on those who have rendered perfect service to his excellent glory. 3. Let us take Enoch, who was found righteous in obedience, and was translated, and death did not befall him. 4. Noah was found faithful in his service, in foretelling a new beginning to the world, and through him the Master saved the living creatures which entered in concord into the Ark.

Examples of
obedience

Enoch

Noah

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

X

Is. 41, 8;

II Chron.

20, 7;

James 2, 28.

1. Ἀβραάμ, ὁ φίλος προσαγορευθείς, πιστὸς εὐρέθη ἐν τῷ αὐτὸν ὑπήκουον γενέσθαι τοῖς ῥήμασιν τοῦ θεοῦ. 2. οὗτος δι' ὑπακοῆς ἐξῆλθεν ἐκ τῆς γῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκ τῆς συγγενείας αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ, ὅπως γῆν ὀλίγην καὶ συγγένειαν ἀσθενῆ καὶ οἶκον μικρὸν καταλιπὼν κληρονομήσῃ τὰς ἐπαγγελίας τοῦ θεοῦ. λέγει γὰρ αὐτῷ·

Gen. 12, 1-3

3. Ἀπελθε ἐκ τῆς γῆς σου καὶ ἐκ τῆς συγγενείας σου καὶ ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ πατρὸς σου εἰς τὴν γῆν ἣν ἂν σοι δείξω· καὶ ποιήσω σε εἰς ἔθνος μέγα καὶ εὐλογήσω σε καὶ μεγαλυνῶ τὸ ὄνομά σου, καὶ ἔσῃ εὐλογημένος· καὶ εὐλογήσω τοὺς εὐλογοῦντάς σε καὶ καταράσομαι τοὺς καταρωμένους σε, καὶ εὐλογηθήσονται ἐν σοὶ πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαὶ τῆς γῆς. 4. καὶ πάλιν ἐν τῷ διαχωρισθῆναι αὐτὸν ἀπὸ Λὼτ εἶπεν αὐτῷ ὁ θεός. Ἀναβλέψας τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς σου ἴδε ἀπὸ τοῦ τόπου, οὗ νῦν σὺ εἶ, πρὸς βορρᾶν καὶ λίβα καὶ ἀνατολὰς καὶ θάλασσαν, ὅτι πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν, ἣν σὺ ὄρᾳς, σοὶ δώσω αὐτὴν καὶ τῷ σπέρματί σου ἕως αἰῶνος. 5. καὶ ποιήσω τὸ σπέρμα σου ὡς τὴν ἄμμον τῆς γῆς· εἰ δύναται τις ἐξαριθμῆσαι τὴν ἄμμον τῆς γῆς, καὶ τὸ σπέρμα σου ἐξαριθμηθήσεται. 6. καὶ

Gen. 18,
14-16

πάλιν λέγει· Ἐξήγαγεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν Ἀβραάμ καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ· Ἀνάβλεψον εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ ἀρίθμησον τοὺς ἀστέρας, εἰ δυνησῇ ἐξαριθμῆσαι αὐτούς· οὕτως ἔσται τὸ σπέρμα σου. ἐπίστευσεν δὲ Ἀβραάμ τῷ θεῷ, καὶ ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ εἰς δικαιοσύνην. 7. διὰ πίστιν καὶ φιλοξενίαν ἐδόθη

Gen. 15, 5, 6;
Rom. 4, 3

24

I. CLEMENT, x. 1-x. 7

X

1. ABRAHAM, who was called "the Friend," was Abraham found faithful in his obedience to the words of God. 2. He in obedience went forth from his country and from his kindred and from his father's house, that by leaving behind a little country and a feeble kindred and a small house he might inherit the promises of God. For God says to him, 3. "Depart from thy land and from thy kindred and from thy father's house to the land which I shall show thee, and I will make thee a great nation, and I will bless thee, and I will magnify thy name, and thou shalt be blessed; and I will bless those that bless thee, and I will curse those that curse thee, and all the tribes of the earth shall be blessed in thee." 4. And again, when he was separated from Lot, God said to him, "Lift up thine eyes and look from the place where thou art now, to the North and to the South and to the East and to the West; for all the land which thou seest, to thee will I give it and to thy seed for ever. 5. And I will make thy seed as the dust of the earth. If a man can number the dust of the earth thy seed shall also be numbered." 6. And again he says, "God led forth Abraham, and said to him, 'Look up to the Heaven and number the stars, if thou canst number them; so shall thy seed be.' And Abraham believed God, and it was counted unto him for righteousness." 7. Because of his faith and hospitality a son was given him in

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

Gen. 22 ; αὐτῷ υἱὸς ἐν γῆρα, καὶ δι' ὑπακοῆς προσήνεγκεν
 Heb. 11, 17 αὐτὸν θυσίαν τῷ θεῷ πρὸς τὸ ὄρος ὃ¹ ἔδειξεν
 αὐτῷ.

XI

Gen. 19 ; 1. Διὰ φιλοξενίαν καὶ εὐσέβειαν Λὼτ ἐσώθη ἐκ
 11 Pet. 2, 6, 7 Σοδόμων, τῆς περιχώρου πάσης κριθείσης διὰ
 πυρὸς καὶ θείου, πρόδηλον ποιήσας ὁ δεσπότης,
 ὅτι τοὺς ἐλπίζοντας ἐπ' αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐγκαταλείπει,
 τοὺς δὲ ἑτεροκλινεῖς ὑπάρχοντας εἰς κόλασιν καὶ
 αἰκισμὸν τίθησιν. 2. συνεξεληθούσης γὰρ αὐτῷ
 τῆς γυναικὸς ἑτερογνώμονος ὑπαρχούσης καὶ οὐκ
 ἐν ὁμοιᾷ, εἰς τοῦτο σημεῖον ἐτέθη, ὥστε γενέσθαι
 αὐτὴν στήλην ἀλὸς ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ταύτης, εἰς
 τὸ γνωστὸν εἶναι πᾶσιν, ὅτι οἱ δίψυχοι καὶ οἱ
 διστάζοντες περὶ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ δυνάμεως εἰς κρίμα
 καὶ εἰς σημεῖωσιν πάσαις ταῖς γενεαῖς γίνονται.

XII

Josh. 2 ; 1. Διὰ πίστιν καὶ φιλοξενίαν ἐσώθη Ῥαὰβ ἡ
 James 2, 25 ; πόρνη.² 2. ἐκεπεμφθέντων γὰρ ὑπὸ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ τοῦ
 Heb. 11, 31 Ναυῆ κατασκόπων εἰς τὴν Ἰεριχώ, ἔγνω ὁ
 Josh. 2, 1-3 βασιλεὺς τῆς γῆς, ὅτι ἤκασιν κατασκοπεῦσαι τὴν
 χώραν αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐξέπεμψεν ἄνδρας τοὺς
 συλλημφομένους αὐτούς, ὅπως συλλημφθέντες
 Josh. 3, 6 θανατωθῶσιν. 3. ἡ οὖν φιλόξενος Ῥαὰβ εἰσδε-
 ξαμένη αὐτούς ἔκρυψεν εἰς τὸ ὑπερῶον ὑπὸ τὴν

¹ So L ; ACSK conform to the LXX and read ἐν τῶν ὁρέων.

² ἡ ἐπιλεγομένη πόρνη CLSK perhaps from Hebr. 11, 31.
 The text is found in A Clement.

I. CLEMENT, x. 7-xii. 4

his old age, and in his obedience he offered him as a sacrifice to God on the mountain¹ which he showed him.

XI

1. For his hospitality and piety Lot was saved out of Sodom when the whole countryside was judged by fire and brimstone, and the Master made clear that he does not forsake those who hope in him, but delivers to punishment and torture those who turn aside to others. 2. For of this a sign was given when his wife went with him, but changed her mind and did not remain in agreement with him, so that she became a pillar of salt unto this day, to make known to all, that those who are double-minded, and have doubts concerning the power of God, incur judgment and become a warning to all generations. Lot's wife

XII

1. For her faith and hospitality Rahab the harlot² was saved. 2. For when the spies were sent to Jericho by Joshua the son of Nun, the King of the land knew that they had come to spy out his country, and sent men to take them, that they might be captured and put to death. 3. So the hospitable Rahab took them in, and hid them in the upper room under the stalks of flax. 4. And when the

¹ Or possibly, with the other reading, "on one of the mountains."

² Or possibly "who was called a harlot."

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

- Josh. 2, 8 *λινοκαλάμην. 4. ἐπισταθέντων δὲ τῶν παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ λεγόντων· Πρὸς σὲ εἰσῆλθον οἱ κατάσκοποι τῆς γῆς ἡμῶν· ἐξάγαγε αὐτούς, ὁ γὰρ*
- Josh. 2, 4, 5 *βασιλεὺς οὕτως κελεύει, ἣδε ἀπεκρίθη· Εἰσῆλθον μὲν οἱ ἄνδρες, οὓς ζητεῖτε, πρὸς με, ἀλλ' εὐθέως ἀπῆλθον καὶ πορεύονται τῇ ὁδῷ· ὑποδεικνύουσα αὐτοῖς ἐναλλάξ. 5. καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς τοὺς ἄνδρας·*
- Josh. 2, 9-13 *Γινώσκουσα γινώσκω ἐγώ, ὅτι κύριος ὁ θεὸς παραδίδωσιν ὑμῖν τὴν γῆν ταύτην· ὁ γὰρ φόβος καὶ ὁ τρόμος ὑμῶν ἐπέπεσε τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν αὐτήν. ὡς ἐὰν οὖν γένηται λαβεῖν αὐτήν ὑμᾶς, διασώσατέ με καὶ τὸν οἶκον τοῦ πατρός μου. 6. καὶ*
- Josh. 2, 14 *εἶπαν αὐτῇ· Ἔσται οὕτως, ὡς ἐλάλησας ἡμῖν. ὡς ἐὰν οὖν γνῶς παραγινόμενους ἡμᾶς, συνάξεις πάντας τοὺς σοὺς ὑπὸ τὸ στέγος σου, καὶ διασωθήσονται· ὅσοι γὰρ ἐὰν εὐρεθῶσιν ἔξω τῆς*
- Josh. 2, 18 *οἰκίας, ἀπολοῦνται. 7. καὶ προσέθεντο αὐτῇ δοῦναι σημεῖον, ὅπως ἐκκρεμάσῃ ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου αὐτῆς κόκκινον, πρόδηλον ποιῶντες, ὅτι διὰ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ κυρίου λύτρωσις ἔσται πᾶσιν τοῖς πιστεύουσιν καὶ ἐλπίζουσιν ἐπὶ τὸν θεόν. 8. ὁρᾶτε, ἀγαπητοί, ὅτι οὐ μόνον πίστις, ἀλλὰ καὶ προφητεία ἐν τῇ γυναικὶ γέγονεν.*

XIII

1. Ταπεινοφρονήσωμεν οὖν, ἀδελφοί, ἀποθέμενοι πᾶσαν ἀλαζονείαν καὶ τῦφος καὶ ἀφροσύνην καὶ ὀργάς, καὶ ποιήσωμεν τὸ γεγραμμένον, λέγει γὰρ

Jer. 9, 23-24;
I Sam. 2, 10;
I Cor. 1, 31;
II Cor. 10, 17

τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον· Μὴ καυχᾶσθω ὁ σοφὸς ἐν τῇ σοφίᾳ αὐτοῦ μηδὲ ὁ ἰσχυρὸς ἐν τῇ ἰσχύϊ αὐτοῦ μηδὲ ὁ πλούσιος ἐν τῷ πλούτῳ αὐτοῦ, ἀλλ' ἡ ὁ

I. CLEMENT, XII. 4-XIII. 1

king's men came and said, "The spies of our land came in to thee, bring them out, for the king orders thus," she answered "The men whom ye seek did indeed come to me, but they went away forthwith, and are proceeding on their journey," and pointed in the wrong direction. 5. And she said to the men, "I know assuredly that the Lord God is delivering to you this land; for the fear and dread of you has fallen on those who dwell in it. When therefore it shall come to pass, that ye take it, save me and my father's house." 6. And they said to her, "It shall be as thou hast spoken to us; when therefore thou knowest that we are at hand, thou shalt gather all thy folk under thy roof, and they shall be safe; for as many as shall be found outside the house shall perish." 7. And they proceeded to give her a sign, that she should hang out a scarlet thread from her house, foreshowing that all who believe and hope on God shall have redemption through the blood of the Lord. 8. You see, beloved, that the woman is an instance not only of faith but also of prophecy.

XIII

1. LET us, therefore, be humble-minded, brethren, putting aside all arrogance and conceit and foolishness and wrath, and let us do that which is written (for the Holy Spirit says, "Let not the wise man boast himself in his wisdom, nor the strong man in his strength, nor the rich man in his riches, but he

The need of
humble-
mindedness

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καυχώμενος ἐν κυρίῳ καυχάσθω, τοῦ ἐκζητεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ ποιεῖν κρίμα καὶ δικαιοσύνην· μάλιστα μεμνημένοι τῶν λόγων τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ, οὗς ἐλάλησεν διδάσκων ἐπιείκειαν καὶ μακροθυμίαν.

Matt. 5, 7; 6,
14, 15; 7, 1.
2, 12;
Luk. 6, 31.
36-38

2. οὕτως γὰρ εἶπεν· Ἐλεάτε, ἵνα ἐλεηθῆτε· ἀφίετε, ἵνα ἀφεθῆ ὑμῖν· ὡς ποιεῖτε, οὕτω ποιηθήσεται ὑμῖν· ὡς δίδοτε, οὕτως δοθήσεται ὑμῖν· ὡς κρίνετε, οὕτως κριθήσεσθε· ὡς χρηστεύεσθε, οὕτως χρηστευθήσεται ὑμῖν· ὡς μέτρω μετρεῖτε, ἐν αὐτῷ μετρηθήσεται ὑμῖν. 3. ταύτῃ τῇ ἐντολῇ καὶ τοῖς παραγγέλμασιν τούτοις στηρίξωμεν ἑαυτοὺς εἰς τὸ πορεύεσθαι ὑπηκόους ὄντας τοῖς ἀγιοπρεπέσι λόγοις αὐτοῦ, ταπεινοφρονούντες· φησὶν γὰρ ὁ ἅγιος λόγος· 4. Ἐπὶ τίνα ἐπιβλέψω, ἀλλ' ἢ ἐπὶ τὸν πραῦν καὶ ἡσύχιον καὶ τρέμοντά μου τὰ λόγια.

Is. 66, 2

XIV

1. Δίκαιον οὖν καὶ ὄσιον, ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί, ὑπηκόους ἡμᾶς μᾶλλον γενέσθαι τῷ θεῷ ἢ τοῖς ἐν ἀλαζονείᾳ καὶ ἀκαταστασίᾳ μυσεροῦ ζήλους ἀρχηγοῖς ἐξακολουθεῖν. 2. βλάβην γὰρ οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν, μᾶλλον δὲ κίνδυνον ὑποίσομεν μέγαν, ἐὰν ῥιψοκινδύνως ἐπιδώμεν ἑαυτοὺς τοῖς θελήμασιν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, οἵτινες ἐξακοντίζουσιν εἰς ἔριν καὶ στάσεις, εἰς τὸ ἀπαλλοτριῶσαι ἡμᾶς τοῦ καλῶς ἔχοντος. 3. χρηστευσώμεθα ἑαυτοῖς κατὰ τὴν εὐσπλαγχνίαν καὶ γλυκύτητα τοῦ ποιήσαντος ἡμᾶς. 4. γέγραπται γάρ· Χρηστοὶ ἔσονται οἰκήτορες γῆς, ἀκακοὶ δὲ ὑπολειφθήσονται ἐπ' αὐτῆς· οἱ δὲ παρανομοῦντες ἐξελεθρευθήσονται ἀπ' αὐτῆς.

Prov. 2, 21.
22;
Ps. 37, 9, 38

I. CLEMENT, XIII. 1-XIV. 5

that boasteth let him boast in the Lord, to seek him out and to do judgment and righteousness"), especially remembering the words of the Lord Jesus which he spoke when he was teaching gentleness and longsuffering. 2. For he spoke thus: "Be merciful, that ye may obtain mercy. Forgive, that ye may be forgiven. As ye do, so shall it be done unto you. As ye give, so shall it be given unto you. As ye judge, so shall ye be judged. As ye are kind, so shall kindness be shewn you. With what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you." 3. With this commandment and with these injunctions let us strengthen ourselves to walk in obedience to his hallowed words and let us be humble-minded, for the holy word says, 4. "On whom shall I look, but on the meek and gentle and him who trembles at my oracles."

XIV

1. THEREFORE it is right and holy, my brethren, for us to obey God rather than to follow those who in pride and unruliness are the instigators of an abominable jealousy. 2. For we shall incur no common harm, but great danger, if we rashly yield ourselves to the purposes of men who rush into strife and sedition, to estrange us from what is right. 3. Let us be kind to one another, according to the compassion and sweetness of our Maker. 4. For it is written, "The kind shall inhabit the land, and the guiltless shall be left on it, but they who transgress shall be destroyed from off it."

Obedience to God, and abstinence from sedition.

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Ps. 37, 85-87 5. καὶ πάλιν λέγει· Εἶδον ἀσεβῆ ὑπερυψούμενον καὶ ἐπαιρόμενον ὡς τὰς κέδρους τοῦ Λιβάνου· καὶ παρήλθον, καὶ ἰδοὺ οὐκ ἦν, καὶ ἐξεζήτησα τὸν τόπον αὐτοῦ, καὶ οὐχ εὔρον. φύλασσε ἀκακίαν καὶ ἴδε εὐθύτητα, ὅτι ἐστὶν ἐγκατάλειμμα ἀνθρώπῳ εἰρηνικῶ.

XV

1. Τοῖνυν κολληθῶμεν τοῖς μετ' εὐσεβείας εἰρηνεύουσιν, καὶ μὴ τοῖς μεθ' ὑποκρίσεως βουλομένοις εἰρήνην. 2. λέγει γάρ που· Οὗτος ὁ λαὸς τοῖς χείλεσίν με τιμᾷ, ἡ δὲ καρδία αὐτῶν πόρρω ἄπαιστος ἀπ' ἐμοῦ. 3. καὶ πάλιν· Τῷ στόματι αὐτῶν εὐλογοῦσιν, τῇ δὲ καρδίᾳ αὐτῶν κατηρῶντο. 4. καὶ πάλιν λέγει· Ἠγάπησαν αὐτὸν τῷ στόματι αὐτῶν καὶ τῇ γλώσσῃ αὐτῶν ἐψεύσαντο αὐτόν, ἡ δὲ καρδία αὐτῶν οὐκ εὐθεῖα μετ' αὐτοῦ, οὐδὲ ἐπιστώθησαν ἐν τῇ διαθήκῃ αὐτοῦ. 5. διὰ τοῦτο ἄλαλα γενηθήτω τὰ χεῖλη τὰ δόλια τὰ λαλοῦντα κατὰ τοῦ δικαίου ἀνομίαν. καὶ πάλιν· Ἐξολεθρεύσαι κύριος πάντα τὰ χεῖλη τὰ δόλια,¹ γλώσσαν μεγαλορήμονα, τοὺς εἰπόντας· Τὴν γλώσσαν ἡμῶν μεγαλυνούμεν, τὰ χεῖλη ἡμῶν παρ' ἡμῖν ἐστίν· τίς ἡμῶν κύριός ἐστιν; 6. ἀπὸ τῆς ταλαιπωρίας τῶν πτωχῶν καὶ τοῦ στεναγμοῦ τῶν πενήτων νῦν ἀναστήσομαι, λέγει κύριος· θήσομαι ἐν σωτηρίῳ, 7. παρρησιάσομαι ἐν αὐτῷ.

Is. 29, 13;
Mk. 7, 6

Ps. 61, 6

Ps. 77, 86. 87

Ps. 30, 19

Ps. 12, 3-5

¹ δόλια . . . δόλια are omitted by all the textual authorities (including Clem.) except S. It is probable that this is a primitive corruption in the text, and that the reading of S is a correct emendation, which, it may be observed, was independently made by Lightfoot before the discovery of S.

I. CLEMENT, xiv. 5-xv. 7

5. And again he says: "I saw the ungodly lifted high, and exalted as the cedars of Lebanon. And I went by, and behold he was not; and I sought his place, and I found it not. Keep innocence, and look on uprightness; for there is a remnant for a peaceable man."

XV

1. **MOREOVER** let us cleave to those whose peacefulness is based on piety and not to those whose wish for peace is hypocrisy. Cleaving to the peaceable 2. For it says in one place: "This people honoureth me with their lips, but their heart is far from me." 3. And again, "They blessed with their mouth, but cursed in their hearts." 4. And again it says "they loved him with their mouth, and they lied unto him with their tongue, and their heart was not right with him, nor were they faithful in his covenant." 5. Therefore "let the deceitful lips be dumb which speak iniquity against the righteous." And again, "May the Lord destroy all the deceitful lips, a tongue that speaketh great things, those who say, Let us magnify our tongue, our lips are our own, who is lord over us? 6. For the misery of the poor and groaning of the needy, now will I arise, saith the Lord, I will place him in safety, 7. I will deal boldly with him."

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XVI

1. Ταπεινοφρονούντων γάρ ἐστιν ὁ Χριστός, οὐκ ἐπαιρομένων ἐπὶ τὸ ποιῆμιον αὐτοῦ. 2. τὸ σκῆπτρον τῆς μεγαλωσύνης τοῦ θεοῦ, ὁ κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, οὐκ ἦλθεν ἐν κόμπῳ ἀλαζονείας οὐδὲ ὑπερηφανίας, καίπερ δυνάμενος, ἀλλὰ ταπεινοφρονῶν, καθὼς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐλάλησεν· φησὶν γάρ· 3. Κύριε, τίς ἐπίστευσεν τῇ ἀκοῇ ἡμῶν; καὶ ὁ βραχίων κυρίου τίνι ἀπεκαλύφθη; ἀνηγγείλαμεν ἐναντίον αὐτοῦ, ὡς παιδίον, ὡς ρίζα ἐν γῆ διψώση· οὐκ ἐστιν αὐτῷ εἶδος οὐδὲ δόξα, καὶ εἶδομεν αὐτόν, καὶ οὐκ εἶχεν εἶδος οὐδὲ κάλλος, ἀλλὰ τὸ εἶδος αὐτοῦ ἄτιμον, ἐκλείπον παρὰ τὸ εἶδος τῶν ἀνθρώπων· ἄνθρωπος ἐν πληγῇ ὢν καὶ πόνῳ καὶ εἰδῶς φέρειν μαλακίαν, ὅτι ἀπέστραπται τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ, ἠτιμάσθη καὶ οὐκ ἐλογίσθη. 4. οὗτος τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν φέρει καὶ περὶ ἡμῶν ὀδυνᾶται, καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐλογισάμεθα αὐτόν εἶναι ἐν πόνῳ καὶ ἐν πληγῇ καὶ ἐν κακώσει. 5. αὐτὸς δὲ ἐτραυματίσθη διὰ τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν καὶ μεμαλάκισται διὰ τὰς ἀνομίας ἡμῶν. παιδεία εἰρήνης ἡμῶν ἐπ' αὐτόν· τῷ μώλωπι αὐτοῦ ἡμεῖς ἰάθημεν. 6. πάντες ὡς πρόβατα ἐπλανήθημεν, ἄνθρωπος τῇ ὁδῷ αὐτοῦ ἐπλανήθη· 7. καὶ κύριος παρέδωκεν αὐτόν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν, καὶ αὐτὸς διὰ τὸ κεκακῶσθαι οὐκ ἀνοίγει τὸ στόμα. ὡς πρόβατον ἐπὶ σφαγῆν ἤχθη, καὶ ὡς ἀμνὸς ἐναντίον τοῦ κείραντος ἄφωνος, οὕτως οὐκ ἀνοίγει τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ. ἐν τῇ ταπεινώσει ἢ κρίσις αὐτοῦ ἦρθη. 8. τὴν γενεὰν αὐτοῦ

XVI

1. For Christ is of those who are humble-minded, ^{The} not of those who exalt themselves over His flock. ^{humility}
2. The sceptre of the greatness of God, the Lord ^{of Christ}
Jesus Christ, came not with the pomp of pride or of
arrogance, for all his power, but was humble-minded,
as the Holy Spirit spake concerning him. For it
says, 3. "Lord, who has believed our report, and to
whom was the arm of the Lord revealed? We
declared him before the Lord as a child, as a
root in thirsty ground; there is no form in him, nor
glory, and we saw him, and he had neither form nor
beauty, but his form was without honour, less than
the form of man, a man living among stripes and
toil, and acquainted with the endurance of weakness;
for his face was turned away, he was dishonoured,
and not esteemed. 4. He it is who beareth our sins,
and is pained for us, and we regarded him as subject
to pain, and stripes and affliction, 5. but he was
wounded for our sins and he has suffered for our
iniquities. The chastisement of our peace was upon
him; with his bruises were we healed. 6. All we
like sheep went astray, each man went astray in his
path; 7. and the Lord delivered him up for our sins,
and he openeth not his mouth because of his
affliction. As a sheep he was brought to the
slaughter, and as a lamb dumb before its shearer, so
he openeth not his mouth. In humiliation his
judgment was taken away. 8. Who shall declare

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τίς διηγῆσεται; ὅτι αἵρεται ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἡ ζωὴ
 αὐτοῦ. 9. ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνομιῶν τοῦ λαοῦ μου ἦκει
 εἰς θάνατον. 10. καὶ δώσω τοὺς πονηροὺς ἀντὶ
 τῆς ταφῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς πλουσίους ἀντὶ τοῦ
 θανάτου αὐτοῦ· ὅτι ἀνομίαν οὐκ ἐποίησεν, οὐδὲ
 εὐρέθη δόλος ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ. καὶ κύριος
 βούλεται καθαρῖσαι αὐτὸν τῆς πληγῆς. 11. ἐὰν
 δώτε περὶ ἀμαρτίας, ἡ ψυχὴ ὑμῶν ὄψεται σπέρμα
 μακρόβιον. 12. καὶ κύριος βούλεται ἀφελεῖν ἀπὸ
 τοῦ πόνου τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτοῦ, δεῖξαι αὐτῷ φῶς καὶ
 πλάσαι τῇ συνέσει, δικαιῶσαι δίκαιον εἰς δουλεύ-
 οντα πολλοῖς. καὶ τὰς ἀμαρτίας αὐτῶν αὐτὸς
 ἀνοίσει. 13. διὰ τοῦτο αὐτὸς κληρονομήσει
 πολλοὺς καὶ τῶν ἰσχυρῶν μεριεῖ σκῦλα· ἀνθ' ὧν
 παρεδόθη εἰς θάνατον ἡ ψυχὴ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐν τοῖς
 ἀνόμοις ἐλογίσθη. 14. καὶ αὐτὸς ἀμαρτίας πολλῶν
 ἀνήνεγκεν καὶ διὰ τὰς ἀμαρτίας αὐτῶν παρεδόθη.
 15. καὶ πάλιν αὐτὸς φησιν· Ἐγὼ δὲ εἶμι σκώληξ
 καὶ οὐκ ἄνθρωπος, ὄνειδος ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἐξουθέ-
 νημα λαοῦ. 16. πάντες οἱ θεωροῦντές με ἐξεμυκ-
 τήρισάν με, ἐλάλησαν ἐν χείλεσιν, ἐκίνησαν
 κεφαλὴν· Ἠλπισεν ἐπὶ κύριον, ῥυσάσθω αὐτόν,
 σωσάτω αὐτόν, ὅτι θέλει αὐτόν. 17. ὁρᾶτε,
 ἄνδρες ἀγαπητοί, τίς ὁ ὑπογραμμὸς ὁ δεδομένος
 ἡμῖν· εἰ γὰρ ὁ κύριος οὕτως ἐταπεινοφρόνησεν, τί
 ποιήσωμεν ἡμεῖς οἱ ὑπὸ τὸν ζυγὸν τῆς χάριτος
 αὐτοῦ δι' αὐτοῦ ἐλθόντες;

Ps. 22, 6-8

I. CLEMENT, xvi. 8-xvi. 17

his generation? For his life is taken away from the earth. 9. For the iniquities of my people is he come to death. 10. And I will give the wicked for his burial, and the rich for his death; for he wrought no iniquity, nor was guile found in his mouth. And the Lord's will is to purify him from stripes. 11. If ye make an offering for sin, your soul shall see a long-lived seed. 12. And the Lord's will is to take of the toil of his soul, to show him light and to form him with understanding, to justify a righteous man who serveth many well. And he himself shall bear their sins. 13. For this reason shall he inherit many, and he shall share the spoils of the strong; because his soul was delivered to death, and he was reckoned among the transgressors. 14. And he bore the sins of many, and for their sins was he delivered up." 15. And again he says himself, "But I am a worm and no man, a reproach of men, and despised of the people. 16. All they who saw me mocked me, they spoke with their lips, they shook their heads; He hoped on the Lord, let him deliver him, let him save him, for he hath pleasure in him." 17. You see, Beloved, what is the example which is given to us; for if the Lord was thus humble-minded, what shall we do, who through him have come under the yoke of his grace?

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XVII

- Heb. 11, 37 1. Μιμηταὶ γενώμεθα κακείνων, οἵτινες ἐν δέρμασιν αἰγείοις καὶ μηλωταῖς περιεπάτησαν κηρύσσοντες τὴν ἔλευσιν τοῦ Χριστοῦ· λέγομεν δὲ Ἡλίαν καὶ Ἐλισαίε, ἔτι δὲ καὶ Ἰεζεκιήλ, τοὺς προφήτας· πρὸς τούτοις καὶ τοὺς μεμαρτυρημένους.
- Gen. 18, 27 2. ἐμαρτυρήθη μεγάλως Ἀβραὰμ καὶ φίλος προσηγορεύθη τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ λέγει ἀτενίζων εἰς τὴν δόξαν τοῦ θεοῦ ταπεινοφρονῶν· Ἐγὼ δὲ εἰμι γῆ καὶ σποδός. 3. ἔτι δὲ καὶ περὶ Ἰὼβ οὕτως
- Job 1, 1 γέγραπται· Ἰὼβ δὲ ἦν δίκαιος καὶ ἄμεμπτος, ἀληθινός, θεοσεβής, ἀπεχόμενος ἀπὸ παντὸς κακοῦ. 4. ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἑαυτοῦ κατηγορεῖ λέγων·
- Job 14, 4, 5 Οὐδεὶς καθαρὸς ἀπὸ ῥύπου, οὐδ' ἂν μιᾶς ἡμέρας ἢ
- Num. 12, 7 ζῶν αὐτοῦ. 5. Μωϋσῆς πιστὸς ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ
- Heb 8, 2 ἐκλήθη, καὶ διὰ τῆς ὑπηρεσίας αὐτοῦ ἔκρινεν ὁ θεὸς Αἴγυπτον διὰ τῶν μαστίγων καὶ τῶν αἰκισμάτων αὐτῶν· ἀλλὰ κακείνος δοξασθεὶς μεγάλως οὐκ ἐμεγαλορημόνησεν, ἀλλ' εἶπεν ἐκ τῆς βάτου
- Exod. 3, 11; 4, 10 χρηματισμοῦ αὐτῷ διδομένου· Τίς εἰμι ἐγώ, ὅτι με πέμπεις; Ἐγὼ δὲ εἰμι ἰσχυρόφωνος καὶ βραδύγλωσσος. 6. καὶ πάλιν λέγει· Ἐγὼ δὲ εἰμι ἄτμις ἀπὸ κύθρας.

XVIII

- Ps. 89, 20; Acts 13, 22 1. Τί δὲ εἴπωμεν ἐπὶ τῷ μεμαρτυρημένῳ Δαυεῖδ; ἐφ' οὗ¹ εἶπεν ὁ θεός· Εὗρον ἄνδρα κατὰ τὴν καρδίαν μου, Δαυεῖδ τὸν τοῦ Ἰεσσαί, ἐν ἐλέει αἰωνίῳ ἔχρισα αὐτόν. 2. ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς λέγει
- Pm. 51, 1-17 πρὸς τὸν θεόν· Ἐλέησόν με, ὁ θεός, κατὰ τὸ μέγα

¹ So L Clem. πρὸς δὲν ACS.

I. CLEMENT, xvii. 1-xviii. 2

XVII

1. LET us also be imitators of those who went about "in the skins of goats and sheep," heralding the coming of Christ; we mean Elijah and Elisha, and moreover Ezekiel, the prophets, and in addition to them the famous men of old. 2. Great fame was given to Abraham, and he was called the Friend of God, and he, fixing his gaze in humility on the Glory of God, says "But I am dust and ashes." 3. Moreover it is also written thus concerning Job:—"Now Job was righteous and blameless, true, a worshipper of God, and kept himself from all evil." 4. But he accuses himself, saying, "No man is clean from defilement, not even if his life be but for a single day." 5. Moses was called "Faithful with all his house," and through his ministry God judged Egypt with their scourges and torments; but he, though he was given great glory, did not use great words, but, when an oracle was given to him from the bush, said:—"Who am I that thou sendest me? Nay, I am a man of feeble speech, and a slow tongue." 6. And again he says, "But I am as smoke from a pot."

XVIII

1. BUT what shall we say of the famous David? Of him said God, "I have found a man after my own heart, David the son of Jesse, I have anointed him with eternal mercy;" 2. but he too says to God "Have mercy upon me, O God, according to thy

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ἔλεός σου, καὶ κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν οἰκτιρμῶν σου
ἐξάλειψον τὸ ἀνόμημά μου. 3. ἐπὶ πλείον πλύνόν
με ἀπὸ τῆς ἀνομίας μου, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἁμαρτίας μου
καθάρισόν με· ὅτι τὴν ἀνομίαν μου ἐγὼ γινώσκω,
καὶ ἡ ἁμαρτία μου ἐνώπιόν μου ἐστὶν διαπαντός.
4. σοὶ μόνῳ ἤμαρτον, καὶ τὸ πονηρὸν ἐνώπιόν σου
ἐποίησα, ὅπως ἂν δικαιωθῆς ἐν τοῖς λόγοις σου,
καὶ νικήσης ἐν τῷ κρίνεσθαί σε. 5. ἰδὸν γὰρ ἐν
ἀνομίαις συνελήμφθην, καὶ ἐν ἁμαρτίαις ἐκίσσησέν
με ἡ μήτηρ μου. 6. ἰδὸν γὰρ ἀλήθειαν ἠγάπησας·
τὰ ἀόδηλα καὶ τὰ κρύφια τῆς σοφίας σου ἐδήλωσάς
μοι. 7. ῥαντιεῖς με ὑσώπῳ, καὶ καθαρισθή-
σομαι· πλυνεῖς με, καὶ ὑπὲρ χιόνα λευκανθήσομαι.
8. ἀκουτιεῖς με ἀγαλλιάσιν καὶ εὐφροσύνην.
ἀγαλλιάσονται ὅστ' ἀ τεταπεινωμένα. 9. ἀπό-
στρεψον τὸ πρόσωπόν σου ἀπὸ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν μου,
καὶ πάσας τὰς ἀνομίας μου ἐξάλειψον. 10. καρ-
δίαν καθαρὰν κτίσον ἐν ἐμοί, ὁ θεός, καὶ πνεῦμα
εὐθές ἐγκαίνισον ἐν τοῖς ἐγκάτοις μου. 11. μὴ
ἀπορίψῃς με ἀπὸ τοῦ προσώπου σου, καὶ τὸ
πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιόν σου μὴ ἀντανέλης ἀπ' ἐμοῦ.
12. ἀπόδος μοι τὴν ἀγαλλίασιν τοῦ σωτηρίου σου,
καὶ πνεύματι ἡγεμονικῶ στήρισόν με. 13. διδάξω
ἀνόμους τὰς ὁδοὺς σου, καὶ ἄσεβεῖς ἐπιστρέψουσιν
ἐπὶ σέ. 14. ῥύσαι με ἐξ αἱμάτων, ὁ θεός, ὁ θεὸς
τῆς σωτηρίας μου. 15. ἀγαλλιᾶσεται ἡ γλῶσσά
μου τὴν δικαιοσύνην σου. κύριε, τὸ στόμα μου
ἀνοίξεις, καὶ τὰ χεῖλη μου ἀναγγελεῖ τὴν αἴνεσίν
σου. 16. ὅτι εἰ ἠθέλησας θυσίαν, ἔδωκα ἂν
ὀλοκαυτώματα οὐκ εὐδοκήσεις. 17. θυσία τῷ θεῷ
πνεῦμα συντετριμμένον· καρδίαν συντετριμμένην
καὶ τεταπεινωμένην ὁ θεὸς οὐκ ἐξουθενώσει.

I. CLEMENT, XVIII. 2-XVIII. 17

great mercy, and according to the multitude of thy compassions, blot out my transgression. 3. Wash me yet more from mine iniquity, and cleanse me from my sin; for I know my iniquity, and my sin is ever before me. 4. Against thee only did I sin, and did evil before thee, that thou mightest be justified in thy words, and mightest overcome when thou art judged. 5. For, lo, I was conceived in iniquity, and in sin did my mother bear me. 6. For, behold, thou hast loved truth, thou didst make plain to me the secret and hidden things of thy wisdom. 7. Thou shalt sprinkle me with hyssop, and I shall be cleansed; thou shalt wash me, and I shall be whiter than snow. 8. Thou shalt make me hear joy and gladness; the bones which have been humbled shall rejoice. 9. Turn thy face from my sins, and blot out all mine iniquities. 10. Create a clean heart in me, O God, and renew a right spirit in my inmost parts. 11. Cast me not away from thy presence, and take not thy Holy Spirit from me. 12. Give me back the gladness of thy salvation, strengthen me with thy governing spirit. 13. I will teach the wicked thy ways, and the ungodly shall be converted unto thee. 14. Deliver me from blood-guiltiness, O God, the God of my salvation. 15. My tongue shall rejoice in thy righteousness. O Lord, thou shalt open my mouth, and my lips shall tell of thy praise. 16. For if thou hadst desired sacrifice, I would have given it; in whole burnt offerings thou wilt not delight. 17. The sacrifice unto God is a broken spirit, a broken and a humbled heart God shall not despise."

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

XIX

1. Τῶν τοσούτων οὖν καὶ τοιούτων οὕτως μεμαρτυρημένων τὸ ταπεινόφρον καὶ τὸ ὑποδεές διὰ τῆς ὑπακοῆς οὐ μόνον ἡμᾶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς πρὸ ἡμῶν γενεὰς βελτίους ἐποίησεν, τοὺς τε καταδεξαμένους τὰ λόγια αὐτοῦ ἐν φόβῳ καὶ ἀληθείᾳ.

Heb. 12, 1

2. πολλῶν οὖν καὶ μεγάλων καὶ ἐνδόξων μετειληφότες πράξεων ἐπαναδράμωμεν ἐπὶ τὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς παραδεδομένον ἡμῖν τῆς εἰρήνης σκοπὸν, καὶ ἀτενίσωμεν εἰς τὸν πατέρα καὶ κτίστην τοῦ σύμπαντος κόσμου καὶ ταῖς μεγαλοπρεπέσι καὶ ὑπερβαλλούσαις αὐτοῦ δωρεαῖς τῆς εἰρήνης εὐεργεσίαις τε κολληθῶμεν. 3. ἴδωμεν αὐτὸν κατὰ διάνοιαν καὶ ἐμβλέψωμεν τοῖς ὄμμασιν τῆς ψυχῆς εἰς τὸ μακρόθυμον αὐτοῦ βούλημα· νοήσωμεν, πῶς ἀόργητος ὑπάρχει πρὸς πᾶσαν τὴν κτίσιν αὐτοῦ.

XX

1. Οἱ οὐρανοὶ τῇ διοικήσει αὐτοῦ σαλευόμενοι ἐν εἰρήνῃ ὑποτάσσονται αὐτῷ. 2. ἡμέρα τε καὶ νύξ τὸν τεταγμένον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δρόμον διανύουσιν, μηδὲν ἀλλήλοις ἐμποδίζοντα. 3. ἥλιός τε καὶ σελήνη, ἀστέρων τε χοροὶ κατὰ τὴν διαταγὴν αὐτοῦ ἐν ὁμονοίᾳ δίχα πάσης παρεκβάσεως ἐξελίσσουν τὸς ἐπιτεταγμένους αὐτοῖς ὀρισμούς. 4. γῆ κυφοροῦσα κατὰ τὸ θέλημα αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἰδίοις καιροῖς τὴν πανπληθῆ ἀνθρώποις τε καὶ θηρσίν καὶ πᾶσιν τοῖς οὐσιν ἐπ' αὐτῆς ζώοις ἀνατέλλει τροφήν, μὴ διχοστατοῦσα μηδὲ ἀλλοιοῦσά

I. CLEMENT, XIX. I-XX. 4

XIX

1. THE humility and obedient submission of so many men of such great fame, have rendered better not only us, but also the generations before us, who received his oracles in fear and truth. 2. Seeing then that we have received a share in many great and glorious deeds, let us hasten on to the goal of peace, which was given us from the beginning, and let us fix our gaze on the Father and Creator of the whole world and cleave to his splendid and excellent gifts of peace, and to his good deeds to us. 3. Let us contemplate him with our mind, let us gaze with the eyes of our soul on his long-suffering purpose, let us consider how free from wrath he is towards all his creatures.

Exhortation
to peace

XX

1. THE heavens moving at his appointment are subject to him in peace; 2. day and night follow the course allotted by him without hindering each other. 3. Sun and moon and the companies of the stars roll on, according to his direction, in harmony, in their appointed courses, and swerve not from them at all. 4. The earth teems according to his will at its proper seasons, and puts forth food in full abundance for men and beasts and all the living things that are on it, with no dissension, and changing

The peace
and harmon-
y of the
Universe

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

Job 38, 11

τι τῶν δεδογματισμένων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. 5. ἀβύσσων τε ἀνεξιχνίαστα καὶ νερτέρων ἀνεκδιήγητα κλίματα¹ τοῖς αὐτοῖς συνέχεται προστάγμασιν. 6. τὸ κύτος τῆς ἀπείρου θαλάσσης κατὰ τὴν δημιουργίαν αὐτοῦ συσταθὲν εἰς τὰς συναγωγὰς οὐ παρεκβαίνει τὰ περιτεθειμένα αὐτῇ κλείθρα, ἀλλὰ καθὼς διέταξεν αὐτῇ, οὕτως ποιεῖ. 7. εἶπεν γάρ· Ἔως ὧδε ἤξει, καὶ τὰ κύματά σου ἐν σοὶ συντριβήσεται. 8. ὠκεανὸς ἀπέραντος ἀνθρώποις καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτὸν κόσμοι ταῖς αὐταῖς ταγαῖς τοῦ δεσπότητος διευθύνονται. 9. καιροὶ ἐαρινοὶ καὶ θερινοὶ καὶ μετοπωρινοὶ καὶ χειμερινοὶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ μεταπαραδιδόασιν ἀλλήλοις. 10. ἀνέμων σταθμοὶ κατὰ τὸν ἴδιον καιρὸν τὴν λειτουργίαν αὐτῶν ἀπροσκόπως ἐπιτελοῦσιν· ἀεναοὶ τε πηγαί, πρὸς ἀπόλαυσιν καὶ ὑγίαν δημιουργηθεῖσαι, δίχα ἐλλείψεως παρέχονται τοὺς πρὸς ζωῆς ἀνθρώποις μαζοῦς· τὰ τε ἐλάχιστα τῶν ζώων τὰς συνελεύσεις αὐτῶν ἐν ὁμοιοῖα καὶ εἰρήνῃ ποιοῦνται. 11. ταῦτα πάντα ὁ μέγας δημιουργὸς καὶ δεσπότης τῶν ἀπάντων ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ ὁμοιοῖα προσέταξεν εἶναι, εὐεργετῶν τὰ πάντα, ὑπερεκπερισσῶς δὲ ἡμᾶς τοὺς προσπεφευγότες τοῖς οἰκτιρμοῖς αὐτοῦ διὰ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, 12. ᾧ ἡ δόξα καὶ ἡ μεγαλωσύνη εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν.

¹ κλίματα AC, *qui situ* (sic) L, "boundaries" K. The emendation given in the text seems the most probable treatment of the difficulty.

I. CLEMENT, xx. 4-xx. 12

none of his decrees. 5. The unsearchable places of the abysses and the unfathomable realms of the lower world are controlled by the same ordinances. 6. The hollow of the boundless sea is gathered by his working into its allotted places, and does not pass the barriers placed around it, but does even as he enjoined on it; 7. for he said "Thus far shalt thou come, and thy waves shall be broken within thee." 8. The ocean, which men cannot pass, and the worlds beyond it, are ruled by the same injunctions of the Master. 9. The seasons of spring, summer, autumn, and winter give place to one another in peace. 10. The stations of the winds fulfil their service without hindrance at the proper time. The everlasting springs, created for enjoyment and health, supply sustenance for the life of man without fail; and the smallest of animals meet together in concord and peace. 11. All these things did the great Creator and Master of the universe ordain to be in peace and concord, and to all things does he do good, and more especially to us who have fled for refuge to his mercies through our Lord Jesus Christ, 12. to whom¹ be the glory and the majesty for ever and ever, Amen.

¹ The Latin has *per quem deo et patri*, "through whom to God and the Father."

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

XXI

1. Ὁράτε, ἀγαπητοί, μὴ αἱ εὐεργεσίαι αὐτοῦ αἱ πολλαὶ γένωνται εἰς κρίμα¹ ἡμῖν, ἐὰν μὴ ἀξίως αὐτοῦ πολιτευόμενοι τὰ καλὰ καὶ εὐάρεστα ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ ποιῶμεν μεθ' ὁμοιοῦς. 2. λέγει

Prov. 20, 27 γάρ που Πνεῦμα κυρίου λύχνος ἐρευνῶν τὰ ταμειῖα τῆς γαστρός. 3. ἴδωμεν,² πῶς ἐγγύς ἐστίν, καὶ ὅτι οὐδὲν λέληθεν αὐτὸν τῶν ἐννοιῶν ἡμῶν οὐδὲ τῶν διαλογισμῶν ὧν ποιούμεθα. 4. δίκαιον οὖν ἐστὶν μὴ λειποτακτεῖν ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ θελήματος αὐτοῦ. 5. μᾶλλον ἀνθρώποις ἄφροσι καὶ ἀνοήτοις καὶ ἐπαιρομένοις καὶ ἐγκαυχωμένοις ἐν ἀλαζονείᾳ τοῦ λόγου αὐτῶν προσκόψωμεν ἢ τῷ θεῷ. 6. τὸν κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, οὗ τὸ αἷμα ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐδόθη, ἐντραπῶμεν, τοὺς προηγουμένους ἡμῶν αἰδεσθῶμεν, τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους τιμῶμεν, τοὺς νέους παιδεύσωμεν τὴν παιδείαν τοῦ φόβου τοῦ θεοῦ, τὰς γυναῖκας ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τὸ ἀγαθὸν διορθωσώμεθα. 7. τὸ ἀξιαγάπητον τῆς ἀγνείας ἦθος ἐνδειξάσθωσαν, τὸ ἀκέρατον τῆς πραύτητος αὐτῶν βούλημα ἀποδειξάτωσαν, τὸ ἐπιεικὲς τῆς γλώσσης αὐτῶν διὰ τῆς συγῆς φανερὸν ποιησάτωσαν, τὴν ἀγάπην αὐτῶν μὴ κατὰ προσκλίσεις, ἀλλὰ πᾶσιν τοῖς φοβουμένοις τὸν θεὸν ὁσίως ἴσην παρεχέτωσαν. 8. τὰ τέκνα ἡμῶν τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ παιδείας μεταλαμβάνέτωσαν μαθέτωσαν, τί ταπεινοφροσύνη παρὰ θεῷ ἰσχύει, τί ἀγάπη ἀγνή παρὰ θεῷ δύναται, πῶς ὁ φόβος αὐτοῦ καλὸς καὶ μέγας καὶ

¹ A(C) read κρίμα πᾶσιν ἡμῖν.

² L implies εἴδωμεν (sciamus), "let us know."

XXI

1. TAKE heed, beloved, lest his many good works ^{Christian virtues} towards us become a judgment on us, if we do not good and virtuous deeds before him in concord, and be citizens worthy of him. 2. For he says in one place:—"The Spirit of the Lord is a lamp searching the inward parts." 3. Let us observe how near he is, and that nothing escapes him of our thoughts or of the devices which we make. 4. It is right, therefore, that we should not be deserters from his will. 5. Let us offend foolish and thoughtless men, who are exalted and boast in the pride of their words, rather than God. 6. Let us reverence the Lord Jesus Christ, whose blood was given for us, let us respect those who rule us, let us honour the aged,¹ let us instruct the young in the fear of God, let us lead our wives to that which is good. 7. Let them exhibit the lovely habit of purity, let them show forth the innocent will of meekness, let them make the gentleness of their tongue manifest by their silence, let them not give their affection by factious preference, but in holiness to all equally who fear God. 8. Let our children share in the instruction which is in Christ, let them learn the strength of humility before God, the power of pure love before God, how beautiful and great is his fear and how it

¹ Or possibly "the Presbyters," but the context makes this improbable.

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σώζων πάντας τοὺς ἐν αὐτῷ ὁσίως ἀναστρεφόμενους ἐν καθαρᾷ διανοίᾳ. 9. ἐρευνητῆς γὰρ ἐστὶν ἐννοιῶν καὶ ἐνθυμήσεων· οὐ ἡ πνοὴ αὐτοῦ ἐν ἡμῖν ἐστίν, καὶ ὅταν θέλη, ἀνελεῖ αὐτήν.

XXII

1. Ταῦτα δὲ πάντα βεβαιοῖ ἡ ἐν Χριστῷ πίστις· καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου οὕτως προσκαλεῖται ἡμᾶς· Δεῦτε, τέκνα, ἀκούσατέ μου, φόβον κυρίου διδάξω ὑμᾶς. 2. τίς ἐστὶν ἄνθρωπος ὁ θέλων ζωὴν, ἀγαπῶν ἡμέρας ἰδεῖν ἀγαθὰς ; 3. παῦσον τὴν γλῶσσάν σου ἀπὸ κακοῦ, καὶ χεῖλη σου τοῦ μὴ λαλήσαι δόλον. 4. ἔκκλινον ἀπὸ κακοῦ, καὶ ποίησον ἀγαθόν. 5. ζήτησον εἰρήνην, καὶ δίωξον αὐτήν· 6. ὀφθαλμοὶ κυρίου ἐπὶ δικαίους, καὶ ὦτα αὐτοῦ πρὸς δέησιν αὐτῶν· πρόσωπον δὲ κυρίου ἐπὶ ποιῶντας κακά, τοῦ ἐξολεθρευσαί ἐκ γῆς τὸ μνημόσυνον αὐτῶν. 7. ἐκέκραξεν ὁ δίκαιος, καὶ ὁ κύριος εἰσήκουσεν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐκ πασῶν τῶν θλίψεων αὐτοῦ ἐρύσατο αὐτόν.¹ 8. Πολλαὶ αἱ μάστιγες τοῦ ἁμαρτωλοῦ, τοὺς δὲ ἐλπίζοντας ἐπὶ κύριον ἔλεος κυκλώσει.

XXIII

1. Ὁ οἰκτίρμων κατὰ πάντα καὶ εὐεργετικὸς πατήρ· ἔχει σπλάγχνα ἐπὶ τοὺς φοβουμένους αὐτόν, ἡπίως τε καὶ προσηνώς τὰς χάριτας αὐτοῦ

Ps. 34, 19

¹ S adds πολλὰ αἱ θλίψεις τοῦ δικαίου, καὶ ἐκ πασῶν αὐτῶν ῥύσεται αὐτὸν ὁ κύριος, but the evidence of ACLK suggests that it is an insertion from the text of LXX ; cf. I. Clem. XV. 5, and the note on the text.

I. CLEMENT, XXI. 8—XXIII. 1

gives salvation to all who live holily in it with a pure mind. 9. For he is a searcher of thoughts and desires; his breath is in us, and when he will he shall take it away.

XXII

1. Now the faith which is in Christ confirms all these things, for he himself through his Holy Spirit calls us thus:—"Come, Children, hearken to me, I will teach you the fear of the Lord. 2. Who is the man that desireth life, that loveth to see good days? 3. Make thy tongue cease from evil, and thy lips that they speak no guile. 4. Depart from evil, and do good. 5. Seek peace, and pursue it. 6. The eyes of the Lord are upon the righteous, and his ears are open to their petition; but the face of the Lord is against those that do evil, to destroy the memory of them from off the earth. 7. The righteous cried, and the Lord heard him, and delivered him out of all his afflictions.¹ 8. Many are the scourges of the sinner, but mercy shall encompass those that hope on the Lord."

The confirmation of this teaching in the Scriptures

XXIII

1. THE all-merciful and beneficent Father has compassion on those that fear him, and kindly and lovingly bestows his favours on those that draw near

Humility and sincerity

¹ The Editors (except Knopf) add as v. 8, "Many are the afflictions of the righteous and out of them all will the Lord deliver him."

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

ἀποδιδοῖ τοῖς προσερχομένοις αὐτῷ ἀπλή διανοία.
2. διὸ μὴ διψυχῶμεν, μηδὲ ἰνδάλλεσθω ἡ ψυχὴ
ἡμῶν ἐπὶ ταῖς ὑπερβαλλούσαις καὶ ἐνδόξοις
δωρεαῖς αὐτοῦ. 3. πόρρω γενέσθω ἀφ' ἡμῶν ἡ
γραφὴ αὕτη, ὅπου λέγει· Ταλαίπωροί εἰσιν οἱ
δίψυχοι, οἱ διστάζοντες τῇ ψυχῇ, οἱ λέγοντες·
Ταῦτα ἠκούσαμεν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν, καὶ
ἰδοῦ, γεγηράκαμεν, καὶ οὐδὲν ἡμῖν τούτων συνβέ-
βηκεν. 4. ὦ ἀνόητοι, συμβάλετε ἑαυτοὺς ξύλω·
λάβετε ἄμπελον· πρῶτον μὲν φυλλοροεῖ, εἶτα
βλαστὸς γίνεται, εἶτα φύλλον, εἶτα ἄνθος, καὶ
μετὰ ταῦτα ὄμφαξ, εἶτα σταφυλὴ παρεστηκυῖα.
ὁρᾶτε, ὅτι ἐν καιρῷ ὀλίγῳ εἰς πέπειρον καταπτᾶ ὁ
καρπὸς τοῦ ξύλου. 5. ἐπ' ἀληθείας ταχὺ καὶ
ἐξαίφνης τελειωθήσεται τὸ βούλημα αὐτοῦ, συν-
επιμαρτυρούσης καὶ τῆς γραφῆς, ὅτι ταχὺ ἤξει
καὶ οὐ χρονιεῖ, καὶ ἐξαίφνης ἤξει ὁ κύριος εἰς τὸν
ναὸν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὁ ἅγιος, ὃν ὑμεῖς προσδοκᾶτε.

Isalah
13, 22 (LXX)
Malach. 3, 1

XXIV

1. Κατανοήσωμεν, ἀγαπητοί, πῶς ὁ δεσπότης
ἐπιδείκνυται διηνεκῶς ἡμῖν τὴν μέλλουσαν ἀνά-
στασιν ἔσεσθαι, ἧς τὴν ἀπαρχὴν ἐποίησατο τὸν
κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστήσας.
2. ἴδωμεν, ἀγαπητοί, τὴν κατὰ καιρὸν γινομένην
ἀνάστασιν. 3. ἡμέρα καὶ νύξ ἀνάστασιν ἡμῖν δη-
λοῦσιν· κοιμᾶται ἡ νύξ, ἀνίσταται ἡ ἡμέρα· ἡ ἡμέρα
ἄπεισιν, νύξ ἐπέρχεται. 4. λάβωμεν τοὺς καρπούς·

I Cor. 15, 20

I. CLEMENT, XXIII. 1-XXIV. 4

to him with a simple mind. 2. Wherefore let us not be double-minded, nor let our soul be fanciful concerning his excellent and glorious gifts. 3. Let this Scripture be far from us in which he says "Wretched are the double-minded, who doubt in their soul and say 'We have heard these things even in the days of our fathers, and behold we have grown old, and none of these things has happened to us.' 4. Oh, foolish men, compare yourself to a tree: take a vine, first it sheds its leaves, then there comes a bud, then a leaf, then a flower, and after this the unripe grape, then the full bunch."¹ See how in a little time the fruit of the tree comes to ripeness. 5. Truly his will shall be quickly and suddenly accomplished, as the Scripture also bears witness that "he shall come quickly and shall not tarry; and the Lord shall suddenly come to his temple, and the Holy One for whom ye look."

XXIV

1. LET us consider, beloved, how the Master continually proves to us that there will be a future resurrection, of which he has made the first-fruits, by raising the Lord Jesus Christ from the dead. 2. Let us look, beloved, at the resurrection which is taking place at its proper season. 3. Day and night show us a resurrection. The night sleeps, the day arises: the day departs, night comes on. 4. Let us take the crops: how and in what way does the

The resurrection fore-shadowed in Nature

¹ This quotation which is also found in II. Clem. 11, 2, cannot be identified. Some think it is from the lost apocalypse of Eldad and Modad. Cf. Hermas, *Vis.* 2, 3.

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

Mk. 4, 8 and
cf. I Cor. 15,
36 ff.

ὁ σπόρος πῶς καὶ τίνα τρόπον γίνεται; 5. ἐξῆλθεν ὁ σπείρων καὶ ἔβαλεν εἰς τὴν γῆν ἕκαστον τῶν σπερμάτων, ἅτινα πεσόντα εἰς τὴν γῆν ξηρὰ καὶ γυμνὰ διαλύεται· εἶτ' ἐκ τῆς διαλύσεως ἡ μεγαλειότης τῆς προνοίας τοῦ δεσπότου ἀνίστησιν αὐτά, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἐνὸς πλείονα αὖξει καὶ ἐκφέρει καρπόν.

XXV

1. Ἴδωμεν τὸ παράδοξον σημεῖον τὸ γινόμενον ἐν τοῖς ἀνατολικοῖς τόποις, τουτέστιν τοῖς περὶ τὴν Ἀραβίαν. 2. ὄρνεον γάρ ἐστιν, ὃ προσονομάζεται φοῖνιξ· τοῦτο μονογενὲς ὑπάρχον ζῆ ἔτη πεντακόσια, γενόμενόν τε ἤδη πρὸς ἀπόλυσιν τοῦ ἀποθανεῖν αὐτό, σηκὸν ἑαυτῷ ποιεῖ ἐκ λιβάνου καὶ σμύρνης καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀρωμάτων, εἰς ὃν πληρωθέντος τοῦ χρόνου εἰσέρχεται καὶ τελευτᾷ. 3. σηπομένης δὲ τῆς σαρκὸς σκώληξ τις γεννᾶται, ὃς ἐκ τῆς ἰκμάδος τοῦ τετελευτηκότος ζώου ἀνατρεφόμενος πτεροφυεῖ· εἶτα γενναῖος γενόμενος αἶρει τὸν σηκὸν ἐκείνου, ὅπου τὰ ὄστα τοῦ προγεγονότος ἐστίν, καὶ ταῦτα βαστάζων διανύει ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀραβικῆς χώρας ἕως τῆς Αἰγύπτου εἰς τὴν λεγομένην Ἡλιούπολιν, 4. καὶ ἡμέρας, βλεπόντων πάντων, ἐπιπτὰς ἐπὶ τὸν τοῦ ἡλίου βωμὸν τίθησιν αὐτὰ καὶ οὕτως εἰς τοῦπίσω ἀφορμᾷ. 5. οἱ οὖν ἱερεῖς ἐπισκέπτονται τὰς ἀναγραφὰς τῶν χρόνων καὶ εὕρισκονσιν αὐτὸν πεντακοσιοστοῦ ἔτους πεπληρωμένου ἐληλυθέναι.

I. CLEMENT, xxiv. 4-xxv. 5

sowing take place? 5. "The sower went forth" and cast each of the seeds into the ground, and they fall on to the ground, parched and bare, and suffer decay; then from their decay the greatness of the providence of the Master raises them up, and from one grain more grow and bring forth fruit.

XXV

1. LET us consider the strange sign which takes place in the East, that is in the districts near Arabia. 2. There is a bird which is called the Phoenix. This is the only one of its kind, and lives 500 years; and when the time of its dissolution in death is at hand, it makes itself a sepulchre of frankincense and myrrh and other spices, and when the time is fulfilled it enters into it and dies. 3. Now, from the corruption of its flesh there springs a worm, which is nourished by the juices of the dead bird, and puts forth wings. Then, when it has become strong, it takes up that sepulchre, in which are the bones of its predecessor, and carries them from the country of Arabia as far as Egypt until it reaches the city called Heliopolis, 4. and in the daylight in the sight of all it flies to the altar of the Sun, places them there, and then starts back to its former home. 5. Then the priests inspect the registers of dates, and they find that it has come at the fulfilment of the 500th year.¹

The Phoenix as a sign of the resurrection

¹ The same story, with variations, is found in Herodotus (ii. 73), Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* x. 2), etc. It was supposed by Christians to be sanctioned by the LXX version of Ps. xcii. 12, where there is a confusion between $\phi\alpha\iota\nu\iota\xi$ = phoenix, and $\phi\alpha\iota\nu\iota\xi$ = palm tree.

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

XXVI

1. Μέγα καὶ θαυμαστὸν οὖν νομίζομεν εἶναι, εἰ ὁ δημιουργὸς τῶν ἀπάντων ἀνάστασιν ποιήσεται τῶν ὁσίων αὐτῷ δουλευσάντων ἐν πεποιθήσει πίστεως ἀγαθῆς, ὅπου καὶ δι' ὀρνέου δείκνυσιν ἡμῖν τὸ μεγαλεῖον τῆς ἐπαγγελίας αὐτοῦ; 2. λέγει γάρ πού· Καὶ ἐξαναστήσεις με, καὶ ἐξομολογήσομαί σοι, καί· Ἐκοιμήθην καὶ ὑπνωσα, ἐξηγέρθην, ὅτι σὺ μετ' ἐμοῦ εἶ. 3. καὶ πάλιν Ἰὼβ λέγει· Καὶ ἀναστήσεις τὴν σάρκα μου ταύτην τὴν ἀναντλήσασαν ταῦτα πάντα.
- Ps. 28, 7? γάρ πού· Καὶ ἐξαναστήσεις με, καὶ ἐξομολογήσομαί σοι, καί· Ἐκοιμήθην καὶ ὑπνωσα, ἐξηγέρθην, ὅτι σὺ μετ' ἐμοῦ εἶ.
- Ps. 3, 5
- Job 19, 26

XXVII

1. Ταύτη οὖν τῇ ἐλπίδι προσεδέσθωσαν αἱ ψυχαὶ ἡμῶν τῷ πιστῷ ἐν ταῖς ἐπαγγελίαις καὶ τῷ δικαίῳ ἐν τοῖς κρίμασιν. 2. ὁ παραγγείλας μὴ ψεύδεσθαι, πολλῷ μᾶλλον αὐτὸς οὐ ψεύσεται· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἀδύνατον παρὰ τῷ θεῷ εἰ μὴ τὸ ψεύσασθαι. 3. ἀναζωπυρησάτω οὖν ἡ πίστις αὐτοῦ ἐν ἡμῖν, καὶ νοήσωμεν ὅτι πάντα ἐγγὺς αὐτῷ ἐστιν. 4. ἐν λόγῳ τῆς μεγαλωσύνης αὐτοῦ συνεστήσατο τὰ πάντα, καὶ ἐν λόγῳ δύναται αὐτὰ καταστρέψαι. 5. Τίς ἐρεῖ αὐτῷ· Τί ἐποίησας; ἢ τίς ἀντιστήσεται τῷ κράτει τῆς ἰσχύος αὐτοῦ; ὅτε θέλει καὶ ὡς θέλει ποιήσει πάντα, καὶ οὐδὲν μὴ παρέλθῃ τῶν δεδογματισμένων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. 6. πάντα ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ εἰσίν, καὶ οὐδὲν κέληθεν τὴν βουλήν αὐτοῦ, 7. εἰ οἱ οὐρανοὶ διηγούνται δόξαν θεοῦ,
- Heb. 6, 18
- Wisd. 12, 12
- Ps. 19, 1-3

I. CLEMENT, XXVI. 1-XXVII. 7

XXVI

1. Do we then consider it a great and wonderful thing that the creator of the universe will bring about the resurrection of those who served him in holiness, in the confidence of a good faith, when he shows us the greatness of his promise even through a bird? 2. For he says in one place "And thou shalt raise me up, and I will praise thee," and "I laid me down and slept, I rose up, for thou art with me." 3. And again Job says "And thou shalt raise up this my flesh which has endured all these things." The resurrection promised in the Scriptures

XXVII

1. In this hope then let our souls be bound to him who is faithful in his promises and righteous in his judgments. 2. He who has commanded not to lie shall much more not be a liar himself; for nothing is impossible with God save to lie. 3. Let therefore faith in him be kindled again in us, and let us consider that all things are near him. 4. By the word of his majesty did he establish all things, and by his word can he destroy them. 5. "Who shall say to him what hast thou done, or who shall resist the might of his strength?" When he will, and as he will, he will do all things, and none of his decrees shall pass away. 6. All is in his sight and nothing has escaped from his counsel, 7. since "The heavens declare the glory of God and the firmament" The necessity of cleaving to God

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

ποίησιν δὲ χειρῶν αὐτοῦ ἀναγγέλλει τὸ στερέωμα·
ἢ ἡμέρα τῇ ἡμέρα ἐρεύγεται ῥῆμα, καὶ νύξ νυκτὶ
ἀναγγέλλει γνώσιν· καὶ οὐκ εἰσὶν λόγοι οὐδὲ
λαλιαί, ὧν οὐχὶ ἀκούονται αἱ φωναὶ αὐτῶν.

XXVIII

1. Πάντων οὖν βλεπομένων καὶ ἀκουομένων, φο-
βηθῶμεν αὐτόν, καὶ ἀπολίπωμεν φαύλων ἔργων μι-
αράς ἐπιθυμίας, ἵνα τῷ ἐλέει αὐτοῦ σκεπασθῶμεν ἀπὸ
τῶν μελλόντων κριμάτων. 2. ποῦ γὰρ τις ἡμῶν
δύναται φυγεῖν ἀπὸ τῆς κραταιᾶς χειρὸς αὐτοῦ ;
ποιὸς δὲ κόσμος δέξεται τινα τῶν αὐτομολούντων
Ps. 139, 7-8 ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ; 3. λέγει γὰρ πού τὸ γραφεῖον· Πού
ἀφήξω καὶ ποῦ κρυβήσομαι ἀπὸ τοῦ προσώπου
σου ; ἐὰν ἀναβῶ εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, σὺ ἐκεῖ εἶ· ἐὰν
ἀπέλθω εἰς τὰ ἔσχατα τῆς γῆς, ἐκεῖ ἡ δεξιὰ σου·
ἐὰν καταστρώσω εἰς τὰς ἀβύσσους, ἐκεῖ τὸ πνεῦμά
σου. 4. ποῖ οὖν τις ἀπέλθη ἢ ποῦ ἀποδράση ἀπὸ
τοῦ τὰ πάντα ἐμπεριέχοντος ;

XXIX

1. Προσέλθωμεν οὖν αὐτῷ ἐν ὁσιότητι ψυχῆς,
ἀγνὰς καὶ ἀμιάντους χεῖρας αἴροντες πρὸς αὐτόν,
ἀγαπῶντες τὸν ἐπιεικῆ καὶ εὐσπλαγχνον πατέρα
ἡμῶν, ὃς ἐκλογῆς μέρος ἡμᾶς ἐποίησεν ἑαυτῷ.
Deut. 32 8, 9 2. οὕτω γὰρ γέγραπται· Ὅτε διεμέριζεν ὁ ὕψιστος

I. CLEMENT, XXVII. 7-XXIX. 2

telleth his handiwork, day uttereth speech unto day, and night telleth knowledge to night. And there are neither words nor speeches, and their voices are not heard."

XXVIII

1. SINCE then all things are seen and heard by him, let us fear him, and leave off from foul desires of evil deeds, that we may be sheltered by his mercy from the judgments to come. 2. For whither can any of us fly from his mighty hand? And what world shall receive those who seek to desert from him? 3. For the Writing¹ says in one place: "Where shall I go and where shall I hide from thy presence? If I ascend into heaven thou art there, if I depart to the ends of the earth there is thy right hand; If I make my bed in the abyss there is thy spirit." 4. Whither then shall a man depart or where shall he escape from him who embraces all things?

XXIX

1. LET us then approach him in holiness of soul, raising pure and undefiled hands to him, loving our gracious and merciful Father, who has made us the portion of his choice for himself. 2. For thus it is written: "When the most high divided the nations,

¹ An accurate quotation of an unintelligible sentence. τὸ γραφεῖον means the third division of the Jewish bible, sometimes called the "Hagiographa"; it was in a sense "Scripture" but not considered as important as the "Law" and the "Prophets."

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ἔθνη, ὡς διέσπειρεν υἱοὺς Ἀδάμ, ἔστησεν ὄρια ἔθνῶν κατὰ ἀριθμὸν ἀγγέλων θεοῦ. ἐγενήθη μερὶς κυρίου λαὸς αὐτοῦ Ἰακώβ, σχοίνισμα κληρονομίας αὐτοῦ Ἰσραήλ. 3. καὶ ἐν ἑτέρῳ τόπῳ λέγει· Ἴδού, κύριος λαμβάνει ἑαυτῷ ἔθνος ἐκ μέσου ἔθνῶν, ὥσπερ λαμβάνει ἄνθρωπος τὴν ἀπαρχὴν αὐτοῦ τῆς ἄλλω· καὶ ἐξελεύσεται ἐκ τοῦ ἔθνους ἐκείνου ἅγια ἀγίων.

Deut. 4, 34;
Deut. 14, 2
Num. 13, 27;
II Chron.
31, 14;
Ezek. 48,
12;

XXX

1. Ἀγίου¹ οὖν μερὶς ὑπάρχοντες ποιήσωμεν τὰ τοῦ ἁγιασμοῦ πάντα, φεύγοντες καταλαλιὰς, μιαρὰς τε καὶ ἀνάγνους συμπλοκάς, μέθας τε καὶ νεωτερισμοὺς καὶ βδελυκτὰς ἐπιθυμίας, μυσερὰν μοιχείαν, βδελυκτὴν ὑπερηφανίαν. 2. Θεὸς γάρ, φησὶν, ὑπερηφάνοις ἀντιτάσσεται, ταπεινοῖς δὲ δίδωσιν χάριν. 3. κολληθῶμεν οὖν ἐκείνοις, οἷς ἡ χάρις ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ δέδοται· ἐνδυσώμεθα τὴν ὁμόνοιαν ταπεινοφρονοῦντες, ἐγκρατευόμενοι, ἀπὸ παντὸς ψιθυρισμοῦ καὶ καταλαλιᾶς πόρρω ἑαυτοῦς ποιοῦντες, ἔργοις δικαιοῦμενοι, μὴ² λόγοις. 4. λέγει γάρ· Ὁ τὰ πολλὰ λέγων καὶ ἀντακούσεται· ἢ ὁ εὐλαὸς οἴεται εἶναι δίκαιος; 5. εὐλογημένος γεννητὸς γυναικὸς ὀλιγόβιος. μὴ πολλὺς ἐν ῥήμασιν γίνου. 6. ὁ ἔπαινος ἡμῶν ἔστω ἐν θεῷ καὶ μὴ ἐξ αὐτῶν· αὐτεπαινέτους γὰρ μισεῖ ὁ

Prov. 3, 34;
James 4, 6;
I Pet. 5, 5

Job 11, 2. 3

¹ A has ἁγίου οὖν μερὶς : C has ἅγια οὖν μέρη : LS imply ἅγια οὖν μερὶς "a holy portion" : K represents ἁγίων οὖν μέρη "portion of saints."

² μὴ CLK, καὶ μὴ AS.

I. CLEMENT, XXIX. 2-XXX. 6

when he scattered the sons of Adam, he established the bounds of the nations according to the number of the angels of God. His people Jacob became the portion of the Lord, Israel was the lot of his inheritance." 3. And in another place he says "Behold the Lord taketh to himself a nation from the midst of nations, as a man taketh the first-fruit of his threshing-floor, and the Holy of Holies shall come forth from that nation."¹

XXX

1. SEEING then that we are the portion of one who is holy, let us do all the deeds of sanctification, fleeing from evil speaking, and abominable and impure embraces, drunkenness and youthful lusts, and abominable passion, detestable adultery, and abominable pride. 2. "For God," he says, "resisteth the proud but giveth grace to the humble." 3. Let us then join ourselves to those to whom is given grace from God; let us put on concord in meekness of spirit and continence, keeping ourselves far from all gossip and evil speaking, and be justified by deeds, not by words. 4. For he says "He that speaketh much shall also hear much; or doth he that is a good speaker think that he is righteous? 5. Blessed is he that is born of woman and hath a short life. Be not profuse in speech."² 6. Let our praise be with God, and not from ourselves, for God hates

The duties of their privileges

¹ The passages quoted in the margin are those which most nearly resemble this quotation, but the difference is considerable, and Clement may be referring to some lost source.

² The text is here obviously corrupt; but the corruption is in the LXX, not in Clement.

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θεός. 7. ἡ μαρτυρία τῆς ἀγαθῆς πράξεως ἡμῶν διδόσθω ὑπ' ἄλλων, καθὼς ἐδόθη τοῖς πατράσιν ἡμῶν τοῖς δικαίοις. 8. θράσος καὶ αὐθάδεια καὶ τόλμα τοῖς κατηραμένοις ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ· ἐπιείκεια καὶ ταπεινοφροσύνη καὶ πραύτης παρὰ τοῖς ἠύλογημένοις ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ.

XXXI

1. Κολληθῶμεν οὖν τῇ εὐλογίᾳ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἴδωμεν, τίνες αἱ ὁδοὶ τῆς εὐλογίας. ἀνατυλίξωμεν τὰ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς γενόμενα. 2. τίνος χάριν ἠύλογήθη ὁ πατήρ ἡμῶν Ἀβραάμ, οὐχὶ δικαιοσύνην καὶ ἀλήθειαν διὰ πίστεως ποιήσας; 3. Ἰσαὰκ μετὰ πεποιοθήσεως γινώσκων τὸ μέλλον ἠδέως προσήγετο θυσία. 4. Ἰακώβ μετὰ ταπεινοφροσύνης ἐξέχωρησεν τῆς γῆς αὐτοῦ δι' ἀδελφὸν καὶ ἐπορεύθη πρὸς Λαβὰν καὶ ἐδούλευσεν, καὶ ἐδόθη αὐτῷ τὸ δωδεκάσκηπτρον τοῦ Ἰσραήλ.

XXXII

1. Ὅ ἐάν τις καθ' ἐν ἑκάστον εἰλικρινῶς κατανοήσῃ, ἐπιγνώσεται μεγαλεία τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δεδομένων δωρεῶν. 2. ἐξ αὐτοῦ γὰρ ἱερεῖς καὶ Λευῖται πάντες οἱ λειτουργοῦντες τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ

I. CLEMENT, XXX. 6-XXXII. 2

those who praise themselves. 7. Let testimony to our good deeds be given by others, as it was given to our fathers, the righteous. 8. Frowardness and arrogance and boldness belong to those that are accursed by God, gentleness and humility and meekness are with those who are blessed by God.

XXXI

1. LET us cleave, then, to his blessing and let us consider what are the paths of blessing. Let us unfold the deeds of old. 2. Why was our father Abraham blessed? Was it not because he wrought righteousness and truth through faith? 3. Isaac in confident knowledge of the future was gladly led as a sacrifice. 4. Jacob departed from his country in meekness because of his brother, and went to Laban and served him, and to him was given the sceptre of the twelve tribes of Israel.

The faith
of the
Patriarchs

XXXII

1. AND if anyone will candidly consider this in detail, he will recognize the greatness of the gifts given by him. 2. For from him¹ come the priests and all the Levites, who serve the altar

The great-
ness of
Jacob's
blessing

¹ The obscurity of this passage is partly due to an ambiguity in the Greek, partly to the faultiness of the chapter-divisions. The first verse of this chapter ought really to be closely connected with the last verse of Chapter XXXI; the "by him" in XXXII, 1 means "by God," and the "from him" in XXXII, 2 means from Jacob.

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Rom. 9, 3 τοῦ θεοῦ· ἐξ αὐτοῦ ὁ κύριος Ἰησοῦς τὸ κατὰ σάρκα· ἐξ αὐτοῦ βασιλεῖς καὶ ἄρχοντες καὶ ἡγούμενοι κατὰ τὸν Ἰούδαν· τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ σκῆπτρα αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἐν μικρᾷ δόξῃ ὑπάρχουσιν, ὡς ἐπαγγελιαμένου τοῦ θεοῦ, ὅτι ἔσται τὸ σπέρμα σου ὡς οἱ ἀστέρες τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. 3. πάντες οὖν ἐδοξάσθησαν καὶ ἐμεγαλύνθησαν οὐ δι' αὐτῶν ἢ τῶν ἔργων αὐτῶν ἢ τῆς δικαιοπραγίας ἧς κατειργάσαντο, ἀλλὰ διὰ τοῦ θελήματος αὐτοῦ. 4. καὶ ἡμεῖς οὖν, διὰ θελήματος αὐτοῦ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ κληθέντες, οὐ δι' ἑαυτῶν δικαιούμεθα, οὐδὲ διὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας σοφίας ἢ συνέσεως ἢ εὐσεβείας ἢ ἔργων ὧν κατειργασάμεθα ἐν ὀσιότητι καρδίας, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῆς πίστεως, δι' ἧς πάντας τοὺς ἀπ' αἰῶνος ὁ παντοκράτωρ θεὸς ἐδικαίωσεν· ᾧ ἔστω ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν.

Gen. 15, 5 ;
22, 17 ; 26, 4

XXXIII

Rom. 6, 1 1. Τί οὖν ποιήσωμεν, ἀδελφοί; ἀργήσωμεν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγαθοποιίας καὶ ἐγκαταλίπωμεν τὴν ἀγάπην; μηθαμῶς τοῦτο εἶσαι ὁ δεσπότης ἐφ' ἡμῖν γε γενηθῆναι, ἀλλὰ σπεύσωμεν μετὰ ἐκτενείας καὶ προθυμίας πᾶν ἔργον ἀγαθὸν ἐπιτελεῖν. 2. αὐτὸς γὰρ ὁ δημιουργὸς καὶ δεσπότης τῶν ἀπάντων ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῦ ἀγαλλιᾶται. 3. τῷ γὰρ παμμεγεθεστάτῳ αὐτοῦ κράτει οὐρανοὺς ἐστήρισεν καὶ τῇ ἀκαταλήπτῳ αὐτοῦ συνέσει διεκόσμησεν αὐτούς· γῆν τε διεχώρισεν ἀπὸ τοῦ περιέχοντος αὐτὴν ὕδατος καὶ ἠδρασεν ἐπὶ τὸν ἀσφαλῆ τοῦ ἰδίου βουλήματος θεμέλιον· τά τε ἐν αὐτῇ ζῶα

Tit. 3, 1

I. CLEMENT, XXXII. 2-XXXIII. 3

of God, from him comes the Lord Jesus according to the flesh, from him come the kings and rulers and governors in the succession of Judah, and the other sceptres of his tribes are in no small renown seeing that God promised that "thy seed shall be as the stars of heaven." 3. All of them therefore were all renowned and magnified, not through themselves or their own works or the righteous actions which they had wrought, but through his will ; 4. and therefore we who by his will have been called in Christ Jesus, are not made righteous by ourselves, or by our wisdom or understanding or piety or the deeds which we have wrought in holiness of heart, but through faith, by which Almighty God has justified all men from the beginning of the world ; to him be glory for ever and ever. Amen.

XXXIII

1. WHAT shall we do, then, brethren ? Shall we be slothful in well-doing and cease from love? May ^{Continu-} the Master forbid that this should happen, at least to ^{ance in} us, but let us be zealous to accomplish every good deed ^{good works} with energy and readiness. 2. For the Creator and Master of the universe himself rejoices in his works. 3. For by his infinitely great might did he establish the heavens, and by his incomprehensible understanding did he order them ; and he separated the earth from the water that surrounds it, and fixed it upon the secure foundation of his own will ; and the animals

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φοιτῶντα τῇ ἑαυτοῦ διατάξει ἐκέλευσεν εἶναι θάλασσαν καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ ζῶα προετοιμάσας ἐνέκλεισεν τῇ ἑαυτοῦ δυνάμει. 4. ἐπὶ πᾶσι τὸ ἐξοχώτατον καὶ παμμέγεθες κατὰ διάνοιαν, ἄνθρωπον, ταῖς ἱεραῖς καὶ ἀνώμοις χερσὶν ἐπλασεν τῆς ἑαυτοῦ εἰκόνας χαρακτῆρα. 5. οὕτως γὰρ φησιν ὁ θεός· Ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα καὶ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν ἡμετέραν· καὶ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἄρσεν καὶ θῆλυ ἐποίησεν αὐτούς. 6. ταῦτα οὖν πάντα τελειώσας ἐπήνεσεν αὐτὰ καὶ ἠυλόγησεν καὶ εἶπεν· Αὐξάνεσθε καὶ πληθύνεσθε. 7. ἴδωμεν, ὅτι ἐν ἔργοις ἀγαθοῖς πάντες ἐκοσμήθησαν οἱ δίκαιοι, καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ κύριος ἔργοις ἀγαθοῖς ἑαυτὸν κοσμήσας ἐχάρη. 8. ἔχοντες οὖν τούτον τὸν ὑπογραμμὸν ἀόκνως προσέλθωμεν τῷ θελήματι αὐτοῦ· ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ἰσχύος ἡμῶν ἐργασώμεθα ἔργον δικαιοσύνης.

XXXIV

1. Ὁ ἀγαθὸς ἐργάτης μετὰ παρρησίας λαμβάνει τὸν ἄρτον τοῦ ἔργου αὐτοῦ, ὁ νωθρὸς καὶ παρειμένος οὐκ ἀντοφθαλμεῖ τῷ ἐργοπαρέκτῃ αὐτοῦ. 2. δέον οὖν ἐστὶν προθύμους ἡμᾶς εἶναι εἰς ἀγαθοποιῶν· ἐξ αὐτοῦ γὰρ ἐστὶν τὰ πάντα. 3. προλέγει γὰρ ἡμῖν· Ἴδου ὁ κύριος, καὶ ὁ μισθὸς αὐτοῦ πρὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ, ἀποδοῦναι ἐκάστῳ κατὰ τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῦ. 4. προτρέπεται οὖν ἡμᾶς πιστεύοντας ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας ἐπ' αὐτῷ, μὴ ἀργοὺς μηδὲ παρειμένους εἶναι ἐπὶ πᾶν ἔργον ἀγαθόν. 5. τὸ

Is. 40, 10;
62, 11;
1' Κορ. 24, 12
Rev. 22, 12

Tit. 3, 1

I. CLEMENT, xxxiii. 3-xxxiv. 4

that move in it did he command to exist by his own decree; the sea and the living things in it did he make ready, and enclosed by his own power.

4. Above all, man, the most excellent and from his intellect the greatest of his creatures, did he form in the likeness of his own image by his sacred and faultless hands.¹ 5. For God spake thus: "Let us make man according to our image and likeness; and God made man, male and female made he them."

6. So when he had finished all these things he praised them and blessed them and said, "Increase and multiply." 7. Let us observe that all the righteous have been adorned with good works; and the Lord himself adorned himself with good works and rejoiced. 8. Having therefore this pattern let us follow his will without delay, let us work the work of righteousness with all our strength.

XXXIV

1. THE good workman receives the bread of his labour with boldness; the lazy and careless cannot look his employer in the face. 2. Therefore we must be prompt in well-doing: for all things are from him. 3. For he warns us: "Behold the Lord cometh, and his reward is before his face, to pay to each according to his work." 4. He exhorts us therefore if we believe on him with our whole heart not to be lazy or careless "in every good work."

The reward
of good
works

¹ Or perhaps "did he form in accordance with his intellect."

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καύχημα ἡμῶν καὶ ἡ παρρησία ἔστω ἐν αὐτῷ· ὑποτασσώμεθα τῷ θελήματι αὐτοῦ· κατανοήσωμεν τὸ πᾶν πλήθος τῶν ἀγγέλων αὐτοῦ, πῶς τῷ θελήματι αὐτοῦ λειτουργοῦσιν παρεστῶτες. 6. λέγει γὰρ ἡ γραφή· Μύριαι μυριάδες παρειστήκεισαν αὐτῷ, καὶ χίλιαι χιλιάδες ἐλειτούργουν αὐτῷ, καὶ ἐκέκραγον, "Ἄγιος, ἅγιος, ἅγιος κύριος σαβαώθ, πλήρης πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ. 7. καὶ ἡμεῖς, οὖν, ἐν ὁμοιοῖα ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συναχθέντες τῇ συνειδήσει, ὡς ἐξ ἑνὸς στόματος βοήσωμεν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκτενῶς εἰς τὸ μετόχους ἡμᾶς γενέσθαι τῶν μεγάλων καὶ ἐνδόξων ἐπαγγελιῶν αὐτοῦ. 8. λέγει γάρ· Ὁφθαλμὸς οὐκ εἶδεν, καὶ οὖς οὐκ ἤκουσεν, καὶ ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἀνέβη, ὅσα ἠτοίμασεν κύριος¹ τοῖς ὑπομένουσιν αὐτόν.

Dan. 7, 10;
Is. 6, 8

I Cor. 2, 9;

XXXV

1. Ὡς μακάρια καὶ θαυμαστὰ τὰ δῶρα τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀγαπητοί. 2. ζωὴ ἐν ἀθανασίᾳ, λαμπρότης ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ, ἀλήθεια ἐν παρρησίᾳ, πίστις ἐν πεποιθήσει, ἐγκράτεια ἐν ἁγιασμῷ· καὶ ταῦτα ὑπέπιπτεν πάντα ὑπὸ τὴν διάνοιαν ἡμῶν. 3. τίνα οὖν ἄρα ἔστιν τὰ ἐτοιμαζόμενα τοῖς ὑπομένουσιν; ὁ δημιουργὸς καὶ πατὴρ τῶν αἰώνων ὁ πανάγιος αὐτὸς γινώσκει τὴν ποσότητα καὶ τὴν καλλονὴν αὐτῶν. 4. ἡμεῖς οὖν ἀγωνισώμεθα εὐρεθῆναι ἐν τῷ ἀριθμῷ τῶν ὑπομενόντων, ὅπως μεταλάβωμεν τῶν ἐπηγγελμένων δωρεῶν. 5. πῶς δὲ

¹ Κύριος CLS, ὁ θεός Clem. (so I Cor. 2, 9), A omits.

I. CLEMENT, xxxiv. 5—xxxv. 5

5. Let our glorying and confidence be in him; let us be subject to his will; let us consider the whole multitude of his angels, how they stand ready and minister to his will. 6. For the Scripture says "Ten thousand times ten thousand stood by him, and thousand thousands ministered to him, and they cried Holy, Holy, Holy is the Lord of Sabaoth, the whole creation is full of his glory." 7. Therefore, we too must gather together with concord in our conscience¹ and cry earnestly to him, as it were with one mouth, that we may share in his great and glorious promises, 8. for he says: "Eye hath not seen, and ear hath not heard, and it hath not entered into the heart of man, what things the Lord hath prepared for them that wait for him."

XXXV

1. How blessed and wonderful, beloved, are the gifts of God! 2. Life in immortality, splendour in righteousness, truth in boldness, faith in confidence, continence in holiness: and all these things are submitted to our understanding. 3. What, then, are the things which are being prepared for those who wait for him? The Creator and Father of the ages, the All-holy one, himself knows their greatness and beauty. 4. Let us then strive to be found among the number of those that wait, that we may receive a share of the promised gifts. 5. But how

The reward of good works, and how it may be gained

¹ Others translate "in concord and a good conscience"; but it is not certain that *συνείδησις* can be the synonym of ἀγαθὴ συνείδησις.

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

ἔσται τοῦτο, ἀγαπητοί; ἂν ἐστηρυγμένη ἢ ἡ
 διάνοια ἡμῶν πιστῶς πρὸς τὸν θεόν, ἂν ἐκζητῶμεν
 τὰ εὐάρεστα καὶ εὐπρόσδεκτα αὐτῷ, ἂν ἐπιτελέ-
 σωμεν τὰ ἀνήκοντα τῇ ἀμώμφ βουλήσει αὐτοῦ,
 καὶ ἀκολουθήσωμεν τῇ ὁδῷ τῆς ἀληθείας, ἀπορρί-
 ψαντες ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν πᾶσαν ἀδικίαν καὶ πονηρίαν,
 πλεονεξίαν, ἔρεις, κακοθεΐας τε καὶ δόλους,
 ψιθυρισμούς τε καὶ καταλαλιὰς, θεοστυγίαν,
 ὑπερηφανίαν τε καὶ ἀλαζονείαν, κενοδοξίαν τε καὶ
 ἀφιλοξενίαν.¹ 6. ταῦτα γὰρ οἱ πράσσοντες στυγητοὶ
 τῷ θεῷ ὑπάρχουσιν· οὐ μόνον δὲ οἱ πράσσοντες
 αὐτά, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ συνευδοκοῦντες αὐτοῖς. 7. λέγει
 γὰρ ἡ γραφή· Τῷ δὲ ἀμαρτωλῷ εἶπεν ὁ θεός·
 Ἰνατί σὺ διηγῆ τὰ δικαιώματά μου, καὶ ἀνα-
 λαμβάνεις τὴν διαθήκην μου ἐπὶ στόματός σου; 8.
 σὺ δὲ ἐμίσησας παιδείαν καὶ ἐξέβαλες τοὺς
 λόγους μου εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω. εἰ ἐθεώρεις κλέπτην,
 συνέτρεχες αὐτῷ, καὶ μετὰ μοιχῶν τὴν μερίδα σου
 ἐτίθεις. τὸ στόμα σου ἐπλεόνασεν κακίαν, καὶ ἡ
 γλῶσσά σου περιέπλεκεν δολιότητα. καθήμενος
 κατὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου κατελάλεις, καὶ κατὰ τοῦ
 υἱοῦ τῆς μητρός σου ἐτίθεις σκάνδαλον. 9. ταῦτα
 ἐποίησας, καὶ ἐσίγησα· ὑπέλαβες, ἄνομε, ὅτι
 ἔσομαί σοι ὅμοιος. 10. ἐλέγξω σε καὶ παρα-
 στήσω σε κατὰ πρόσωπόν σου. 11. σύνετε δὴ
 ταῦτα, οἱ ἐπιλανθανόμενοι τοῦ θεοῦ, μήποτε
 ἀρπάσῃ ὡς λέων, καὶ μὴ ἢ ὁ ῥυόμενος. 12. θυσία
 αἰνέσεως δοξάσει με, καὶ ἐκεῖ ὁδός, ἣ² δείξω αὐτῷ
 τὸ σωτήριον τοῦ θεοῦ.

Cf. Rom. 1,
29-32

Rom. 1, 32
Ps. 50, 16-23

¹ The text is doubtful: A reads φιλοξενίαν, which is impossible, CS read ἀφιλοξενίαν, but L has *inhumilitatem*, which Knopf believes to represent an original φιλοδοξίαν.

² ἢ L (in qua) ἦν ACS with later LXX MSS.

I. CLEMENT, xxxv. 5-xxxv. 12

shall this be, beloved? If our understanding be fixed faithfully on God; if we seek the things which are well-pleasing and acceptable to him; if we fulfil the things which are in harmony with his faultless will, and follow the way of truth, casting away from ourselves all iniquity and wickedness, covetousness, strife, malice and fraud, gossiping and evil speaking, hatred of God, pride and arrogance, vain-glory and inhospitality. 6. For those who do these things are hateful to God, and "not only those who do them, but also those who take pleasure in them." 7. For the Scripture says: "But to the sinner said God: Wherefore dost thou declare my ordinances, and takest my covenant in thy mouth? 8. Thou hast hated instruction, and cast my words behind thee. If thou sawest a thief thou didst run with him, and thou didst make thy portion with the adulterers. Thy mouth hath multiplied iniquity, and thy tongue did weave deceit. Thou didst sit to speak evil against thy brother, and thou didst lay a stumbling-block in the way of thy mother's son. 9. Thou hast done these things and I kept silent; thou didst suppose, O wicked one, that I shall be like unto thee. 10. I will reprove thee and set thyself before thy face.¹ 11. Understand then these things, ye who forget God, lest he seize you as doth a lion, and there be none to deliver. 12. The sacrifice of praise shall glorify me, and therein is a way in which I will show to him the salvation of God."

¹ The Syriac reads "Set thy sins before thy face." This is no doubt a guess, but it gives the meaning.

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XXXVI

1. Αὕτη ἡ ὁδός, ἀγαπητοί, ἐν ἧ εὗρομεν τὸ
 Heb. 2, 18 ; σωτήριον ἡμῶν, Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, τὸν ἀρχιερέα
 3, 1 τῶν προσφορῶν ἡμῶν, τὸν προστάτην καὶ βοηθὸν
 τῆς ἀσθενείας ἡμῶν. 2. διὰ τούτου ἀτενίζομεν¹
 εἰς τὰ ὕψη τῶν οὐρανῶν, διὰ τούτου ἐνοπτριζόμεθα
 τὴν ἄμωμον καὶ ὑπερτάτην ὄψιν αὐτοῦ, διὰ τούτου
 ἠνεώχθησαν ἡμῶν οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ τῆς καρδίας, διὰ
 τούτου ἡ ἀσύνητος καὶ ἐσκοτωμένη διάνοια ἡμῶν
 ἀναθάλλει εἰς τὸ φῶς, διὰ τούτου ἠθέλησεν ὁ δε-
 σπότης τῆς ἀθανάτου γνώσεως ἡμᾶς γεύσασθαι, ὃς
 Heb. 1, 3, 4 ὢν ἀπαύγασμα τῆς μεγαλωσύνης αὐτοῦ, τοσοῦτον
 μείζων ἐστὶν ἀγγέλων, ὅσῳ διαφορώτερον ὄνομα
 Heb. 1, 7 ; κεκληροδόμηκεν. 3. γέγραπται γὰρ οὕτως· Ὁ
 Ps. 104, 4 ποιῶν τοὺς ἀγγέλους αὐτοῦ πνεύματα καὶ τοὺς
 λειτουργοὺς αὐτοῦ πυρὸς φλόγα. 4. ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ
 Heb. 1, 5 υἱῷ αὐτοῦ οὕτως εἶπεν ὁ δεσπότης. Υἱός μου εἰ
 Ps. 2, 7, 8 σύ, ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε· αἴτησαι παρ' ἐμοῦ,
 καὶ δώσω σοι ἔθνη τὴν κληρονομίαν σου καὶ τὴν
 κατάσχεσίν σου τὰ πέρατα τῆς γῆς. 5. καὶ πάλιν
 Heb. 1, 13 ; λέγει πρὸς αὐτόν· Κάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν μου, ἕως ἂν
 Ps. 110, 1 θῶ τοὺς ἐχθρούς σου ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν σου.
 6. τίνες οὖν οἱ ἐχθροί; οἱ φαῦλοι καὶ ἀντιτασσό-
 μενοι τῷ θελήματι αὐτοῦ.

XXXVII

1. Στρατευσώμεθα οὖν, ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί, μετὰ
 πάσης ἐκτενείας ἐν τοῖς ἀμώμοις προστάγμασιν
 αὐτοῦ. 2. κατανοήσωμεν τοὺς στρατευομένους

¹ ἀτενίζομεν A "let us fix our gaze."

I. CLEMENT, XXXVI. I-XXXVII. 2

XXXVI

1. THIS is the way, beloved, in which we found our salvation, Jesus Christ, the high priest of our offerings, the defender and helper of our weakness. The reward is given through Christ
2. Through him we fix our gaze on the heights of heaven, through him we see the reflection of his faultless and lofty countenance, through him the eyes of our hearts were opened, through him our foolish and darkened understanding blossoms towards the light, through him the Master willed that we should taste the immortal knowledge; "who, being the brightness of his majesty is by so much greater than angels as he hath inherited a more excellent name."
3. For it is written thus "Who maketh his angels spirits, and his ministers a flame of fire."
4. But of his son the Master said thus "Thou art my son: to-day have I begotten thee. Ask of me, and I will give thee the heathen for thine inheritance, and the ends of the earth for thy possession."
5. And again he says to him "Sit thou on my right hand until I make thine enemies a footstool of thy feet."
6. Who then are the enemies? Those who are wicked and oppose his will.

XXXVII

1. LET us then serve in our army, brethren, with all earnestness, following his faultless commands. The necessity for subordination
2. Let us consider those who serve our generals, with

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

τοῖς ἡγουμένοις ἡμῶν, πῶς εὐτάκτως, πῶς ἐκτικῶς,¹
 πῶς ὑποτεταγμένως ἐπιτελοῦσιν τὰ διατασσόμενα.
 3. οὐ πάντες εἰσὶν ἑπαρχοὶ οὐδὲ χιλίαρχοι οὐδὲ ἑκα-
 I Cor. 15, 28 τόνταρχαι οὐδὲ πεντηκόνταρχοι οὐδὲ τὸ καθεξῆς,
 ἀλλ' ἕκαστος ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ τάγματι τὰ ἐπιτασσόμενα
 ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τῶν ἡγουμένων ἐπιτελεῖ. 4.
 οἱ μεγάλοι δίχα τῶν μικρῶν οὐ δύνανται εἶναι, οὔτε
 οἱ μικροὶ δίχα τῶν μεγάλων· σύγκρασις τίς ἐστὶν ἐν
 πᾶσιν, καὶ ἐν τούτοις² χρῆσις. 5. λάβωμεν τὸ
 σῶμα ἡμῶν ἢ κεφαλὴν δίχα τῶν ποδῶν οὐδὲν
 I Cor. 12, 21: ἐστὶν, οὕτως οὐδὲ οἱ πόδες δίχα τῆς κεφαλῆς· τὰ
 δὲ ἐλάχιστα μέλη τοῦ σώματος ἡμῶν ἀναγκαῖα
 καὶ εὐχρηστά εἰσιν ὅλῳ τῷ σώματι· ἀλλὰ πάντα
 συνπνεῖ καὶ ὑποταγῇ μιᾷ χρῆται εἰς τὸ σώζεσθαι
 ὅλον τὸ σῶμα.

XXXVIII

1. Σωζέσθω οὖν ἡμῶν ὅλον τὸ σῶμα ἐν Χριστῷ
 Ἰησοῦ, καὶ ὑποτασσέσθω ἕκαστος τῷ πλησίον
 αὐτοῦ, καθὼς ἐτέθη ἐν τῷ χαρίσματι αὐτοῦ. 2. ὁ
 ἰσχυρὸς τημελείτω³ τὸν ἀσθενῆ, ὁ δὲ ἀσθενὴς
 ἐντρεπέσθω τὸν ἰσχυρόν· ὁ πλούσιος ἐπιχορηγεῖτω
 τῷ πτωχῷ, ὁ δὲ πτωχὸς εὐχαριστεῖτω τῷ θεῷ, ὅτι
 ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ, δι' οὗ ἀναπληρωθῆ αὐτοῦ τὸ ὑστέρημα·
 ὁ σοφὸς ἐνδεικνύσθω τὴν σοφίαν αὐτοῦ μὴ ἐν

¹ A reads *ειεκτι*... (the rest of the word has disappeared, though there is a trace either of *ω*. . or of *ικ* . .) A¹ has *εὐεικτ* . .

² L seems to imply *ἀλλήλοις* "and one makes use of the other," which may be the original text.

³ A has *μη τημελείτω*. This is perhaps a corruption of *μη ἀτημελείτω* "not neglect," which may be the true reading.

I. CLEMENT, XXXVII. 2—XXXVIII. 2

what good order, habitual readiness, and submissiveness they perform their commands. 3. Not all are prefects, nor tribunes, nor centurions, nor in charge of fifty men, or the like, but each carries out in his own rank the commands of the emperor and of the generals. 4. The great cannot exist without the small, nor the small without the great; there is a certain mixture among all, and herein lies the advantage. 5. Let us take our body; the head is nothing without the feet, likewise the feet are nothing without the head; the smallest members of our body are necessary and valuable to the whole body, but all work together and are united in a common subjection to preserve the whole body.

XXXVIII

1. LET, therefore, our whole body be preserved in Christ Jesus, and let each be subject to his neighbour, according to the position granted to him. 2. Let the strong care for the weak and let the weak reverence the strong. Let the rich man bestow help on the poor and let the poor give thanks to God, that he gave him one to supply his needs; let the wise manifest his wisdom not in words but in good deeds;

The duties
of mutual
help

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

λόγοις, ἀλλ' ἐν ἔργοις ἀγαθοῖς· ὁ ταπεινοφρονῶν μὴ ἑαυτῷ μαρτυρεῖτω, ἀλλ' ἕάτω ὑφ' ἑτέρου ἑαυτὸν μαρτυρεῖσθαι· ὁ ἀγνὸς ἐν τῇ σαρκί¹ μὴ ἀλαζονευέσθω, γινώσκων ὅτι ἕτερός ἐστιν ὁ ἐπιχορηγῶν αὐτῷ τὴν ἐγκράτειαν. 3. ἀναλογισώμεθα οὖν, ἀδελφοί, ἐκ ποίας ὕλης ἐγενήθημεν, ποῖοι καὶ τίνες εἰσήλθαμεν εἰς τὸν κόσμον, ἐκ ποίου τάφου καὶ σκότους ὁ πλάσας ἡμᾶς καὶ δημιουργήσας εἰσήγαγεν εἰς τὸν κόσμον αὐτοῦ, προετοιμάσας τὰς εὐεργεσίας αὐτοῦ, πρὶν ἡμᾶς γεννηθῆναι. 4. ταῦτα οὖν πάντα ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἔχοντες ὀφείλομεν κατὰ πάντα εὐχαριστεῖν αὐτῷ· ᾧ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν.

XXXIX

1. Ἄφρονες καὶ ἀσύνητοι καὶ μωροὶ καὶ ἀπαίδευτοι χλευάζουσιν ἡμᾶς καὶ μυκτηρίζουσιν, ἑαυτοὺς βουλόμενοι ἐπαίρεσθαι ταῖς διανοαῖς αὐτῶν. 2. τί γὰρ δύναται θνητός; ἢ τίς ἰσχύς γηγενοῦς; 3. γέγραπται γάρ· Οὐκ ἦν μορφή πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν μου, ἀλλ' ἡ αὔραν καὶ φωνὴν ἤκουον. 4. Τί γάρ; μὴ καθαρὸς ἔσται βροτὸς ἔναντι κυρίου; ἢ ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ ἀμεμπτος ἀνὴρ, εἰ κατὰ παίδων αὐτοῦ οὐ πιστεύει, κατὰ δὲ ἀγγέλων αὐτοῦ σκολιὸν τι ἐπενόησεν; 5. οὐρανὸς δὲ οὐ καθαρὸς ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ· ἕα δέ, οἱ κατοικούντες οἰκίας πηλίνας, ἐξ ὧν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐκ τοῦ

Job 4, 16-18;
15, 15; 4,
19-5, 5

¹ A reads καὶ μὴ preceded by a lacuna (the vellum has been cut away). It is suggested that ἦτω should be supplied, giving the meaning "Let him who is pure in the flesh, be so, and not," etc.

I. CLEMENT, xxxviii. 2-xxxix. 5

let him who is humble-minded not testify to his own humility, but let him leave it to others to bear him witness ; let not him who is pure in the flesh be boastful, knowing that it is another who bestows on him his continence. 3. Let us consider, then, brethren, of what matter we were formed, who we are, and with what nature we came into the world, and how he who formed and created us brought us into his world from the darkness of a grave, and prepared his benefits for us before we were born. 4. Since, therefore, we have everything from him we ought in everything to give him thanks, to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen.

XXXIX

1. Foolish, imprudent, silly, and uninstructed men mock and deride us, wishing to exalt themselves in their own conceits. 2. For what can mortal man do, or what is the strength of him who is a child of earth? 3. For it is written "There was no shape before mine eyes, but I heard a sound and a voice. 4. What then? Shall a mortal be pure before the Lord? Or shall a man be blameless in his deeds, seeing that he believeth not in his servants, and hath noted perversity in his angels? 5. Yea, the heaven is not pure before him. Away then, ye who inhabit houses of clay, of which, even of the same clay, we ourselves were made. He smote them as a

Exhortation against those who act otherwise

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αὐτοῦ πηλοῦ ἐσμέν· ἔπαισεν αὐτοὺς σιγῆς τρόπον, καὶ ἀπὸ πρωΐθεν ἕως ἑσπέρας οὐκ ἔτι εἰσὶν παρὰ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι αὐτοὺς ἑαυτοῖς βοηθῆσαι ἀπώλοντο. 6. ἐνεφύσησεν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἐτελεύτησαν παρὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν αὐτοὺς σοφίαν. 7. ἐπικάλεσαι δέ, εἴ τίς σοι ὑπακούσεται, ἢ εἴ τινα ἀγίων ἀγγέλων ὄψῃ· καὶ γὰρ ἄφρονα ἀναιρεῖ ὀργή, πεπλανημένον δὲ θανατοῖ ζῆλος. 8. ἐγὼ δὲ ἐώρακα ἄφρονας ρίζας βάλλοντας,¹ ἀλλ' εὐθέως ἐβρώθη αὐτῶν ἡ διαίτα. 9. πόρρω γένοιτο οἱ υἱοὶ αὐτῶν ἀπὸ σωτηρίας· κολαβρισθείησαν ἐπὶ θύραις ἡσόνων, καὶ οὐκ ἔσται ὁ ἐξαιρούμενος· ἅ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοις ἡτοίμασται, δίκαιοι ἔδονται, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐκ κακῶν οὐκ ἐξαίρετοι ἔσονται.

XL

1. Προδήλων οὖν ἡμῖν ὄντων τούτων, καὶ ἐγκεκυφότες εἰς τὰ βάθη τῆς θείας γνώσεως, πάντα τάξει ποιεῖν ὀφείλομεν, ὅσα ὁ δεσπότης ἐπιτελεῖν ἐκέλευσεν κατὰ καιροὺς τεταγμένους. 2. τὰς τε προσφορὰς καὶ λειτουργίας ἐπιτελεῖσθαι, καὶ² οὐκ εἰκῆ ἢ ἀτάκτως ἐκέλευσεν γίνεσθαι, ἀλλ' ὠρισμένοις καιροῖς καὶ ὥραις. 3. ποῦ τε καὶ διὰ τίνων ἐπιτελεῖσθαι θέλει, αὐτὸς ὥρισεν τῇ ὑπερτάτῳ αὐτοῦ βουλήσει, ἵν' ὁσίως πάντα γινόμενα ἐν εὐδοκῆσει εὐπρόσδεκτα εἶη τῷ θελήματι αὐτοῦ. 4. οἱ οὖν τοῖς προστεταγμένοις καιροῖς ποιούντες τὰς προσφορὰς αὐτῶν εὐπρόσδεκτοὶ τε καὶ

¹ βαλόντας A, βάλλοντας CLS (LXX).

² ἐπιτελεῖσθαι καὶ AC, om. LS.

I. CLEMENT, xxxix. 5--xl. 4

moth, and from morning until evening they do not endure; they perished, without being able to help themselves. 6. He breathed on them and they died because they had no wisdom. 7. But call now, if any shall answer thee, or if thou shalt see any of the holy angels; for wrath destroyeth the foolish, and envy putteth to death him that is in error. 8. I have seen the foolish taking root, but their habitation was presently consumed. 9. Let their sons be far from safety; let them be mocked in the gates of those less than they, with none to deliver; for what was prepared for them the righteous shall eat, and they themselves shall not be delivered from evil."

XL

1. SINCE then these things are manifest to us, and we have looked into the depths of the divine knowledge, we ought to do in order all things which the Master commanded us to perform at appointed times. 2. He commanded us to celebrate sacrifices and services, and that it should not be thoughtlessly or disorderly, but at fixed times and hours. 3. He has himself fixed by his supreme will the places and persons whom he desires for these celebrations, in order that all things may be done piously according to his good pleasure, and be acceptable to his will. 4. So then those who offer their oblations at the appointed seasons are acceptable and blessed, for

The duty of
observing
order in
religious
services

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μακάριοι τοῖς γὰρ νομίμοις τοῦ δεσπότου ἀκολουθοῦντες οὐ διαμαρτάνουσιν. 5. τῷ γὰρ ἀρχιερεῖ ἴδιαι λειτουργίαι δεδομένοι εἰσίν, καὶ τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἴδιος ὁ τόπος προστέτακται, καὶ Λευῖταις ἴδιαι διακονίαι ἐπίκεινται· ὁ λαϊκὸς ἄνθρωπος τοῖς λαϊκοῖς προστάγμασιν δέδεται.¹

XLI

I Cor. 15, 23

1. Ἐκαστος ἡμῶν, ἀδελφοί, ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ τάγματι εὐαριστεῖτω² τῷ θεῷ ἐν ἀγαθῇ συνειδήσει ὑπάρχων, μὴ παρεκβαίνων τὸν ὠρισμένον τῆς λειτουργίας αὐτοῦ κανόνα, ἐν σεμνότητι. 2. οὐ πανταχοῦ, ἀδελφοί, προσφέρονται θυσίαι ἐνδελεχισμοῦ ἢ εὐχῶν³ ἢ περὶ ἁμαρτίας καὶ πλημμελείας, ἀλλ' ἢ ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ μόνῃ· κακεῖ δὲ οὐκ ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ προσφέρεται, ἀλλ' ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ ναοῦ πρὸς τὸ θυσιαστήριον, μωμοσκοπηθὲν τὸ προσφερόμενον διὰ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως καὶ τῶν προειρημένων λειτουργῶν. 3. οἱ οὖν παρὰ τὸ καθήκον τῆς βουλήσεως αὐτοῦ ποιῶντές τι θάνατον τὸ πρόστιμον ἔχουσιν. 4. ὁρᾶτε, ἀδελφοί· ὅσῳ πλείονος κατηξιώθημεν γνώσεως, τοσοῦτ' ἄλλο ὑποκείμεθα κινδύνῳ.

XLII

1. Οἱ ἀπόστολοι ἡμῖν εὐηγγελίσθησαν ἀπὸ τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστὸς ἀπὸ

¹ δέδεται A, δέδοται CLS.

² A reads εὐχαριστεῖτω, "join in the Eucharist," or less probably, "give thanks."

³ C reads προσευχῶν.

I. CLEMENT, XL. 4-XLII. 1

they follow the laws of the Master and do no sin. 5. For to the High Priest his proper ministrations are allotted, and to the priests the proper place has been appointed, and on Levites their proper services have been imposed. The layman is bound by the ordinances for the laity.

XLI

1. Let each one of us, brethren, be well pleasing to God in his own rank, and have a good conscience, not transgressing the appointed rules of his ministration, with all reverence. 2. Not in every place, my brethren, are the daily sacrifices offered or the free-will offerings,¹ or the sin-offerings and trespass-offerings, but only in Jerusalem; and there also the offering is not made in every place, but before the shrine, at the altar, and the offering is first inspected by the High Priest and the ministers already mentioned. 3. Those therefore who do anything contrary to that which is agreeable to his will suffer the penalty of death. 4. You see, brethren, that the more knowledge we have been entrusted with, the greater risk do we incur.

The necessity for a diversity of functions in the church

XLII

1. THE Apostles received the Gospel for us from the Lord Jesus Christ, Jesus the Christ was sent from

The Apostolic foundation of church organisation

¹ If the reading of C be adopted, "Sacrifices of prayers."

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τοῦ θεοῦ ἐξεπέμφθη. 2. ὁ Χριστὸς οὖν ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ οἱ ἀπόστολοι ἀπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ· ἐγένοντο οὖν ἀμφοτέρα εὐτάκτως ἐκ θελήματος θεοῦ. 3. παραγγελίας οὖν λαβόντες καὶ πληροφορηθέντες διὰ τῆς ἀναστάσεως τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ πιστωθέντες ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τοῦ θεοῦ, μετὰ πληροφορίας πνεύματος ἁγίου ἐξῆλθον εὐαγγελιζόμενοι, τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ μέλλειν ἔρχεσθαι. 4. κατὰ χώρας οὖν καὶ πόλεις κηρυσσούσας¹ καθίστανον τὰς ἀπαρχὰς αὐτῶν, δοκιμάσαντες τῷ πνεύματι, εἰς ἐπισκόπους καὶ διακόνους τῶν μελλόντων πιστεύειν. 5. καὶ τοῦτο οὐ καινῶς· ἐκ γὰρ δὴ πολλῶν χρόνων ἐγέγραπτο περὶ ἐπισκόπων καὶ διακόνων. οὕτως γὰρ που λέγει ἡ γραφή· Καταστήσω τοὺς ἐπισκόπους αὐτῶν ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ τοὺς διακόνους αὐτῶν ἐν πίστει.

1a. 80, 17

XLIII

Num. 12, 7;
Heb. 3, 5

1. Καὶ τί θαυμαστόν, εἰ οἱ ἐν Χριστῷ πιστευθέντες παρὰ θεοῦ ἔργον τοιοῦτο κατέστησαν τοὺς προειρημένους; ὅπου καὶ ὁ μακάριος πιστὸς θεράπων ἐν ὄλῳ τῷ οἴκῳ Μωϋσῆς τὰ διατεταγμένα αὐτῷ πάντα ἐσημειώσατο ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς βίβλοις, ᾧ καὶ ἐπηκολούθησαν οἱ λοιποὶ προφήται, συνεπιμαρτυροῦντες τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ νενομοθετημένοις.

Num. 17

2. ἐκεῖνος γάρ, ζήλου ἐμπεσόντος περὶ τῆς ἱερῶς σύνης καὶ στασιαζουσῶν τῶν φυλῶν, ὅποια αὐτῶν εἶη τῷ ἐνδόξῳ ὀνόματι κεκοσμημένη, ἐκέλευσεν

¹ L adds *eos qui obaudiebant voluntati Dei baptizantes*. "baptising those who were obedient to the will of God."

I. CLEMENT, XLII. 1—XLIII. 2

God. 2. The Christ therefore is from God and the Apostles from the Christ. In both ways,¹ then, they were in accordance with the appointed order of God's will. 3. Having therefore received their commands, and being fully assured by the resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ, and with faith confirmed by the word of God, they went forth in the assurance of the Holy Spirit preaching the good news that the Kingdom of God is coming. 4. They preached from district to district, and from city to city, and they appointed their first converts, testing them by the Spirit, to be bishops and deacons of the future believers. 5. And this was no new method, for many years before had bishops and deacons been written of; for the scripture says thus in one place "I will establish their bishops in righteousness, and their deacons in faith."

XLIII

1. AND what wonder is it if those who were in Christ, and were entrusted by God with such a duty, established those who have been mentioned? Since the blessed Moses also "A faithful servant in all his house" noted down in the sacred books all the injunctions which were given him; and the other prophets followed him, bearing witness with him to the laws which he had given. 2. For when jealousy arose concerning the priesthood, and the tribes were quarrelling as to which of them was adorned with that glorious title, Moses himself commanded the

The action of Moses as a type of church organisation

¹ ἀμφότερα "both" is probably adverbial rather than the subject of ἐγένοντο.

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τοὺς δώδεκα φυλάρχους προσενεγκεῖν αὐτῷ ῥάβδους ἐπιγεγραμμένας ἐκάστης φυλῆς κατ' ὄνομα· καὶ λαβὼν αὐτὰς ἔδησεν καὶ ἐσφράγισεν τοῖς δακτυλίοις τῶν φυλάρχων, καὶ ἀπέθετο αὐτὰς εἰς τὴν σκηνὴν τοῦ μαρτυρίου ἐπὶ τὴν τράπεζαν τοῦ θεοῦ. 3. καὶ κλείσας τὴν σκηνὴν ἐσφράγισεν τὰς κλεῖδας ὡσαύτως καὶ τὰς ῥάβδους, 4. καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· Ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί, ἧς ἂν φυλῆς ἢ ῥάβδος βλαστήσῃ, ταύτην ἐκλέλεκται ὁ θεὸς εἰς τὸ ἱερατεῦειν καὶ λειτουργεῖν αὐτῷ. 5. πρῶτας δὲ γενομένης συνεκάλεσεν πάντα τὸν Ἰσραὴλ, τὰς ἑξακοσίας χιλιάδας τῶν ἀνδρῶν, καὶ ἐπεδείξατο τοῖς φυλάρχοις τὰς σφραγίδας, καὶ ἤνοιξεν τὴν σκηνὴν τοῦ μαρτυρίου καὶ προεῖλεν τὰς ῥάβδους· καὶ εὗρέθη ἡ ῥάβδος Ἀαρὼν οὐ μόνον βεβλαστηκυῖα, ἀλλὰ καὶ καρπὸν ἔχουσα. 6. τί δοκεῖτε, ἀγαπητοί; οὐ προῆδει Μωϋσῆς τοῦτο μέλλειν ἔσσεσθαι; μάλιστα ἦδει· ἀλλ' ἵνα μὴ ἀκαταστασία γένηται ἐν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ, οὕτως ἐποίησεν, εἰς τὸ δοξασθῆναι τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ καὶ μόνου θεοῦ.¹ ᾧ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν.

Cf. Joh. 17, 8

XLIV

1. Καὶ οἱ ἀπόστολοι ἡμῶν ἔγνωσαν διὰ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὅτι ἕρις ἔσται ἐπὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς. 2. διὰ ταύτην οὖν τὴν αἰτίαν πρόγνωσιν εἰληφότες τελείαν κατέστησαν

¹ θεοῦ "God" KS, κυρίου "Lord" S, L omits and has merely "the true and only one," A is missing.

I. CLEMENT, XLIII. 2—XLIV. 2

rulers of the twelve tribes to bring him rods, with the name of a tribe written on each; and he took them, and bound them, and sealed them with the rings of the rulers of the tribes, and put them away in the Tabernacle of Testimony on the table of God.

3. And he shut the Tabernacle, and sealed the keys, as he had done with the rods, 4. and he said to them, "Brethren, of whichsoever tribe the rod shall bud, this has God chosen for his priesthood and ministry." 5. And when it was daylight he called together all Israel, six hundred thousand men, and showed the seals to the rulers of the tribes, and opened the Tabernacle of Testimony, and took forth the rods, and the rod of Aaron was found not only to have budded, but also to be bearing fruit. 6. What do you think, beloved? That Moses did not know beforehand that this was going to happen? Assuredly he knew, but he acted thus that there should be no disorder in Israel, to glorify the name of the true and only God, to whom be the glory for ever and ever. Amen.

XLIV

1. Our Apostles also knew through our Lord Jesus Christ that there would be strife for the title of bishop. 2. For this cause, therefore, since they had received perfect foreknowledge, they appointed

The application of these facts to the situation at Corinth

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τοὺς προειρημένους, καὶ μεταξὺ ἐπινομῆν¹ δεδώ-
κασιν, ὅπως, εἰς κοιμηθῶσιν, διαδέξωνται ἕτεροι
δεδοκιμασμένοι ἄνδρες τὴν λειτουργίαν αὐτῶν.
3. τοὺς οὖν κατασταθέντας ὑπ' ἐκείνων ἢ μεταξὺ
ὑφ' ἐτέρων ἐλλογίμων ἀνδρῶν συνευδοκησάσης τῆς
ἐκκλησίας πάσης, καὶ λειτουργήσαντας ἀμέμπτως
τῷ ποιμνίῳ τοῦ Χριστοῦ μετὰ ταπεινοφροσύνης,
ἡσύχως καὶ ἀβαναύσως, μεμαρτυρημένους τε
πολλοῖς χρόνοις ὑπὸ πάντων, τούτους οὐ δικαίως
νομίζομεν ἀποβάλλεσθαι τῆς λειτουργίας. 4.
ἀμαρτία γὰρ οὐ μικρὰ ἡμῖν ἔσται, εἰς τοὺς
ἀμέμπτως καὶ ὁσίως προσευγκόντας τὰ δῶρα
τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ἀποβάλλωμεν. 5. μακάριοι οἱ
προοδοιπορήσαντες πρεσβύτεροι, οἵτινες ἔγκαρπον
καὶ τελείαν ἔσχον τὴν ἀνάλυσιν· οὐ γὰρ εὐλα-
βοῦνται μή τις αὐτοὺς μεταστήσῃ ἀπὸ τοῦ
ιδρυμένου αὐτοῖς τόπου. 6. ὀρώμεν γάρ, ὅτι
ἐνίους ὑμεῖς μετηγάγετε καλῶς πολιτευομένους ἐκ
τῆς ἀμέμπτως αὐτοῖς τετιμημένης λειτουργίας.

XLV

1. Φιλόνεικοι ἔστε, ἀδελφοί, καὶ ζηλωταὶ περὶ
τῶν ἀνηκόντων εἰς σωτηρίαν. 2. ἐγκεκύφατε εἰς
τὰς ἱεράς γραφάς, τὰς ἀληθεῖς, τὰς διὰ τοῦ

¹ ἐπινομῆν A, ἐπιδομῆν C, *legem* L (= ἔτι νόμον?), the
equivalent of ἐπιδοκιμῆν S, "And gave to those who were
after them" K. ἐπινομῆν seems to be the most probable
reading as L more or less supports the -νομῆν and CS support
the ἐπι-; but the translation is doubtful, as it is difficult to
obtain any sense unless it be supposed that ἐπινομῆν has the
meaning "codicil" which usually belongs to the cognate word
ἐπινομίς. Lightfoot emends to ἐπιμονῆν, "permanence."

I. CLEMENT, XLIV. 2-XLV. 2

those who have been already mentioned, and afterwards added the codicil that if they should fall asleep, other approved men should succeed to their ministry. 3. We consider therefore that it is not just to remove from their ministry those who were appointed by them, or later on by other eminent men, with the consent of the whole Church, and have ministered to the flock of Christ without blame, humbly, peaceably, and disinterestedly, and for many years have received a universally favourable testimony. 4. For our sin is not small, if we eject from the episcopate those who have blamelessly and holily offered its sacrifices. 5. Blessed are those Presbyters who finished their course before now, and have obtained a fruitful and perfect release in the ripeness of completed work, for they have now no fear that any shall move them from the place appointed to them. 6. For we see that in spite of their good service you have removed some from the ministry which they fulfilled blamelessly.¹

XLV

1. You are contentious,² brethren, and zealous for the things which lead to salvation. 2. You have studied the Holy Scriptures, which are true, and given by The persecution of the just in the Old Testament

¹ It is doubtful if this translation is right, and the Greek is perhaps corrupt. Lightfoot emends *τηρημένους* to *τηρημένων* "which they preserved." The translation given is supported by *L. facta* (probably a corruption of *functo*).

² Or possibly, "Be contentious."

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πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου. 3. ἐπίστασθε, ὅτι οὐδὲν ἄδικον οὐδὲ παραπαιημένον γέγραπται ἐν αὐταῖς. οὐχ εὐρήσετε δικαίους ἀποβεβλημένους ἀπὸ ὁσίων ἀνδρῶν. 4. ἐδιώχθησαν δίκαιοι, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ ἀνόμων· ἐφυλακίσθησαν, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ ἀνοσίων· ἐλιθάσθησαν ὑπὸ παρανόμων· ἀπεκτάνθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν μαρὸν καὶ ἄδικον ζῆλον ἀνειληφότων. 5. ταῦτα πάσχοντες εὐκλεῶς ἤνεγκαν. 6. τί γὰρ εἶπωμεν, ἀδελφοί; Δανιὴλ ὑπὸ τῶν φοβουμένων τὸν θεὸν ἐβλήθη εἰς λάκκον λεόντων; 7. ἡ Ἀνανίας καὶ Ἀζαρίας καὶ Μισαὴλ ὑπὸ τῶν θρησκευόντων τὴν μεγαλοπρεπή καὶ ἔνδοξον θρησκείαν τοῦ ὑψίστου κατείρθησαν εἰς κάμινον πυρός; μηθαμῶς τοῦτο γένοιτο. τίνας οὖν οἱ ταῦτα δράσαντες; οἱ στυγητοὶ καὶ πάσης κακίας πλήρεις εἰς τοσοῦτο ἐξήρισαν θυμοῦ, ὥστε τοὺς ἐν ὁσία καὶ ἀμώμῳ προθέσει δουλεύοντας τῷ θεῷ εἰς αἰκίαν περιβαλεῖν, μὴ εἰδότες ὅτι ὁ ὑψίστος ὑπέρμαχος καὶ ὑπερασπιστὴς ἐστὶν τῶν ἐν καθαρᾷ συνειδήσει λατρευόντων τῷ παναρέτῳ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ· ᾧ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν. 8. οἱ δὲ ὑπομένοντες ἐν πεποιθήσει δόξαν καὶ τιμὴν ἐκληρονόμησαν, ἐπήρθησάν τε καὶ ἔγγραφοι ἐγένοντο ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν τῷ μνημοσύνῳ αὐτοῦ¹ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν.

Dan. 6, 16

Dan. 8, 19 ff.

XLVI

1. Τοιούτοις οὖν ὑποδείγμασι κολληθῆναι καὶ ἡμᾶς δεῖ, ἀδελφοί. 2. γέγραπται γάρ· Κολλᾶσθε τοῖς ἁγίοις, ὅτι οἱ κολλώμενοι αὐτοῖς ἁγιασθή-

¹ μνημοσύνῳ αὐτῶν A, "their memorial."

I. CLEMENT, XLV. 2—XLVI. 2

the Holy Spirit. 3. You know that nothing unjust or counterfeit is written in them. You will not find that the righteous have been cast out by holy men. 4. The righteous were persecuted; but it was by the wicked. They were put in prison; but it was by the unholy. They were stoned by law-breakers, they were killed by men who had conceived foul and unrighteous envy. 5. These things they suffered, and gained glory by their endurance. 6. For what shall we say, brethren? Was Daniel cast into the lions' den by those who feared God? 7. Or were Ananias, Azarias, and Misael shut up in the fiery furnace by those who ministered to the great and glorious worship of the Most High? God forbid that this be so. Who then were they who did these things? Hateful men, full of all iniquity, were roused to such a pitch of fury, that they inflicted torture on those who served God with a holy and faultless purpose, not knowing that the Most High is the defender and protector of those who serve his excellent name with a pure conscience, to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen. But they who endured in confidence obtained the inheritance of glory and honour; they were exalted, and were enrolled by God in his memorial for ever and ever. Amen.

XLVI

1. WE also, brethren, must therefore cleave to such examples. 2. For it is written, "Cleave to the holy, for they who cleave to them shall be made holy."¹

Exhortation
against
schism

¹ The source of this quotation is unknown.

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Ps. 17, 26 f.
 σονται. 3. καὶ πάλιν ἐν ἑτέρῳ τόπῳ λέγει· Μετὰ ἀνδρὸς ἀθῶου ἀθῶος ἔση καὶ μετὰ ἐκλεκτοῦ ἐκλεκτὸς ἔση, καὶ μετὰ στρεβλοῦ διαστρέψεις. 4. κολληθῶμεν οὖν τοῖς ἀθῶοις καὶ δικαίοις· εἰσὶν δὲ οὗτοι ἐκλεκτοὶ τοῦ θεοῦ. 5. ἵνατί ἔρεις καὶ θυμοὶ καὶ διχοστασίαι καὶ σχίσματα πόλεμός τε ἐν ὑμῖν; 6. ἢ οὐχὶ ἓνα θεοὺν ἔχομεν καὶ ἓνα Χριστὸν καὶ ἐν πνεῦμα τῆς χάριτος τὸ ἐκχυθὲν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς; καὶ μία κλήσις ἐν Χριστῷ; 7. ἵνατί διέλκομεν καὶ διασπῶμεν τὰ μέλη τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ στασιάζομεν πρὸς τὸ σῶμα τὸ ἴδιον, καὶ εἰς τοσαύτην ἀπόνοϊαν ἐρχόμεθα, ὥστε ἐπιλαθέσθαι ἡμᾶς, ὅτι μέλη ἐσμὲν ἀλλήλων; μνήσθητε τῶν λόγων τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ.¹ 8. εἶπεν γάρ· Οὐαὶ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐκείνῳ· καλὸν ἦν αὐτῷ, εἰ οὐκ ἐγεννήθη, ἢ ἓνα τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν μου σκανδαλίσαι· κρεῖττον ἦν αὐτῷ περιτεθῆναι μύλον καὶ καταποντισθῆναι εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν, ἢ ἓνα τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν μου διαστρέψαι.² 9. τὸ σχίσμα ὑμῶν πολλοὺς διέστρεψεν, πολλοὺς εἰς ἀθυμίαν ἔβαλεν, πολλοὺς εἰς δισταγμὸν, τοὺς πάντας ἡμᾶς εἰς λύπην· καὶ ἐπίμονος ὑμῶν ἐστὶν ἡ στάσις.

Mt. 26, 24
 (Mk. 14, 21;
 Luke 22, 22);
 Luke 17, 2
 (Mt. 18, 6;
 Mk. 9, 42)

XLVII

1 Cor. 1, 10 ff.
 1. Ἀναλάβετε τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τοῦ μακαρίου Παύλου τοῦ ἀποστόλου. 2. τί πρῶτον ὑμῖν ἐν

¹ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν A, τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ CSK, *domini Ihesu* (τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ) L. The other readings appear to be semi liturgical expansions of the simple form found in L.

² τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν μου διαστρέψαι LSK Clem. τῶν μικρῶν μου σκανδαλίσαι "offend one of my little ones" AC.

I. CLEMENT, XLVI. 3-XLVII. 2

3. And again in another place it says, "With the innocent man thou shalt be innocent, and with the elect man thou shalt be elect, and with the perverse man thou shalt do perversely."¹ 4. Let us then cleave to the innocent and righteous, for these are God's elect. 5. Why are there strife and passion and divisions and schisms and war among you? 6. Or have we not one God, and one Christ, and one Spirit of grace poured out upon us? And is there not one calling in Christ? 7. Why do we divide and tear asunder the members of Christ, and raise up strife against our own body, and reach such a pitch of madness as to forget that we are members one of another? Remember the words of the Lord Jesus; 8. for he said, "Woe unto that man: it were good for him if he had not been born, than that he should offend one of my elect; it were better for him that a millstone be hung on him, and he be cast into the sea, than that he should turn aside one of my elect." 9. Your schism has turned aside many, has cast many into discouragement, many to doubt, all of us to grief; and your sedition continues.

XLVII

1. TAKE up the epistle of the blessed Paul the Apostle. 2. What did he first write to you at the

The example and teaching of St. Paul, and the early parties at Corinth

¹ Clement takes the word for "with" (*μετά*) to mean "in the company of": in Ps. 17 (in Hebrew and English Ps. 18) it means "in the case of," and the subject of the verbs is God.

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

ἀρχῇ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ἔγραψεν; 3. ἐπ' ἀληθείας πνευματικῶς ἐπέστειλεν ὑμῖν περὶ ἑαυτοῦ τε καὶ Κηφᾶ τε καὶ Ἀπολλῶ, διὰ τὸ καὶ τότε προσκλήσεις ὑμᾶς πεποιῆσθαι. 4. ἀλλ' ἡ πρόσκλησις ἐκείνη ἤττονα ἁμαρτίαν ὑμῖν προσήνεγκεν· προσεκλίθητε γὰρ ἀποστόλοις μεμαρτυρημένοις καὶ ἀνδρὶ δεδοκιμασμένῳ παρ' αὐτοῖς. 5. νυνὶ δὲ κατανοήσατε, τίνες ὑμᾶς διέστρεψαν καὶ τὸ σεμνὸν τῆς περιβοήτου φιλαδελφίας ὑμῶν ἐμείωσαν. 6. αἰσχρά, ἀγαπητοί, καὶ λίαν αἰσχρά, καὶ ἀνάξια τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ ἀγωγῆς ἀκούεσθαι, τὴν βεβαιότατην καὶ ἀρχαίαν Κορινθίων ἐκκλησίαν δι' ἐν ἡ δύο πρόσωπα στασιάζειν πρὸς τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους· 7. καὶ αὕτη ἡ ἀκοὴ οὐ μόνον εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐχώρησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἑτεροκλινεῖς ὑπάρχοντας ἀφ' ἡμῶν, ὥστε καὶ βλασφημίας ἐπιφέρεσθαι τῷ ὀνόματι κυρίου διὰ τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀφροσύνην, ἑαυτοῖς δὲ κίνδυνον ἐπεξεργάζεσθαι.

XLVIII

1. Ἐξάρωμεν οὖν τοῦτο ἐν τάχει καὶ προσπέσωμεν τῷ δεσπότῃ καὶ κλαύσωμεν ἰκετεύοντες αὐτόν, ὅπως ἴλεως γενόμενος ἐπικαταλλαγῇ ἡμῖν καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν σεμνὴν τῆς φιλαδελφίας ἡμῶν ἀγνὴν ἀγωγὴν ἀποκαταστήσῃ ἡμᾶς. 2. πύλη γὰρ δικαιοσύνης ἀνεφωγυῖα εἰς ζωὴν αὕτη, καθὼς γέγραπται·

Ps. 118, 19, 20

Ἀνοίξατέ μοι πύλας δικαιοσύνης, ἵνα εἰσελθὼν ἐν αὐταῖς ἐξομολογήσωμαι¹ τῷ κυρίῳ. 3. αὕτη ἡ

¹ ἵνα εἰσελθὼν . . . ἐξομολογήσωμαι SK Clem., εἰσελθὼν . . . ἐξομολογήσομαι (I will enter . . . and praise) ACL.

I. CLEMENT, XLVII. 2-XLVIII. 2

beginning of his preaching? 3. With true inspiration he charged you concerning himself and Cephas and Apollos, because even then you had made yourselves partisans. 4. But that partisanship entailed less guilt on you; for you were partisans of Apostles of high reputation, and of a man approved by them. 5. But now consider who they are who have perverted you, and have lessened the respect due to your famous love for the brethren. 6. It is a shameful report, beloved, extremely shameful, and unworthy of your training in Christ, that on account of one or two persons the stedfast and ancient church of the Corinthians is being disloyal to the presbyters. 7. And this report has not only reached us, but also those who dissent from us, so that you bring blasphemy on the name of the Lord through your folly, and are moreover creating danger for yourselves.

XLVIII

1. LET us then quickly put an end to this, and let us fall down before the Master, and beseech him with tears that he may have mercy upon us, and be reconciled to us, and restore us to our holy and seemly practice of love for the brethren. 2. For this is the gate of righteousness which opens on to life, as it is written "Open me the gates of righteousness, that I may enter into them and praise the Lord;

Exhortation
to be
reconciled

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

πύλη τοῦ κυρίου· δίκαιοι εἰσελεύσονται ἐν αὐτῇ.
 4. πολλῶν οὖν πυλῶν ἀνεωγυιῶν ἢ ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ
 αὕτη ἐστὶν ἢ ἐν Χριστῷ, ἐν ᾗ μακάριοι πάντες οἱ
 εἰσελθόντες καὶ κατευθύνοντες τὴν πορείαν αὐτῶν
 ἐν ὁσιότητι καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ, ἀταράχως πάντα
 ἐπιτελοῦντες. 5. ἦτω τις πιστός, ἦτω δυνατὸς
 γνῶσιν ἐξειπεῖν, ἦτω σοφὸς ἐν διακρίσει λόγων,
 ἦτω ἀγνός¹ ἐν ἔργοις. 6. τοσοῦτῳ γὰρ μᾶλλον
 ταπεινοφρονεῖν ὀφείλει, ὅσῳ δοκεῖ μᾶλλον μείζων
 εἶναι, καὶ ζητεῖν τὸ κοινωφελές πᾶσιν, καὶ μὴ τὸ
 ἑαυτοῦ.

Luke 1. 75

I Cor. 12, 8, 9

XLIX

1. Ὁ ἔχων ἀγάπην ἐν Χριστῷ ποιησάτω τὰ
 τοῦ Χριστοῦ παραγγέλματα. 2. τὸν δεσμὸν τῆς
 ἀγάπης τοῦ θεοῦ τίς δύναται ἐξηγήσασθαι; 3. τὸ
 μεγαλείον τῆς καλλονῆς αὐτοῦ τίς ἀρκετὸς ἐξει-
 πεῖν; 4. τὸ ὕψος, εἰς ὃ ἀνάγει ἡ ἀγάπη, ἀνεκδι-
 ἠγητόν ἐστιν. 5. ἀγάπη κολλᾷ ἡμᾶς τῷ θεῷ,
 ἀγάπη καλύπτει πλῆθος ἁμαρτιῶν, ἀγάπη πάντα
 ἀνέχεται, πάντα μακροθυμεῖ· οὐδὲν βάνουσον ἐν
 ἀγάπῃ, οὐδὲν ὑπερήφανον· ἀγάπη σχίσμα οὐκ
 ἔχει, ἀγάπη οὐ στασιάζει, ἀγάπη πάντα ποιεῖ ἐν
 ὁμονοίᾳ· ἐν τῇ ἀγάπῃ ἐτελειώθησαν πάντες οἱ
 ἐκλεκτοὶ τοῦ θεοῦ, δίχα ἀγάπης οὐδὲν εὐάρεστον
 ἐστίν² τῷ θεῷ. 6. ἐν ἀγάπῃ προσελάβετο ἡμᾶς ὁ
 δεσπότης· διὰ τὴν ἀγάπην, ἣν ἔσχευεν πρὸς ἡμᾶς,

I Pet. 4, 8

I Cor. 13, 4-7

¹ Clement twice quotes this passage with *γοργός* (energetic) instead of *ἀγνός* before ἐν ἔργοις, but the second time he adds ἦτω ἀγνός as well.

² ἐστίν *om.* L. Clem.

I. CLEMENT, XLVIII. 3—XLIX. 6

3. this is the gate of the Lord, the righteous shall enter in by it." 4. So then of the many gates which are opened, that which is in righteousness is the one in Christ, in which are blessed all who enter and make straight their way in holiness and righteousness, accomplishing all things without disorder. 5. Let a man be faithful, let him have power to utter "Knowledge,"¹ let him be wise in the discernment of arguments, let him be pure in his deeds; 6. for the more he seems to be great, the more ought he to be humble-minded, and to seek the common good of all and not his own benefit.

XLIX

1. LET him who has love in Christ perform the commandments of Christ. 2. Who is able to explain the bond of the love of God? 3. Who is sufficient to tell the greatness of its beauty? 4. The height to which love lifts us is not to be expressed. 5. Love unites us to God. "Love covereth a multitude of sins. Love beareth all things, is long-suffering in all things. There is nothing base, nothing haughty in love; love admits no schism, love makes no sedition, love does all things in concord. In love were all the elect of God made perfect. Without love is nothing well pleasing to God. 6. In love did the Master receive us; for the sake of the love which he

Panegyric
on love

¹ "Knowledge" is here no doubt used in the almost technical sense of "secret knowledge, conveying power, and specially revealed," approaching closely to the meaning which it had in the various "Gnostic" systems and in the Mystery religions.

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ ἔδωκεν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν ἐν θελήματι θεοῦ, καὶ τὴν σάρκα ὑπὲρ τῆς σαρκὸς ἡμῶν καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν.

L

1. Ὁρᾶτε, ἀγαπητοί, πῶς μέγα καὶ θαυμαστόν ἐστιν ἡ ἀγάπη, καὶ τῆς τελειότητος αὐτῆς οὐκ ἔστιν ἐξηγήσις. 2. τίς ἰκανὸς ἐν αὐτῇ εὐρεθῆναι, εἰ μὴ οὓς ἂν καταξιώσῃ ὁ θεός; δεώμεθα οὖν καὶ αἰτώμεθα ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐλέους αὐτοῦ, ἵνα ἐν ἀγάπῃ εὐρεθῶμεν δίχα προσκλίσεως ἀνθρωπίνης, ἄωμοι. 3. αἱ γενεαὶ πᾶσαι ἀπὸ Ἀδὰμ ἕως τῆσδε τῆς ἡμέρας παρήλθον, ἀλλ' οἱ ἐν ἀγάπῃ τελειωθέντες κατὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ χάριν ἔχουσιν χῶρον εὐσεβῶν, οἱ φανερωθήσονται ἐν τῇ ἐπισκοπῇ τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ Χριστοῦ.¹ 4. γέγραπται γάρ· Εἰσέλθετε εἰς τὰ ταμεῖα μικρὸν ὅσον ὅσον, ἕως οὗ παρέλθῃ ἡ ὕργη καὶ ὁ θυμὸς μου, καὶ μνησθήσομαι ἡμέρας ἀγαθῆς, καὶ ἀναστήσω ὑμᾶς ἐκ τῶν θηκῶν ὑμῶν. 5. μακάριοί ἐσμεν, ἀγαπητοί, εἰ τὰ προστάγματα τοῦ θεοῦ ἐποιοῦμεν² ἐν ὁμοιοῖα ἀγάπης, εἰς τὸ ἀφεθῆναι ἡμῖν δι' ἀγάπης τὰς ἁμαρτίας. 6. γέγραπται γάρ· Μακάριοι, ὧν ἀφέθησαν αἱ ἀνομίαι καὶ ὧν ἐπεκαλύφθησαν αἱ ἁμαρτίαι· μακάριος ἡνὴρ, οὗ οὐ μὴ λογίσηται κύριος ἁμαρτίαν, οὐδέ ἐστιν ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ δόλος· 7. οὗτος ὁ μακαρι-

Ia. 26, 20;
Ezek. 37, 12

Ps. 32, 1, 2;
Rom. 4, 7-9

¹ Χριστοῦ (A)LK Clem., θεοῦ CS.

² This seems corrupt: a present is required.

I. CLEMENT, XLIX. 6-L. 6

had towards us did Jesus Christ our Lord give his blood by the will of God for us, and his flesh for our flesh, and his soul¹ for our souls."

L

1. SEE, beloved, how great and wonderful is love, Exhortation to pray for love and that of its perfection there is no expression. 2. Who is able to be found in it save those to whom God grants it? Let us then beg and pray of his mercy that we may be found in love, without human partisanship, free from blame. 3. All the generations from Adam until this day have passed away; but those who were perfected in love by the grace of God have a place among the pious who shall be made manifest at the visitation of the Kingdom of Christ. 4. For it is written, "Enter into thy chambers for a very little while, until my wrath and fury pass away, and I will remember a good day, and will raise you up out of your graves." 5. Blessed are we, beloved, if we perform the commandments of God in the concord of love, that through love our sins may be forgiven. 6. For it is written "Blessed are they whose iniquities are forgiven, and whose sins are covered; blessed is the man whose sin the Lord will not reckon, and in whose mouth is no guile."

¹ Or, perhaps "life for our lives"; but there seems to be an antithesis in the Greek between σὰρξ, flesh, and ψυχή, soul.

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

σμός ἐγένετο ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐκλελεγμένους ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ
διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν, ᾧ ἡ δόξα εἰς
τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν.

LI

1. "Ὅσα οὖν παρεπέσαμεν καὶ ἐποιήσαμεν διὰ
τινας παρεμπτώσεις¹ τοῦ ἀντικειμένου, ἀξιώσωμεν
ἀφεθῆναι ἡμῖν. καὶ ἐκεῖνοι δέ, οἵτινες ἀρχηγοὶ
στάσεως καὶ διχοστασίας ἐγενήθησαν, ὀφείλουσιν
τὸ κοινὸν τῆς ἐλπίδος σκοπεῖν. 2. οἱ γὰρ μετὰ
φόβου καὶ ἀγάπης πολιτευόμενοι ἑαυτοὺς θέλουσιν
μᾶλλον αἰκίαις περιπίπτειν ἢ τοὺς πλησίον. μᾶλ-
λον δὲ ἑαυτῶν κατὰγνωσιν φέρουσιν ἢ τῆς παραδε-
δομένης ἡμῖν καλῶς καὶ δικαίως ὁμοφωνίας,
3. καλὸν γὰρ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐξομολογεῖσθαι περὶ τῶν
παραπτωμάτων ἢ σκληρῦναι τὴν καρδίαν αὐτοῦ,
καθὼς ἐσκληρύνθη ἡ καρδία τῶν στασιαζόντων
πρὸς τὸν θεράποντα τοῦ θεοῦ Μωϋσῆν, ὧν τὸ κρίμα
πρόδηλον ἐγενήθη, 4. κατέβησαν γὰρ εἰς ἄδου
ζῶντες, καὶ θάνατος ποιμανεῖ αὐτούς. 5. Φαραὼ
καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ αὐτοῦ καὶ πάντες οἱ ἠγούμενοι
Αἰγύπτου, τά τε ἄρματα καὶ οἱ ἀνάβαται αὐτῶν
οὐ δι' ἄλλην τινὰ αἰτίαν ἐβυθίσθησαν εἰς θάλασ-
σαν ἐρυθρὰν καὶ ἀπόλοντο, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ σκληρυν-
θῆναι αὐτῶν τὰς ἀσυνέτους καρδίας μετὰ τὸ
γενέσθαι τὰ σημεῖα καὶ τὰ τέρατα ἐν γῇ Αἰγύπτου
διὰ τοῦ θεράποντος τοῦ θεοῦ Μωϋσέως.

Num. 16

Num. 16, 83
Ps. 49, 14

Exod. 14, 28

¹ The text is doubtful: διὰ τὰς παρεμπτώσεις Clem., *propter quasdam incursiones* L, the equivalent of διὰ τὰς παρεμπτώσεις τινῶν (τὰς) K, διὰ τινὸς τῶν ACS.

I. CLEMENT, L. 7-LI. 5

7. This blessing was given to those who have been chosen by God through Jesus Christ our Lord, to whom be the glory for ever and ever. Amen.

LI

1. LET us then pray that for our transgressions, ^{And for forgiveness} and for what we have done through any attacks of the adversary, forgiveness may be granted to us. And those also who were the leaders of sedition and disagreement are bound to consider the common hope. 2. For those who live in fear and love are willing to suffer torture themselves rather than their neighbours, and they suffer the blame of themselves, rather than that of our tradition of noble and righteous harmony, 3. for it is better for man to confess his transgressions than to harden his heart, even as the heart of those was hardened who rebelled against God's servant Moses, and their condemnation was made manifest, 4. for "they went down into Hades alive" and "death shall be their shepherd." 5. Pharaoh and his army and all the rulers of Egypt, "the chariots and their riders," were sunk in the Red Sea, and perished for no other cause than that their foolish hearts were hardened, after that signs and wonders had been wrought in the land of Egypt by God's servant Moses.

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

LII

1. Ἀπροσδεής, ἀδελφοί, ὁ δεσπότης ὑπάρχει τῶν πάντων οὐδέν οὐδενὸς χρήζει εἰ μὴ τὸ ἔξομολογεῖσθαι αὐτῷ. 2. φησὶν γὰρ ὁ ἐκλεκτὸς Δαυεὶδ· Ἐξομολογήσομαι τῷ κυρίῳ, καὶ ἀρέσει αὐτῷ ὑπὲρ μύσχον νέον κέρατα ἐκφέροντα καὶ ὀπλᾶς· ἰδέτωσαν πτωχοὶ καὶ εὐφρανθήτωσαν.
- Ps. 69, 30-32
3. καὶ πάλιν λέγει· Θύσον τῷ θεῷ θυσίαν αἰνέσεως καὶ ἀπόδος τῷ ὑψίστῳ τὰς εὐχάς σου· καὶ ἐπικάλουσαί με ἐν ἡμέρᾳ θλίψεώς σου, καὶ ἐξελοῦμαί σε, καὶ δοξάσεις με. 4. θυσία γὰρ τῷ θεῷ πνεῦμα συντετριμμένον.
- Ps. 50, 14. 15
- Ps. 51, 17

LIII

1. Ἐπίστασθε γὰρ καὶ καλῶς ἐπίστασθε τὰς ἱερὰς γραφάς, ἀγαπητοί, καὶ ἐγκεκύφατε εἰς τὰ λόγια τοῦ θεοῦ. πρὸς ἀνάμνησιν οὖν ταῦτα γράφομεν. 2. Μωϋσέως γὰρ ἀναβάντος εἰς τὸ ὄρος καὶ ποιήσαντος τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέρας καὶ τεσσαράκοντα νύκτας ἐν νηστεία καὶ ταπεινώσει, εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ θεός· Κατάβηθι¹ τὸ τάχος ἐντεῦθεν, ὅτι ἠνόμησεν ὁ λαὸς σου, οὓς ἐξήγαγες ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου· παρέβησαν ταχὺ ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ ἧς ἐνετείλω αὐτοῖς, ἐποίησαν ἑαυτοῖς χωνεύματα. 3. καὶ εἶπεν κύριος πρὸς αὐτόν· Δελάληκα πρὸς σε ἅπαξ καὶ δις λέγων· Ἐώρακα τὸν λαὸν τοῦτον, καὶ ἰδοὺ ἐστὶν σκληροτράχηλος· ἕασόν
- Deut. 9, 12
(Exod. 32,
7-8)
- Deut. 9, 13, 14
(Exod. 32,
9-10)

¹ Μωυσῆ, Μωυσῆ κατάβηθι Δ(C) om. Μωυσῆ, Μωυσῆ LSK.

I. CLEMENT, LII. I—LIII. 3

LII

1. THE Master, brethren, is in need of nothing : he asks nothing of anyone, save that confession be made to him. 2. For David the chosen says :—" I will confess to the Lord, and it shall please him more than a young calf that groweth horns and hoofs : let the poor see it and be glad." 3. And again he says " Sacrifice to God a sacrifice of praise, and pay to the Highest thy vows ; and call upon me in the day of thy affliction, and I will deliver thee and thou shalt glorify me. 4. For the sacrifice of God is a broken spirit."

Let the
wrongdoers
confess
their sins

LIII

1. For you have understanding, you have a good understanding of the sacred Scriptures, beloved, and you have studied the oracles of God. Therefore we write these things to remind you. 2. For when Moses went up into the mountain, and passed forty days and forty nights in fasting and humiliation, God said to him :—" Go down hence quickly, for thy people, whom thou didst bring out of the land of Egypt, have committed iniquity ; they have quickly gone aside out of the way which thou didst command them ; they have made themselves molten images." 3. And the Lord said to him :—" I have spoken to thee once and twice, saying, I have seen this people, and behold it is stiffnecked ; suffer

The
example
of Moses

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

Exod. 32,
31. 32

με ἐξολεθρεύσαι αὐτούς, καὶ ἐξαλείψω τὸ ὄνομα αὐτῶν ὑποκάτωθεν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ ποιήσω σε εἰς ἔθνος μέγα καὶ θαυμαστὸν καὶ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦτο. 4. καὶ εἶπεν Μωϋσῆς· Μηδαμῶς, κύριε· ἄφες τὴν ἁμαρτίαν τῷ λαῷ τούτῳ, ἣ καμὲ ἐξάλειψον ἐκ βίβλου ζώντων. 5. ὦ μεγάλης ἀγάπης, ὦ τελειότητος ἀνυπερβλήτου. παρρησιάζεται θεραπεία πρὸς κύριον, αἰτεῖται ἄφεσιν τῷ πλήθει, ἣ καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἐξαλειφθῆναι μετ' αὐτῶν ἀξιοῖ.

LIV

Ps. 24, 1

1. Τίς οὖν ἐν ὑμῖν γενναῖος, τίς εὐσπλαγχνος, τίς πεπληροφορημένος ἀγάπης; 2. εἰπάτω· Εἰ δι' ἐμὲ στάσις καὶ ἔρις καὶ σχίσματα, ἐκχωρῶ, ἄπειμι, οὐ εἰάν βούλησθε, καὶ ποιῶ τὰ προστασσόμενα ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους· μόνον τὸ ποίμνιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰρηνεύτω μετὰ τῶν καθεσταμένων πρεσβυτέρων. 3. τοῦτο ὃ ποιήσας ἑαυτῷ μέγα κλέος ἐν Χριστῷ περιποιήσεται, καὶ πᾶς τόπος δέξεται αὐτόν, τοῦ γὰρ κυρίου ἡ γῆ καὶ τὸ πλήρωμα αὐτῆς. 4. ταῦτα οἱ πολιτευόμενοι τὴν ἀμεταμέλητον πολιτείαν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐποίησαν καὶ ποιήσουσιν.

LV

1. Ἵνα δὲ καὶ ὑποδείγματα ἐθνῶν ἐνέγκωμεν. πολλοὶ βασιλεῖς καὶ ἡγούμενοι, λοιμικοῦ τινος ἐνστάτος καιροῦ, χρησιμοδοτηθέντες παρέδωκαν ἑαυτοὺς εἰς θάνατον, ἵνα ῥύσωνται διὰ τοῦ ἑαυτῶν αἵματος τοὺς πολίτας· πολλοὶ ἐξεχώρησαν ἰδίῳ

I. CLEMENT, LIII. 3-LV. 1

me to destroy them, and I will wipe out their name from under heaven, and thee will I make into a nation great and wonderful and much more than this." 4. And Moses said, "Not so, Lord; pardon the sin of this people, or blot me also out of the book of the living." 5. O great love! O unsurpassable perfection! The servant is bold with the Lord, he asks forgiveness for the people, or begs that he himself may be blotted out together with them.

LIV

1. Who then among you is noble, who is com-
passionate, who is filled with love? 2. Let him cry:—"If sedition and strife and divisions have arisen on my account, I will depart, I will go away whithersoever you will, and I will obey the commands of the people; only let the flock of Christ have peace with the presbyters set over it." 3. He who does this will win for himself great glory in Christ, and every place will receive him, for "the earth is the Lord's, and the fullness of it." 4. This has been in the past, and will be in the future, the conduct of those who live without regrets as citizens in the city of God.

Application
to the
Corinthians

LV

1. LET us also bring forward examples from the
heathen. Many kings and rulers, when a time
of pestilence has set in, have followed the counsel of
oracles, and given themselves up to death, that they
might rescue their subjects through their own blood.

Other
examples
of loving
self-sacrifice

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

- πόλεων, ἵνα μὴ στασιάζωσιν ἐπὶ πλείον. 2. ἐπιστάμεθα πολλοὺς ἐν ἡμῖν παραδεδωκότας ἑαυτοὺς εἰς δεσμά, ὅπως ἐτέρους λυτρώσονται· πολλοὶ ἑαυτοὺς παρέδωκαν εἰς δουλείαν, καὶ λαβόντες τὰς τιμὰς αὐτῶν ἐτέρους ἐψώμισαν. 3. πολλαὶ γυναῖκες ἐνδυναμωθείσαι διὰ τῆς χάριτος τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπετελέσαντο πολλὰ ἀνδρείαα. 4. Ἰουδὶθ ἡ μακαρία, ἐν συγκλεισμῷ οὔσης τῆς πόλεως, ἠτήσατο παρὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἐαθῆναι αὐτὴν ἐξελθεῖν εἰς τὴν παρεμβολὴν τῶν ἀλλοφύλων. 5. παραδοῦσα οὖν ἑαυτὴν τῷ κινδύνῳ ἐξῆλθεν δι' ἀγάπην τῆς πατρίδος καὶ τοῦ λαοῦ τοῦ ὄντος ἐν συγκλεισμῷ, καὶ παρέδωκεν κύριος Ὀλοφέρνην ἐν χειρὶ θηλείας. 6. οὐχ ἤττον¹· καὶ ἡ τελεία κατὰ πίστιν Ἐσθήρ κινδύνῳ ἑαυτὴν παρέβαλεν, ἵνα τὸ ἔθνος² τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ μέλλον ἀπολέσθαι ρύσῃται·
- Judith 8 ff. *διὰ γὰρ τῆς νηστείας καὶ τῆς ταπεινώσεως αὐτῆς ἠξίωσεν τὸν παντεπόπτην δεσπότην³ τῶν αἰώνων· ὃς ἰδὼν τὸ ταπεινὸν τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτῆς ἐρύσατο τὸν λαόν, ὧν χάριν ἐκινδύνευσεν.*
- Esther 7, *διὰ γὰρ τῆς νηστείας καὶ τῆς ταπεινώσεως αὐτῆς ἠξίωσεν τὸν παντεπόπτην δεσπότην³ τῶν αἰώνων· ὃς ἰδὼν τὸ ταπεινὸν τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτῆς ἐρύσατο τὸν λαόν, ὧν χάριν ἐκινδύνευσεν.*
- Esther 4, 16

LVI

1. Καὶ ἡμεῖς οὖν ἐντύχωμεν περὶ τῶν ἔν τιμι παραπτώματι ὑπαρχόντων, ὅπως δοθῇ αὐτοῖς ἐπιείκεια καὶ ταπεινοφροσύνη εἰς τὸ εἶξαι αὐτοὺς μὴ ἡμῖν ἀλλὰ τῷ θελήματι τοῦ θεοῦ· οὕτως γὰρ ἔσται αὐτοῖς ἔγκαρπος καὶ τελεία ἡ πρὸς τὸν θεόν

¹ ἤττον CSK, ἤττονι A ("to no less danger").

² ἔθνος LSK, δωδεκάφυλον ("the twelve tribes") AC.

³ δεσπότην LK, δεσπότην θεόν A, θεόν C (S also inserts θεόν but after τῶν αἰώνων).

I. CLEMENT, LV. 1—LVI. 1

Many have gone away from their own cities, that sedition might have an end. 2. We know that many among ourselves have given themselves to bondage that they might ransom others. Many have delivered themselves to slavery, and provided food for others with the price they received for themselves. 3. Many women have received power through the grace of God and have performed many deeds of manly valour. 4. The blessed Judith, when her city was besieged, asked the elders to suffer her to go out into the camp of the strangers. 5. So she gave herself up to danger, and went forth for love of her country and her people in their siege, and the Lord delivered over Holofernes by the hand of a woman. 6. Not less did Esther also, who was perfect in faith, deliver herself to danger, that she might rescue the nation of Israel from the destruction that awaited it; for with fasting and humiliation she besought the all-seeing Master of the Ages, and he saw the meekness of her soul, and rescued the people for whose sake she had faced peril.

LVI

1. LET then us also intercede for those who have fallen into any transgression, that meekness and humility be given to them, that they may submit, not to us, but to the will of God; for so will they have fruitful and perfect remembrance before God

Exhortation
to humility

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

καὶ τοὺς ἁγίους μετ' οἰκτιρμῶν μνεΐα. 2. ἀναλάβωμεν παιδείαν, ἐφ' ἣ οὐδεὶς ὀφείλει ἀγανακτεῖν, ἀγαπητοί. ἡ νουθέτησις, ἣν ποιούμεθα εἰς ἀλλήλους, καλὴ ἐστὶν καὶ ὑπερέγαν ὠφέλιμος· κολλᾷ γὰρ ἡμᾶς τῷ θελήματι τοῦ θεοῦ. 3. οὕτως γὰρ

Ps. 118, 18 φησὶν ὁ ἅγιος λόγος· Παιδεύων ἐπαίδευσέν με ὁ

Prov. 3, 12 κύριος, καὶ τῷ θανάτῳ οὐ παρέδωκέν με· 4. ὃν

(Heb. 12, 6) γὰρ ἀγαπᾷ κύριος παιδεύει, μαστιγοῖ δὲ πάντα

Ps. 141, 5 υἱὸν ὃν παραδέχεται. 5. Παιδεύσει με γὰρ, φησὶν, δίκαιος ἐν ἐλέει καὶ ἐλέγξει με, ἔλαιον δὲ ἁμαρτωλῶν μὴ λιπανάτω τὴν κεφαλὴν μου.

Job. 5, 17-28 6. καὶ πάλιν λέγει· Μακάριος ἄνθρωπος, ὃν ἤλεγξεν ὁ κύριος· νουθέτημα δὲ παντοκράτορος μὴ ἀπαναίνου· αὐτὸς γὰρ ἀλγεῖν ποιεῖ, καὶ πάλιν ἀποκαθίστησιν· 7. ἔπαισεν, καὶ αἱ χεῖρες αὐτοῦ ἴασαντο. 8. ἐξάκεις ἐξ ἀναγκῶν ἐξελεύται σε, ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐβδόμῳ οὐχ ἄψεται σου κακόν. 9. ἐν λιμῷ ῥύσεται σε ἐκ θανάτου, ἐν πολέμῳ δὲ ἐκ χειρὸς σιδήρου λύσει σε· 10. καὶ ἀπὸ μαστιγῆς γλώσσης σε κρύψει, καὶ οὐ μὴ φοβηθῆσιν κακῶν ἐπερχομένων. 11. ἀδίκων καὶ ἀνόμων καταγελάσῃ, ἀπὸ δὲ θηρίων ἀγρίων οὐ μὴ φοβηθῆς· 12. θῆρες γὰρ ἄγριοι εἰρηνεύσουσίν σοι. 13. εἶτα γνώσῃ, ὅτι εἰρηνεύσει σου ὁ οἶκος, ἡ δὲ δίαιτα τῆς σκηνῆς σου οὐ μὴ ἁμάρτη. 14. γνώσῃ δέ, ὅτι πολὺ τὸ σπέρμα σου, τὰ δὲ τέκνα σου ὥσπερ τὸ παμβότανον τοῦ ἀγροῦ. 15. ἐλεύσῃ δὲ ἐν τάφῳ ὥσπερ σῖτος ὄριμος κατὰ καιρὸν θεριζόμενος, ἡ

I. CLEMENT, LVI. 1-LVI. 15

and the saints, and find compassion. 2. Let us receive correction, which none should take amiss, beloved. The admonition which we make one to another is good and beyond measure helpful, for it unites us to the will of God. 3. For the holy word says thus: "With chastisement did the Lord chastise me, and he delivered me not over unto death; 4. for whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth, and scourgeth every son whom he receiveth." 5 "For," he says, "the righteous shall chasten me with mercy, and reprove me, but let not the oil of sinners anoint my head." 6. And again he says "Blessed is the man whom the Lord did reprove; and reject not thou the admonition of the Almighty, for he maketh to suffer pain and again he restoreth; 7. he wounded, and his hands healed. 8. Six times shall he deliver thee from troubles, and the seventh time evil shall not touch thee. 9. In famine he shall rescue thee from death, and in war he shall free thee from the hand of the sword. 10. And he shall hide thee from the scourge of the tongue and thou shalt not fear when evils approach. 11. Thou shalt laugh at the unrighteous and wicked, and thou shalt not be afraid of wild beasts; 12. for wild beasts shall be at peace with thee. 13. Then thou shalt know that thy house shall have peace, and the habitation of thy tabernacle shall not fail. 14. And thou shalt know that thy seed shall be many and thy children like the herb of the field. 15. And thou shalt come to the grave like ripened corn that is harvested in its due season, or like a heap on the threshing-floor

The teaching of the Scriptures

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

ὡσπερ θημωνιὰ ἄλωνος καθ' ὄραν συγκομισθεῖσα.
16. βλέπετε, ἀγαπητοί, πόσος ὑπερασπισμός ἐστιν τοῖς παιδευομένοις ὑπὸ τοῦ δεσπότου· πατὴρ γὰρ ἀγαθὸς ὢν παιδεύει εἰς τὸ ἐλεηθῆναι ἡμᾶς διὰ τῆς ὀσίας παιδείας αὐτοῦ.

LVII

1. Ὑμεῖς οὖν οἱ τὴν καταβολὴν τῆς στάσεως ποιήσαντες ὑποτάγητε τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις καὶ παιδεύθητε εἰς μετάνοιαν, κάμψαντες τὰ γόνατα τῆς καρδίας ὑμῶν. 2. μάθετε ὑποτάσσεσθαι, ἀποθέμενοι τὴν ἀλαζόνα καὶ ὑπερήφανον τῆς γλώσσης ὑμῶν αὐθάδειαν· ἄμεινον γάρ ἐστιν ὑμῖν, ἐν τῷ ποιμνίῳ τοῦ Χριστοῦ μικροὺς καὶ ἐλλογίμους εὐρεθῆναι, ἢ καθ' ὑπεροχὴν δοκοῦντας ἐκριθῆναι ἐκ τῆς ἐλπίδος αὐτοῦ. 3. οὕτως γὰρ λέγει ἡ πανάρετος σοφία· Ἴδού, προήσομαι ὑμῖν ἐμῆς πνοῆς ῥήσιν, διδάξω δὲ ὑμᾶς τὸν ἐμὸν λόγον. 4. ἐπειδὴ ἐκάλουν καὶ οὐχ ὑπηκούσατε, καὶ ἐξέτεινον λόγους καὶ οὐ προσείχετε, ἀλλὰ ἀκύρους ἐποιεῖτε τὰς ἐμὰς βουλὰς, τοῖς δὲ ἐμοῖς ἐλέγχοις ἠπειθήσατε· τοιγαροῦν καὶ γὰρ τῇ ὑμετέρα ἀπωλείᾳ ἐπιγελάσομαι, καταχαροῦμαι δὲ ἡνίκα ἂν ἔρχηται ὑμῖν ὄλεθρος καὶ ὡς ἂν ἀφίκηται ὑμῖν ἀφνω θόρυβος, ἢ δὲ καταστροφὴ ὁμοία καταγιγίδι παρῆ, ἢ ὅταν ἔρχηται ὑμῖν θλίψις καὶ πολιορκία. 5. ἔσται γὰρ ὅταν ἐπικαλέσησθέ με, ἐγὼ δὲ οὐκ εἰσακούσομαι

Ρωμ. 1, 28-33

I. CLEMENT, LVI. 15—LVII. 5

which is gathered together at the appointed time.”

16. You see, beloved, how great is the protection given to those that are chastened by the Master, for he is a good father and chastens us that we may obtain mercy through his holy chastisement.

Application
to the
Corinthians

LVII

1. You therefore, who laid the foundation of the sedition, submit to the presbyters, and receive the correction of repentance, bending the knees of your hearts. 2. Learn to be submissive, putting aside the boastful and the haughty self-confidence of your tongue, for it is better for you to be found small but honourable in the flock of Christ, than to be pre-eminent in repute but to be cast out from his hope.

3. For “the excellent wisdom”¹ says thus:—
“Behold I will bring forth to you the words of my spirit, 4. and I will teach you my speech, since I called and ye did not obey, and I put forth my words and ye did not attend, but made my counsels of no effect, and disobeyed my reproofs; therefore will I also laugh at your ruin, and I will rejoice when destruction cometh upon you, and when sudden confusion overtaketh you and catastrophe cometh as a storm, or when persecution or siege cometh upon you. 5. For it shall come to pass when ye call upon me, I will not hear you. The evil shall seek me and they shall not find me. For they hated wisdom and they

Warning
from
Scripture

¹ “The excellent wisdom” is a title used (a) of Proverbs, (b) of Proverbs, Ecclesiasticus, and Ecclesiastes, (c) of the third division of the O.T. (Hagiographa or “Writings”) as a whole. Cf. note on p. 57.

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

ὑμῶν· ζητήσουσίν με κακοί, καὶ οὐχ εὐρήσουσιν. ἐμίσησαν γὰρ σοφίαν, τὸν δὲ φόβον τοῦ κυρίου οὐ προείλαντο, οὐδὲ ἤθελον ἑμαῖς προσέχειν βουλαῖς, ἐμυκτήριζον δὲ ἑμοὺς ἐλέγχους. 6. τοιγαροῦν ἔδονται τῆς ἑαυτῶν ὁδοῦ τοὺς καρπούς, καὶ τῆς ἑαυτῶν ἀσεβείας πλησθήσονται.¹ 7. ἀνθ' ὧν γὰρ ἠδίκουν νηπίους φονευθήσονται, καὶ ἔξετασμός ἀσεβεῖς ὀλεῖ· ὁ δὲ ἑμοῦ ἀκούων κατασκηνώσει ἐπ' ἐλπίδι πεποιθὼς καὶ ἡσυχάσει ἀφόβως ἀπὸ παντὸς κακοῦ.

LVIII

1. Ὑπακούσωμεν οὖν τῷ παναγίῳ καὶ ἐνδόξῳ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ φυγόντες τὰς προειρημένας διὰ τῆς σοφίας τοῖς ἀπειθοῦσιν ἀπειλὰς, ἵνα κατασκηνώσωμεν πεπειθότες ἐπὶ τὸ ὀσιώτατον τῆς μεγαλωσύνης αὐτοῦ ὄνομα. 2. δέξασθε τὴν συμβουλὴν ἡμῶν, καὶ ἔσται ἀμεταμέλητα ὑμῖν. ζῆ γὰρ ὁ θεὸς καὶ ζῆ² ὁ κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ἧ τε πίστις καὶ ἡ ἐλπίς τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν, ὅτι ὁ ποιήσας ἐν ταπεινοφροσύνῃ μετ' ἔκτενοῦς ἐπιεικειάς ἀμεταμέλητως τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ δεδομένα δικαιώματα καὶ προστάγματα, οὗτος ἐντεταγμένος καὶ ἐλλόγιμος ἔσται εἰς τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν σωζομένων διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, δι' οὗ ἔστιν αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν.

¹ A is missing from here to the beginning of Chapter LXIV.

² ζῆ 2° CS, om. LK and quotation by Basil.

1. CLEMENT, LVII. 5-LVIII. 2

chose not the fear of the Lord, neither would they attend to my counsels but mocked my reproofs. 6. Therefore shall they eat the fruits of their own way, and shall be filled with their own wickedness; 7. for because they wronged the innocent they shall be put to death, and inquisition shall destroy the wicked. But he who heareth me shall tabernacle with confidence in his hope, and shall be in rest with no fear of any evil."

LVIII

1. LET us then be obedient to his most holy and glorious name, and escape the threats which have been spoken by wisdom aforetime to the disobedient, that we may tabernacle in confidence on the most sacred name of his majesty. 2. Receive our counsel, and there shall be nothing for you to regret, for as God lives and as the Lord Jesus Christ lives and the Holy Spirit, the faith and hope of the elect, he who with lowliness of mind and eager gentleness has without backsliding performed the decrees and commandments given by God shall be enrolled and chosen in the number of those who are saved through Jesus Christ, through whom is to him the glory for ever and ever. Amen.

Further application and exhortation to the Corinthian dissidents

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

LIX

1. Ἐὰν δέ τις ἀπειθήσωσιν τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δι' ἡμῶν εἰρημένοις, γνωσκέτωσαν ὅτι παραπτώσει καὶ κινδύνῳ οὐ μικρῷ ἑαυτοὺς ἐνδήσουσιν. 2. ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀθῶοι ἐσόμεθα ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς ἀμαρτίας καὶ αἰτησόμεθα ἕκτενῇ τὴν δέησιν καὶ ἰκεσίαν ποιούμενοι, ὅπως τὸν ἀριθμὸν τὸν κατηριθμημένον τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν αὐτοῦ ἐν ὄλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ διαφυλάξῃ ἄθραυστον ὁ δημιουργὸς τῶν ἀπάντων διὰ τοῦ ἡγαπημένου παιδὸς αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, δι' οὗ ἐκάλεσεν ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ σκοτόους εἰς φῶς, ἀπὸ ἀγνωσίας εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν δόξης ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ, 3. . . . ἐλπίζειν¹ ἐπὶ τὸ ἀρχηγόνον πάσης κτίσεως ὀνομά σου, ἀνοίξας τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τῆς καρδίας ἡμῶν εἰς τὸ γινώσκειν σε τὸν μόνον ὑψίστον ἐν ὑψίστοις, ἅγιον ἐν ἀγίοις ἀναπαυόμενον. τὸν ταπεινούντα ὑβριν ὑπερηφάνων, τὸν διαλύοντα λογισμοὺς ἔθνῶν, τὸν ποιούντα ταπεινοὺς εἰς ὑψος καὶ τοὺς ὑψηλοὺς ταπεινούντα, τὸν πλουτίζοντα καὶ πτωχίζοντα, τὸν ἀποκτείνοντα καὶ ζῆν ποιούντα,² μόνον εὐρέτην³ πνευμάτων καὶ θεὸν πάσης σαρκός· τὸν ἐπιβλέποντα ἐν τοῖς ἀβύσσοις, τὸν ἐπόπτην ἀνθρωπίνων ἔργων, τὸν τῶν κινδυνευόντων

Acts 26, 18
Eph. 1, 18
Is. 57, 15
Is. 13, 11
Ps. 32, 10
Job 5, 11
I Sam. 2, 7;
cf. Luke 1, 53
Deut. 32, 39;
cf. I Sam. 2, 6;
II Kings 5, 7
Num. 16, 22;
27, 16

¹ There appears to be a lacuna in the Greek: Lightfoot supplies Δὲς ἡμῖν, κύριε.

² καὶ σώζοντα appears to be inserted before καὶ ζῆν by SL, but is omitted by CK.

³ εὐεργέτην ("benefactor") C, "creator" K; the text is doubtful but εὐρέτην (LS) seems more likely to be implied by K than εὐεργέτην, and is therefore slightly more probable.

LIX

1. But if some be disobedient to the words which have been spoken by him through us, let them know that they will entangle themselves in transgression and no little danger; 2. but we shall be innocent of this sin, and will pray with eager entreaty and supplication that the Creator of the Universe may guard unhurt the number of his elect that has been numbered in all the world through his beloved child Jesus Christ, through whom he called us from darkness to light, from ignorance to the full knowledge of the glory of his name.

Warnings
to the
dissidents

3. Grant us¹ to hope on thy name, the source of all creation, open the eyes of our heart to know thee, that thou alone art the highest in the highest and remainest holy among the holy. Thou dost humble the pride of the haughty, thou dost destroy the imaginings of nations, thou dost raise up the humble and abase the lofty, thou makest rich and makest poor, thou dost slay and make alive, thou alone art the finder of spirits and art God of all flesh, thou dost look on the abysses, thou seest into the works of man, thou art the helper of those in danger, the saviour of those in despair, the

Prayer
to God

¹ Some such addition, though not in any authority for the text, appears to be necessary.

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

Dan. 3, 51
(Vulg. 3, 56);
cf. Sirach 16,
18, 19
Judith 9, 11

Ps. 118, 114;
cf. Judith 9,
11

I Kings 8, 60;
II Kings 19,
19;
Ezek. 36, 28
Ps. 78, 13;
94, 7; 99, 8

βοηθόν, τὸν τῶν ἀπηλπισμένων σωτήρα, τὸν παντὸς πνεύματος κτίστην καὶ ἐπίσκοπον· τὸν πληθύνοντα ἔθνη ἐπὶ γῆς καὶ ἐκ πάντων ἐκλεξάμενον τοὺς ἀγαπῶντάς σε διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ ἠγαπημένου παιδός σου, δι' οὗ ἡμᾶς ἐπαίδευσας, ἠγίασας, ἐτίμησας· 4. ἀξιούμέν σε, δέσποτα, βοηθὸν γενέσθαι καὶ ἀντιλήπτορα ἡμῶν. τοὺς ἐν θλίψει ἡμῶν σῶσον, τοὺς ταπεινοὺς ἐλέησον, τοὺς πεπτωκότας ἔγειρον, τοῖς δεομένοις ἐπιφάνηθι, τοὺς ἀσθενεῖς ἴασαι, τοὺς πλανωμένους τοῦ λαοῦ σου ἐπίστρεψον· χόρτασον τοὺς πεινῶντας, λύτρωσαι τοὺς δεσμίους ἡμῶν, ἐξανάστησον τοὺς ἀσθενοῦντας, παρακάλεσον τοὺς ὀλιγοψυχοῦντας· γνώτωσάν σε ἅπαντα τὰ ἔθνη, ὅτι σὺ εἶ ὁ θεὸς μόνος καὶ Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὁ παῖς σου καὶ ἡμεῖς λαὸς σου καὶ πρόβατα τῆς νομῆς σου.

LX

Joel 2, 13;
Sirach 2, 11;
II Chron.
80, 9

1. Σὺ γὰρ τὴν ἀέναον τοῦ κόσμου σύστασιν διὰ τῶν ἐνεργουμένων ἐφανεροποίησας· σὺ, κύριε, τὴν οἰκουμένην ἔκτισας, ὁ πιστὸς ἐν πάσαις ταῖς γενεαῖς, δίκαιος ἐν τοῖς κρίμασιν, θαυμαστὸς ἐν ἰσχύϊ καὶ μεγαλοπρεπείᾳ, ὁ σοφὸς ἐν τῷ κτίζειν καὶ συνετὸς ἐν τῷ τὰ γενόμενα ἐδράσαι, ὁ ἀγαθὸς ἐν τοῖς ὀρωμένοις καὶ χρηστὸς ἐν τοῖς πεποιθόσιν ἐπὶ σέ, ἐλεῆμων καὶ οἰκτίρμων, ἄφες ἡμῖν τὰς ἀνομίας ἡμῶν καὶ τὰς ἀδικίας καὶ τὰ παραπτώματα καὶ πλημμελείας. 2. μὴ λογίσῃ πᾶσαν ἁμαρτίαν δούλων σου καὶ παιδισκῶν, ἀλλὰ καθάρισον ἡμᾶς τὸν καθαρισμόν τῆς σῆς ἀληθείας, καὶ

I. CLEMENT, LIX. 3—LX. 2

creator and watcher over every spirit; thou dost multiply nations upon earth and hast chosen out from them all those that love thee through Jesus Christ thy beloved child, and through him hast thou taught us, made us holy, and brought us to honour.

4. We beseech thee, Master, to be our "help and succour." Save those of us who are in affliction, have mercy on the lowly, raise the fallen, show thyself to those in need, heal the sick, turn again the wanderers of thy people, feed the hungry, ransom our prisoners, raise up the weak, comfort the faint-hearted; let all "nations know thee, that thou art God alone," and that Jesus Christ is thy child, and that "we are thy people and the sheep of thy pasture."

LX

1. FOR thou through thy operations didst make manifest the eternal fabric of the world; thou, Lord, didst create the earth. Thou that art faithful in all generations, righteous in judgment, wonderful in strength and majesty, wise in thy creation, and prudent in establishing thy works, good in the things which are seen, and gracious among those that trust in thee, O "merciful and compassionate," forgive us our iniquities and unrighteousness, and transgressions, and short-comings. 2. Reckon not every sin of thy servants and handmaids, but

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

Pss. 40, 2; κατεύθυνον τὰ διαβήματα ἡμῶν ἐν ὁσιότητι καρ-
 119, 133
 I Kings 9, 4 δίας πορεύεσθαι καὶ ποιεῖν τὰ καλὰ καὶ εὐάρεστα
 Deut. 12, 25, ἐνώπιόν σου καὶ ἐνώπιον τῶν ἀρχόντων ἡμῶν.
 28; 13, 18;
 21, 9 3. ναί, δέσποτα, ἐπίφανον τὸ πρόσωπόν σου ἐφ'
 Ps. 67, 1; 80, ἡμᾶς εἰς ἀγαθὰ ἐν εἰρήνῃ, εἰς τὸ σκεπασθῆναι
 8, 7, 19; ἡμᾶς τῇ χειρὶ σου τῇ κραταίᾳ καὶ ῥυσθῆναι ἀπὸ
 Num. 6, 25, 26 πάσης ἀμαρτίας τῷ βραχίονί σου τῷ ὑψηλῷ, καὶ
 Gen. 50, 20; ῥῦσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τῶν μισούντων ἡμᾶς ἀδίκως.
 Jer. 21, 10; 24, 6;
 Am. 9, 4; 4. δὸς ὁμόνοιαν καὶ εἰρήνην ἡμῖν τε καὶ πᾶσιν
 Deut. 30, 9 τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν τὴν γῆν, καθὼς ἔδωκας τοῖς
 Exod. 6, 1; πατράσιν ἡμῶν, ἐπικαλουμένων σε αὐτῶν ὁσίως ἐν
 Deut. 4, 34; 5, 15;
 Jer. 32, 21; πίστει καὶ ἀληθείᾳ, ὑπηκόους γινομένους τῷ
 Ezek. 20, παντοκράτορι καὶ ἐνδόξῳ ὀνόματί σου, τοῖς τε
 33, 34 ἀρχουσιν καὶ ἡγουμένοις ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.

LXI

1. Σὺ, δεσποτα, ἔδωκας τὴν ἐξουσίαν τῆς
 βασιλείας αὐτοῖς διὰ τοῦ μεγαλοπρεποῦς καὶ
 ἀνεκδιηγῆτου κράτους σου, εἰς τὸ γινώσκοντας
 ἡμᾶς τὴν ὑπὸ σοῦ αὐτοῖς δεδομένην δόξαν καὶ
 τιμὴν ὑποτάσσεσθαι αὐτοῖς, μηδὲν ἐναντιούμενος
 τῷ θελήματί σου· οἷς δός, κύριε, ὑγίειαν, εἰρήνην,
 ὁμόνοιαν, εὐστάθειαν, εἰς τὸ διέπειν αὐτοὺς τὴν
 ὑπὸ σοῦ δεδομένην αὐτοῖς ἡγεμονίαν ἀπροσκόπως.
 I Tim. 5, 17; 2. σὺ γάρ, δέσποτα ἐπουράνιε, βασιλεῦ τῶν
 Tob. 13, 6, 10 αἰώνων, δίδως τοῖς υἱοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων δόξαν καὶ
 τιμὴν καὶ ἐξουσίαν τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ὑπαρχόντων·
 Deut. 12, 25, 28; 13, 18 σὺ, κύριε, διεύθυνον τὴν βουλήν αὐτῶν κατὰ τὸ
 καλὸν καὶ εὐάρεστον ἐνώπιόν σου, ὅπως διέποντες
 ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ πραύτητι εὐσεβῶς τὴν ὑπὸ σοῦ

1. CLEMENT, LX. 2-LXI. 2

cleanse us with the cleansing of thy truth, and "guide our steps to walk in holiness of heart, to do the things which are good and pleasing before thee" and before our rulers. 3. Yea, Lord, "make thy face to shine upon us" in peace "for our good" that we may be sheltered by thy mighty hand, and delivered from all sin by "thy uplifted arm," and deliver us from them that hate us wrongfully. 4. Give ^{For peace} concord and peace to us and to all that dwell on the earth, as thou didst give to our fathers who called on thee in holiness with faith and truth, and grant that we may be obedient to thy almighty and glorious name, and to our rulers and governors upon the earth.

LXI

1. THOU, Master, hast given the power of ^{On behalf of rulers} sovereignty to them through thy excellent and inexpressible might, that we may know the glory and honour given to them by thee, and be subject to them, in nothing resisting thy will. And to them, Lord, grant health, peace, concord, firmness that they may administer the government which thou hast given them without offence. 2. For thou, heavenly Master, king of eternity, hast given to the sons of men glory and honour and power over the things which are on the earth; do thou, O Lord, direct their counsels according to that which is "good and pleasing" before thee, that they may administer with piety in peace and gentleness the power given to them by thee, and may find mercy

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αὐτοῖς δεδομένην ἐξουσίαν ἰλεώ σου τυγχάνωσιν.
β. ὁ μόνος δυνατὸς ποιῆσαι ταῦτα καὶ περισσότερα
ἀγαθὰ μεθ' ἡμῶν, σοὶ ἐξομολογούμεθα διὰ τοῦ
ἀρχιερέως καὶ προστάτου τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ
Χριστοῦ, δι' οὗ σοὶ ἡ δόξα καὶ ἡ μεγαλωσύνη καὶ
νῦν καὶ εἰς γενεὰν γενεῶν καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν
αἰώνων. ἀμήν.

LXII

1. Περὶ μὲν τῶν ἀνηκόντων τῇ θρησκείᾳ ἡμῶν
καὶ τῶν ὠφελιμωτάτων εἰς ἐνάρετον βίον τοῖς
θέλουσιν¹ εὐσεβῶς καὶ δικαίως διευθύνειν, ἱκανῶς
ἐπεστείλαμεν ὑμῖν, ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί. 2. περὶ γὰρ
πίστεως καὶ μετανόιας καὶ γνησίας ἀγάπης καὶ
ἐγκρατείας καὶ σωφροσύνης καὶ ὑπομονῆς πάντα
τόπον ἐψηλαφήσαμεν, ὑπομνήσκοντες δεῖν ὑμᾶς
ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ ἀληθείᾳ καὶ μακροθυμίᾳ τῷ
παντοκράτορι θεῷ ὁσίως εὐαρεστεῖν, ὁμοουῶντας
ἀμνησικακῶς ἐν ἀγάπῃ καὶ εἰρήνῃ μετὰ ἐκτενοῦς
ἐπιεικειᾶς, καθὼς καὶ οἱ προδεδηλωμένοι πατέρες
ἡμῶν εὐηρέστησαν ταπεινοφρονοῦντες τὰ πρὸς τὸν
πατέρα καὶ κτίστην θεὸν² καὶ πάντας ἀνθρώ-
πους. β. καὶ ταῦτα τοσοῦτῳ ἡδιδον ὑπεμνήσαμεν,
ἐπειδὴ σαφῶς ἡδειμεν γράφειν ἡμᾶς ἀνδράσιν
πιστοῖς καὶ ἐλλογιμωτάτοις καὶ ἐγκεκυφῶσιν εἰς
τὰ λόγια τῆς παιδείας τοῦ θεοῦ.

¹ τοῖς θέλουσιν ἐνάρετον βίον SL, εἰς ἐνάρετον βίον τοῖς
θέλουσιν CK.

² κτίστην θεόν SL, θεὸν καὶ κτίστην C.

I. CLEMENT, LXI. 2-LXII. 3

in thine eyes. 3. O thou who alone art able to do these things and far better things for us, we praise thee through Jesus Christ, the high priest and guardian of our souls, through whom be glory and majesty to thee, both now and for all generations and for ever and ever. Amen.

LXII

1. WE have now written to you, brethren, sufficiently touching the things which befit our worship, and are most helpful for a virtuous life to those who wish to guide their steps in piety and righteousness. 2. For we have touched on every aspect of faith and repentance and true love and self-control and sobriety and patience, and reminded you that you are bound to please almighty God with holiness in righteousness and truth and long-suffering, and to live in concord, bearing no malice, in love and peace with eager gentleness, even as our fathers, whose example we quoted, were well-pleasing in their humility towards God, the Father and Creator, and towards all men. 3. And we had the more pleasure in reminding you of this, because we knew quite well that we were writing to men who were faithful and distinguished and had studied the oracles of the teaching of God.

Summary
of letter

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

LXIII

1. Θεμιτὸν οὖν ἐστὶν τοῖς τοιούτοις καὶ τοσούτοις ὑποδείγμασιν προσελθόντας ὑποθεῖναι τὸν τράχηλον καὶ τὸν τῆς ὑπακοῆς τόπον ἀναπληρῶσαι, ὅπως ἡσυχάσαντες τῆς ματαίας στάσεως ἐπὶ τὸν προκείμενον ἡμῖν ἐν ἀληθείᾳ σκοπὸν δίχα παντὸς μώμου καταστήσωμεν. 2. χαρὰν γὰρ καὶ ἀγαλλίασιν ἡμῖν παρέξετε, εἰάν ὑπήκοοι γενομενοὶ τοῖς ὑφ' ἡμῶν γεγραμμένοις διὰ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἐκκόψητε τὴν ἀθέμιτον τοῦ ζήλους ὑμῶν ὀργὴν κατὰ τὴν ἔντευξιν, ἣν ἐποιήσαμεθα περὶ εἰρήνης καὶ ὁμονοίας ἐν τῇδε τῇ ἐπιστολῇ. 3. ἐπέμψαμεν δὲ ἄνδρας πιστοὺς καὶ σώφρονας ἀπὸ νεότητος ἀναστραφέντας ἕως γήρους ἀμέμπτως ἐν ἡμῖν, οἵτινες καὶ μάρτυρες ἔσονται μεταξὺ ὑμῶν καὶ ἡμῶν. 4. τοῦτο δὲ ἐποιήσαμεν, ἵνα εἰδῆτε, ὅτι πᾶσα ἡμῖν φροντὶς καὶ γέγονεν καὶ ἔστιν εἰς τὸ ἐν τάχει ὑμᾶς εἰρηνεῦσαι.

LXIV

1. Λοιπὸν ὁ παντεπόπτης θεὸς καὶ δεσπότης τῶν πνευμάτων καὶ κύριος πάσης σαρκός, ὁ ἐκλεξάμενος τὸν κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν καὶ ἡμᾶς δι' αὐτοῦ εἰς λαὸν περιούσιον, δῶν πάση ψυχῇ ἐπικεκλημένη τὸ μεγαλοπρεπὲς καὶ ἅγιον ὄνομα αὐτοῦ πίστιν, φόβον, εἰρήνην, ὑπομονὴν καὶ μακροθυμίαν, ἐγκράτειαν, ἀγνείαν, σωφροσύνην,¹

Num. 16, 22;
27, 16;
fc. Heb. 12, 9
Deut. 14, 2

¹ σωφροσύνην CLK, καὶ σωφ. AS.

I. CLEMENT, LXIII. I-LXIV. I

LXIII

1. It is therefore right that we should respect so many and so great examples, and bow the neck, and take up the position of obedience, so that ceasing from vain sedition we may gain without any fault the goal set before us in truth. 2. For you will give us joy and gladness, if you are obedient to the things which we have written through the Holy Spirit, and root out the wicked passion of your jealousy according to the entreaty for peace and concord which we have made in this letter. 3. And we have sent faithful and prudent men, who have lived among us without blame from youth to old age, and they shall be witnesses between you and us. 4. We have done this that you may know that our whole care has been and is directed to your speedy attainment of peace.

Introduction for representatives from Rome

LXIV

1. Now may God, the all-seeing, and the master of spirits, and the Lord of all flesh, who chose out the Lord Jesus Christ, and us through him for "a peculiar people," give unto every soul that is called after his glorious and holy name, faith, fear, peace, patience and long-suffering, self-control, purity, sobriety, that they may be well-pleasing to his

Blessing

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

εἰς εὐαρέστησιν τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ διὰ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως καὶ προστάτου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, δι' οὗ αὐτῷ δόξα καὶ μεγαλωσύνη, κράτος καὶ τιμή, καὶ νῦν καὶ εἰς πάντας τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν.

LXV

1. Τοὺς δὲ ἀπεσταλμένους ἀφ' ἡμῶν Κλαύδιον Ἐφηβον καὶ Οὐαλέριον Βίτωνα σὺν καὶ Φορτουνάτῳ ἐν εἰρήνῃ μετὰ χαρᾶς ἐν τάχει ἀναπέμφατε πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ὅπως θᾶπτον τὴν εὐκταίαν καὶ ἐπιποθήτην ἡμῖν εἰρήνην καὶ ὁμόνοιαν ἀπαγγέλλωσιν, εἰς τὸ τάχιον καὶ ἡμᾶς χαρῆναι περὶ τῆς εὐσταθείας ὑμῶν.

2. Ἡ χάρις τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ μεθ' ὑμῶν καὶ μετὰ πάντων πανταχῇ τῶν κεκλημένων ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ δι' αὐτοῦ,¹ δι' οὗ αὐτῷ δόξα, τιμή, κράτος καὶ μεγαλωσύνη, θρόνος αἰώνιος, ἀπὸ τῶν αἰώνων εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν.

Ἐπιστολὴ τῶν Ῥωμαίων πρὸς τοὺς Κορινθίους.

¹ δι' αὐτοῦ CL(K), καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ AS.

I. CLEMENT, LXIV. 1-LXV. 2

name through our high priest and guardian Jesus Christ, through whom be to him glory and majesty, might and honour, both now and to all eternity. Amen.

LXV

1. SEND back quickly to us our messengers Claudius Ephebus and Valerius Vito and Fortunatus, in peace with gladness, in order that they may report the sooner the peace and concord which we pray for and desire, that we also may the more speedily rejoice in your good order.

Message as to Roman representatives

2. The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you and with all, in every place, who have been called by God through him, through whom be to him glory, honour, power and greatness and eternal dominion, from eternity to eternity. Amen.

Final blessing and doxology

The Epistle of the Romans to the Corinthians.¹

¹ This form of subscription is found only in the Coptic version, though it was probably also known to Clement of Alexandria, and is undoubtedly correct. The other MSS. all attribute it directly to Clement.

**THE
SECOND EPISTLE OF CLEMENT
TO THE CORINTHIANS**

THE
SECOND EPISTLE OF CLEMENT
TO THE CORINTHIANS

THE so-called second epistle of Clement is found in the two Greek MSS. (AC) of I. Clement, and in the Syriac version (S), but it is not in the Latin or Coptic versions (LK), and it is never quoted by Clement of Alexandria, though apparent resemblances of its language have given rise to the view that he was acquainted with it. It is clear from the MS. tradition that at least as early as the fifth century, and probably earlier, it was in some circles closely associated with I. Clement, though this was not the case in the Coptic church, which perhaps represents early Alexandrian tradition, or in the Latin Church. Western writers do, it is true, seem to speak of a "second epistle" of Clement, but they refer not to our II. Clement, but to the pseudepigraphic epistle of Clement to James.

II. Clement is a letter only in form, and scarcely in that, for the writer distinctly states (cf. Cap. XIX) that he is reading aloud, and implies that he is doing so in a meeting for religious worship: it is thus clear that it is really more a sermon than a letter. The main object of the writer is to inculcate a

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high Christology, a pure life, and a belief in the resurrection of the flesh. So much is generally agreed and it is, moreover, clear that it cannot have been written by the author of I. Clement; but there is no commonly accepted view as to the community to which it was sent. Three views may be mentioned.

1. Harnack thinks that it is the letter which Soter (bishop of Rome—c. 166–174) is related to have sent to Corinth (cf. Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* iv. 23. 11). He thinks that Soter probably used an old homily which seemed to him to be suitable. This letter was kept in the archives of the church at Corinth together with I. Clement, which had also come from Rome; later on, when they were both copied, the real facts were forgotten and both were supposed to be letters of Clement (Harnack, *Chronologie* I, pp. 438 ff.).

2. Lightfoot is inclined to think that it was an ancient homily of some unknown person in the church at Corinth. He lays stress on the imagery from the games, and suggests that this was inspired by the Isthmian games. Like Harnack's this theory has the advantage of explaining why the document came to be connected with Clement,—it was found in the Corinthian archives together with I. Clement.

3. Other scholars, regarding the external evidence as practically valueless, have thought that II. Clement was originally an Alexandrian homily. Their reasons are the theological character of the book, and its possible use of the Gospel of the Egyptians. This theory explains the contents of the book more naturally than do the views of Harnack and Lightfoot, but fails to show why it was ever connected with I. Clement.

II. CLEMENT

Equally uncertain is the date of the book. In the absence of any direct references to contemporary events, it can only be dated by considering its place in the general development of Christian doctrine. This is a very insecure guide, but probably the half century between 120 and 170 A.D. is the period chosen by the general opinion of the best critics, and within these limits ± 150 A.D. is most usually accepted, except by those who agree with Harnack to identify II. Clement with the letter of Soter to the Corinthians.

ΚΛΗΜΕΝΤΟΣ

ΠΡΟΣ ΚΟΡΙΝΘΙΟΥΣ Β

I

1. Ἀδελφοί, οὕτως δεῖ ἡμᾶς φρονεῖν περὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὡς περὶ θεοῦ, ὡς περὶ κριτοῦ ζώντων καὶ νεκρῶν καὶ οὐ δεῖ ἡμᾶς μικρὰ φρονεῖν περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας ἡμῶν. 2. ἐν τῷ γὰρ φρονεῖν ἡμᾶς μικρὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ, μικρὰ καὶ ἐλπίζομεν λαβεῖν καὶ οἱ ἀκούοντες ὡς περὶ μικρῶν ἁμαρτάνουσιν, καὶ ἡμεῖς¹ ἁμαρτάνομεν οὐκ εἰδότες, πόθεν ἐκλήθημεν καὶ ὑπὸ τίνος καὶ εἰς ἃν τόπον, καὶ ὅσα ὑπέμεινε Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς παθεῖν ἕνεκα ἡμῶν. 3. τίνα οὖν ἡμεῖς αὐτῷ δώσομεν ἀντιμισθίαν, ἢ τίνα καρπὸν ἄξιον οὐ ἡμῖν αὐτὸς ἔδωκεν; πόσα δὲ αὐτῷ ὀφείλομεν ὅσια; 4. τὸ φῶς γὰρ ἡμῖν ἐχαρίσατο, ὡς πατὴρ υἱοῦς ἡμᾶς προσηγόρευσε, ἀπολλυμένους ἡμᾶς ἔσωσεν. 5. ποῖον οὖν αἶνον αὐτῷ δώσομεν ἢ μισθὸν ἀντιμισθίας ὧν ἐλάβομεν; 6. πηροὶ ὄντες τῇ διανοίᾳ, προσκυνοῦντες λίθους καὶ ξύλα καὶ χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον καὶ χαλκόν, ἔργα ἀνθρώπων καὶ ὁ βίος ἡμῶν ὄλος ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἢ εἰ μὴ θάνατος. ἀμαύρωσιν οὖν περικείμενοι καὶ τοιαύτης ἀχλύος γέμοντες ἐν

¹ Ὅτι ἁμαρτάνουσιν, καὶ ἡμεῖς ΑC.

THE
SECOND EPISTLE OF CLEMENT
TO THE CORINTHIANS

I

1. BRETHREN, we must think of Jesus Christ as of God, as of "the Judge of the living and the dead" and we must not think little of our salvation, 2. for if we think little of him we also hope to obtain but little. And those who listen as though it were a little matter are sinning, and we also are sinning, if we do not know whence and by whom, and to what place we were called, and how great sufferings Jesus Christ endured for our sake. 3. What return, then, shall we make to him, or what fruit shall we offer worthy of that which he has given us? And how great a debt of holiness do we owe him? 4. For he gave us the light, he called us "son," as a Father, he saved us when we were perishing. 5. What praise, then, or what reward shall we give him in return for what we received? 6. We were maimed in our understanding, worshipping stone, and wood, and gold, and silver, and copper, the works of men, and our whole life was nothing else than death. We were covered with darkness, and our eyes were full of mist; but we

The need
for thinking
highly of
Christ, and
prizing our
salvation

The state
of the un-
converted

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τῇ ὀράσει, ἀνεβλέψαμεν ἀποθέμενοι ἐκείνο δ περικείμεθα νέφος τῇ αὐτοῦ θελήσει. 7. ἠλήσεν γὰρ ἡμᾶς καὶ σπλαγχνισθεὶς ἔσωσεν, θεασάμενος ἐν ἡμῖν πολλὴν πλάνην καὶ ἀπώλειαν, καὶ μηδεμίαν ἐλπίδα ἔχοντας σωτηρίας, εἰ μὴ τὴν παρ' αὐτοῦ. 8. ἐκάλεσεν γὰρ ἡμᾶς οὐκ ὄντας καὶ ἠθέλησεν ἐκ μὴ ὄντος εἶναι ἡμᾶς.

II

Is. 54, 1;
Gal. 4, 27

1. Εὐφράνθητι, στεῖρα ἢ οὐ τίκτουσα, ῥῆξον καὶ βόησον, ἢ οὐκ ὠδίνουσα, ὅτι πολλὰ τὰ τέκνα τῆς ἐρήμου μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς ἐχούσης τὸν ἄνδρα. ὁ εἶπεν Εὐφράνθητι, στεῖρα ἢ οὐ τίκτουσα, ἡμᾶς εἶπεν· στεῖρα γὰρ ἦν ἡ ἐκκλησία ἡμῶν πρὸ τοῦ δοθῆναι αὐτῇ τέκνα. 2. ὁ δὲ εἶπεν Βόησον, ἢ οὐκ ὠδίνουσα, τοῦτο λέγει· τὰς προσευχὰς ἡμῶν ἀπλῶς ἀναφέρειν πρὸς τὸν θεόν, μὴ ὡς αἱ ὠδίνουσαι ἐγκακῶμεν, 3. ὁ δὲ εἶπεν "Ὅτι πολλὰ τὰ τέκνα τῆς ἐρήμου μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς ἐχούσης τὸν ἄνδρα· ἐπεὶ ἐρημος ἐδόκει εἶναι ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ὁ λαὸς ἡμῶν, νυνὶ δὲ πιστεύσαντες πλείονες ἐγενόμεθα τῶν δοκούντων ἔχειν θεόν. 4. καὶ ἑτέρα δὲ γραφὴ λέγει, ὅτι οὐκ ἦλθον καλέσαι δικαίους, ἀλλὰ ἁμαρτωλοὺς. 5. τοῦτο λέγει, ὅτι δεῖ τοὺς ἀπολλυμένους σῶζειν. 6. ἐκείνο γάρ ἐστιν μέγα καὶ θαυμαστὸν οὐ τὰ ἐστῶτα στηρίζειν, ἀλλὰ τὰ πίπτοντα. 7. οὕτως καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς ἠθέλησεν σῶσαι τὰ ἀπολλύμενα, καὶ ἔσωσεν πολλοὺς, ἐλθὼν καὶ καλέσας ἡμᾶς ἤδη ἀπολλυμένους.

Mt. 9, 13,
Mk. 2, 17;
Luke 5, 32

Luke 19, 10

II. CLEMENT, I. 6-II. 7

have received our sight, and by his will we have cast off the cloud which covered us. 7. For he had pity on us, and saved us in his mercy, and regarded the great error and destruction which was in us, and our hopelessness of salvation save from him; 8. for he called us when we were not, and it was his will that out of nothing we should come to being.

II

1. "REJOICE thou barren that barest not; break forth and cry thou that travailest not; for the children of the deserted are many more than hers that hath a husband." In saying, "Rejoice thou barren that barest not," he meant us, for our church was barren before children were given her. Prophecies of the church, and their interpretation

2. And in saying, "Cry thou that travailest not," he means this,—that we should offer our prayers in sincerity to God, and not grow weary as women that give birth. 3. And in saying, "For the children of the deserted are many more than hers that hath a husband," he meant that our people seemed to be deserted by God, but that now we who have believed have become many more than those who seemed to have God. 4. And another Scripture also says, "I came not to call righteous, but sinners"; 5. He means that those who are perishing must be saved, 6. for it is great and wonderful to give strength, not to the things which are standing, but to those which are falling. 7. So Christ also willed to save the perishing, and he saved many, coming and calling us who were already perishing.

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III

1. Τοσούτου οὖν ἔλεος ποιήσαντος αὐτοῦ εἰς ἡμᾶς, πρῶτον μὲν, ὅτι ἡμεῖς οἱ ζῶντες τοῖς νεκροῖς θεοῖς οὐ θύομεν καὶ οὐ προσκυνοῦμεν αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ ἔγνωμεν δι' αὐτοῦ τὸν πατέρα τῆς ἀληθείας· τίς ἢ γνώσις ἢ πρὸς αὐτόν, ἢ τὸ μὴ ἀρνεῖσθαι δι' οὗ ἔγνωμεν αὐτόν; 2. λέγει δὲ καὶ αὐτός· Τὸν ὁμολογήσαντά με ἐνώπιον τῶν ἀνθρώπων,¹ ὁμολογήσω αὐτὸν ἐνώπιον τοῦ πατρός μου. 3. οὗτος οὖν ἐστὶν ὁ μισθὸς ἡμῶν, εἰάν οὖν ὁμολογήσωμεν δι' οὗ ἐσώθημεν. 4. ἐν τίνι δὲ αὐτὸν ὁμολογοῦμεν; ἐν τῷ ποιεῖν ἃ λέγει καὶ μὴ παρακούειν αὐτοῦ τῶν ἐντολῶν, καὶ μὴ μόνον χεῖλεσιν αὐτὸν τιμᾶν, ἀλλὰ ἐξ ὅλης καρδίας καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς διανοίας. 5. λέγει δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ Ἑσαΐα· Ὁ λαὸς οὗτος τοῖς χεῖλεσιν με τιμᾷ, ἢ δὲ καρδία αὐτῶν πόρρω ἄπεστιν ἀπ' ἐμοῦ.

Mt. 10, 32;
Luke 12, 8

[Is. 29, 13;
Mt. 15, 8;
Mc. 7, 6

IV

1. Μὴ μόνον οὖν αὐτὸν καλῶμεν κύριον οὐ γὰρ τοῦτο σώσει ἡμᾶς. 2. λέγει γάρ· Οὐ πᾶς ὁ λέγων μοι· Κύριε, κύριε, σωθήσεται, ἀλλ' ὁ ποιῶν τὴν δικαιοσύνην. 3. ὥστε οὖν, ἀδελφοί, ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτὸν ὁμολογῶμεν, ἐν τῷ ἀγαπᾶν ἑαυτούς, ἐν τῷ μὴ μοιχᾶσθαι μηδὲ καταλαλεῖν ἀλλήλων μηδὲ ζηλοῦν, ἀλλ' ἐγκρατεῖς εἶναι, ἐλεήμονας, ἀγαθοῦς· καὶ συμπάσχειν ἀλλήλοις ὀφείλομεν,

Mt. 7, 21

¹ ἐνώπιον τῶν ἀνθρώπων AC, om. B.

II. CLEMENT, III. 1-IV. 3

III

1. SEEING, then, that he has shewn such mercy towards us, first that we who are living do not sacrifice to the dead gods, and do not worship them, but through him know the father of truth, what is the true knowledge concerning him¹ except that we should not deny him through whom we knew him? 2. And he himself also says, "Whosoever confessed me before men, I will confess him before my Father"; 3. this then is our reward, if we confess him through whom we were saved. 4. But how do we confess him? By doing what he says, and not disregarding his commandments, and honouring him not only with our lips, but "with all our heart and all our mind." 5. And he says also in Isaiah, "This people honoureth me with their lips, but their heart is far from me."

Our duty
to Christ

IV

1. LET us, then, not merely call him Lord, for this will not save us. 2. For he says, "Not everyone that saith to me Lord, Lord, shall be saved, but he that doeth righteousness." 3. So then, brethren, let us confess him in our deeds, by loving one another, by not committing adultery, nor speaking one against another, nor being jealous, but by being self-controlled, merciful, good; and we ought to

The
necessity
for good
works

¹ The Greek is as ambiguous as the English, but this "him" no doubt refers to the "father of truth."

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

καὶ μὴ φιλαργυρεῖν. ἐν τούτοις τοῖς ἔργοις ὁμολογῶμεν αὐτὸν καὶ μὴ ἐν τοῖς ἐναντίοις· 4. καὶ οὐ δεῖ ἡμᾶς φοβεῖσθαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους μᾶλλον, ἀλλὰ τὸν θεόν. 5. διὰ τοῦτο, ταῦτα ὑμῶν πρασόντων, εἶπεν ὁ κύριος· Ἐὰν ἦτε μετ' ἐμοῦ συνηγμένοι ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ μου καὶ μὴ ποιήτε τὰς ἐντολάς μου, ἀποβαλῶ ὑμᾶς καὶ ἐρῶ ὑμῖν· Ὑπάγετε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ, οὐκ οἶδα ὑμᾶς, πόθεν ἐστέ, ἐργάται ἀνομίας.

? Ev.
Aegypt.

V

1. Ὅθεν, ἀδελφοί, καταλείψαντες τὴν παροι-
κίαν τοῦ κόσμου τούτου ποιήσωμεν τὸ θέλημα τοῦ
καλέσαντος ἡμᾶς, καὶ μὴ φοβηθῶμεν ἐξελθεῖν ἐκ
τοῦ κόσμου τούτου. 2. λέγει γὰρ ὁ κύριος
Ἔσεσθε ὡς ἀρνία ἐν μέσῳ λύκων. 3. ἀποκριθεὶς
δὲ ὁ Πέτρος αὐτῷ λέγει· Ἐὰν οὖν διασπαράξωσιν
οἱ λύκοι τὰ ἀρνία ; 4. εἶπεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς τῷ Πέτρῳ·
Μὴ φοβείσθωσαν τὰ ἀρνία τοὺς λύκους μετὰ τὸ
ἀποθανεῖν αὐτά· καὶ ὑμεῖς μὴ φοβεῖσθε τοὺς
ἀποκτένοντας ὑμᾶς καὶ μηδὲν ὑμῖν δυναμένους
ποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ φοβεῖσθε τὸν μετὰ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν
ὑμᾶς ἔχοντα ἐξουσίαν ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος τοῦ
βαλεῖν εἰς γέενναν πυρός. 5. καὶ γινώσκετε,
ἀδελφοί, ὅτι ἡ ἐπιδημία ἢ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ τούτῳ τῆς
σαρκὸς ταύτης μικρά ἐστὶν καὶ ὀλιγοχρόνιος, ἢ δὲ
ἐπαγγελία τοῦ Χριστοῦ μεγάλη καὶ θαυμαστή ἐστὶν,
καὶ ἀνάπαυσις τῆς μελλούσης βασιλείας καὶ ζωῆς

Ev.
Aegypt.

II. CLEMENT, IV. 3-V. 6

sympathise with each other, and not to be lovers of money. By these deeds we confess him, and not by the opposite kind. 4. And we must not fear men rather than God. 5. For this reason, if you do these things, the Lord said, "If ye be gathered together with me in my bosom, and do not my commandments, I will cast you out, and will say to you, Depart from me, I know not whence ye are, ye workers of iniquity." ¹

V

1. WHEREFORE, brethren, let us forsake our sojourn-
ing in this world, and do the will of him who called us, and let us not fear to go forth from this world, 2. for the Lord said, "Ye shall be as lambs in the midst of wolves," 3. and Peter answered and said to him, "If then the wolves tear the lambs?" 4. Jesus said to Peter, "Let the lambs have no fear of the wolves after their death; and do ye have no fear of those that slay you, and can do nothing more to you, but fear him who after your death hath power over body and soul, to cast them into the flames of hell." 5. And be well assured, brethren, that our sojourning in this world in the flesh is a little thing and lasts a short time, but the promise of Christ is great and wonderful, and brings us rest, in the kingdom which is to come and in everlasting life. 6. What then shall

Exhortation to
abandon the
world

¹ The source of this and the quotation in v. 2-4 is unknown: it is often supposed to have been the Gospel of the Egyptians, but there is no clear evidence of this.

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αἰωνίου. 6. τί οὖν ἐστὶν ποιήσαντας ἐπιτυχεῖν αὐτῶν, εἰ μὴ τὸ ὀσίως καὶ δικαίως ἀναστρέφεισθαι καὶ τὰ κοσμικὰ ταῦτα ὡς ἀλλότρια ἡγεῖσθαι καὶ μὴ ἐπιθυμεῖν αὐτῶν; 7. ἐν γὰρ τῷ ἐπιθυμεῖν ἡμᾶς κτήσασθαι ταῦτα ἀποπίπτομεν τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς δικαίας.

VI

Luke 16, 13;
Mt. 6, 24
Mt. 16, 26;
Mk. 8, 36;
Luke 9, 25

1. Λέγει δὲ ὁ κύριος· Οὐδεὶς οἰκέτης δύναται δυσὶ κυρίοις δουλεύειν. ἂν ἡμεῖς θέλωμεν καὶ θεῷ δουλεύειν καὶ μαμωνᾷ, ἀσύμφορον ἡμῖν ἐστίν. 2. τί γὰρ τὸ ὄφελος, εἰάν τις τὸν κόσμον ὅλον κερδήσῃ, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν ζημιωθῇ; 3. ἔστιν δὲ οὗτος ὁ αἰὼν καὶ ὁ μέλλων δύο ἐχθροί. 4. οὗτος λέγει μοιχείαν καὶ φθορὰν καὶ φιλαργυρίαν καὶ ἀπάτην, ἐκεῖνος δὲ τούτοις ἀποτάσσεται. 5. οὐ δύναμεθα οὖν τῶν δύο φίλοι εἶναι· δεῖ δὲ ἡμᾶς τούτῳ ἀποταξαμένους ἐκείνῳ χρᾶσθαι. 6. οἴομεθα,¹ ὅτι βέλτιον ἐστὶν τὰ ἐνθάδε μισῆσαι, ὅτι μικρὰ καὶ ὀλιγοχρόνια καὶ φθαρτά, ἐκεῖνα δὲ ἀγαπήσαι, τὰ ἀγαθὰ τὰ ἀφθαρτα. 7. ποιοῦντες γὰρ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ Χριστοῦ εὐρήσομεν ἀνάπανσιν· εἰ δὲ μήγε, οὐδὲν ἡμᾶς ῥύσεται ἐκ τῆς αἰωνίου κολάσεως, ἂν παρακούσωμεν τῶν ἐντολῶν αὐτοῦ. 8. λέγει δὲ καὶ ἡ γραφὴ ἐν τῷ Ἰεζεκιήλ, ὅτι ἂν ἀναστῆ Νῶε καὶ Ἰὼβ καὶ Δαυιδ, οὐ ῥύσονται τὰ τέκνα αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ αἰχμαλωσίᾳ. 9. εἰ δὲ καὶ οἱ τοιοῦτοι δίκαιοι οὐ δύνανται ταῖς ἑαυτῶν δικαιοσύναις ῥύσασθαι τὰ τέκνα αὐτῶν, ἡμεῖς, εἰ μὴ

Ezek. 14,
14. 18, 20

¹ οἴομεθα ACS, but Lightfoot emends to οἰώμεθα "Let us etc."

II. CLEMENT, v. 6-vi. 9

we do to attain these things save lead a holy and righteous life, and regard the things of this world as not our own, and not desire them? 7. For by desiring to obtain these things we fall from the way of righteousness.

VI

1. AND the Lord says :—"No servant can serve two masters." If we desire to serve both God and Mammon it is unprofitable to us, 2. "For what is the advantage if a man gain the whole world but lose his soul?" 3. Now the world that is, and the world to come are two enemies. 4. This world speaks of adultery, and corruption, and love of money, and deceit, but that world bids these things farewell. 5. We cannot then be the friends of both; but we must bid farewell to this world, to consort with that which is to come. 6. We reckon that it is better to hate the things which are here, for they are little, and short-lived, and corruptible, but to love the things which are there, the good things which are incorruptible. 7. For if we do the will of Christ we shall gain rest; but if not, nothing shall rescue us from eternal punishment, if we neglect his commandments. 8. And the Scripture also says in Ezekiel that, "if Noah and Job and Daniel arise, they shall not rescue their children in the captivity." 9. But if even such righteous men as these cannot save their children by their own righteousness, with

The
opposition
between
this world
and the
world to
come

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Cf. Mt. 22.
11 ff.

τηρήσωμεν τὸ βάπτισμα ἄγνόν και ἀμίαντον, ποία πεποιθήσει εἰσελευσόμεθα εἰς τὸ βασίλειον τοῦ θεοῦ; ἢ τίς ἡμῶν παράκλητος ἔσται, ἐὰν μὴ εὔρεθῶμεν ἔργα ἔχοντες ὅσια και δίκαια;

VII

1. Ὡστε οὖν, ἀδελφοί μου, ἀγωνισώμεθα εἰδότες, ὅτι ἐν χερσίν ὁ ἀγὼν και ὅτι εἰς τοὺς φθαρτοὺς ἀγῶνας καταπλέουσιν πολλοί, ἀλλ' οὐ πάντες στεφανοῦνται, εἰ μὴ οἱ πολλὰ κοπιάσαντες και καλῶς ἀγωνισάμενοι. 2. ἡμεῖς οὖν ἀγωνισώμεθα, ἵνα πάντες στεφανωθῶμεν. 3. ὥστε θέωμεν¹ τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν εὐθείαν, ἀγῶνα τὸν ἀφθαρτον, και πολλοὶ εἰς αὐτὸν καταπλεύσωμεν και ἀγωνισώμεθα, ἵνα και στεφανωθῶμεν· και εἰ μὴ δυνάμεθα πάντες στεφανωθῆναι, κὰν ἐγγὺς τοῦ στεφάνου γενώμεθα. 4. εἰδέναι ἡμᾶς δεῖ, ὅτι ὁ τὸν φθαρτὸν ἀγῶνα ἀγωνιζόμενος, ἐὰν εὔρεθῇ φθείρων, μαστιγωθείς αἴρεται και ἔξω βάλλεται τοῦ σταδίου. 5. τί δοκεῖτε; ὁ τὸν τῆς ἀφθαρσίας ἀγῶνα φθείρας τί παθεῖται; 6. τῶν γὰρ μὴ τηρησάντων, φησίν, τὴν σφραγίδα ὁ σκώληξ αὐτῶν οὐ τελευτήσει και τὸ πῦρ αὐτῶν οὐ σβεσθήσεται, και ἔσονται εἰς ὄρασιν πάση σαρκί.

Is. 66, 24;
cf. Mk. 9, 44.
46. 48

¹ AC read θῶμεν, but the Syriac implies θέωμεν and is probably right.

II. CLEMENT, vi. 9-vii. 6

what confidence shall we enter into the palace of God, if we keep not our baptism pure and undefiled? Or who shall be our advocate if we be not found to have pious and righteous works?

VII

1. So then, my brethren, let us contend, knowing that the contest is close at hand, and that many make voyages for corruptible prizes, but not all are crowned, save those who have toiled much, and contended well. 2. Let us then contend that we may all be crowned. 3. Let us run the straight course, the immortal contest, and let many of us sail to it, and contend, that we may also receive the crown, and if we cannot all receive the crown, let us at least come near to it. 4. We must remember that if he who takes part in the contest for a corruptible prize be detected in unfairness, he is flogged, taken up, and thrown off the course. 5. What do you think? What shall he suffer who cheats in the contest for that which is incorruptible? 6. For of those who have not kept the seal of baptism he says:—"Their worm shall not die, and their fire shall not be quenched, and they shall be a spectacle for all flesh."

Exhortation
to strive
well in the
contest of
life

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VIII

1. Ὡς οὖν ἐσμὲν ἐπὶ γῆς, μετανοήσωμεν. 2. πηλὸς γὰρ ἐσμὲν εἰς τὴν χεῖρα τοῦ τεχνίτου· ὃν τρόπον γὰρ ὁ κεραμεύς, εἴαν ποιῇ σκεῦος καὶ ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν αὐτοῦ διαστραφῆ ἢ συντριβῆ, πάλιν αὐτὸ ἀναπλάσσει, εἴαν δὲ προφθάσῃ εἰς τὴν κάμινον τοῦ πυρὸς αὐτὸ βαλεῖν, οὐκέτι βοηθήσει αὐτῷ· οὕτως καὶ ἡμεῖς, ἕως ἐσμὲν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ κόσμῳ, ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ ἃ ἐπράξαμεν ποιηρὰ μετανοήσωμεν ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας, ἵνα σωθῶμεν ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου, ἕως ἔχομεν καιρὸν μετανοίας. 3. μετὰ γὰρ τὸ ἐξελθεῖν ἡμᾶς ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου οὐκέτι δυνάμεθα ἐκεῖ ἐξομολογήσασθαι ἢ μετανοεῖν ἔτι. 4. ὥστε, ἀδελφοί, ποιήσαντες τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τὴν σάρκα ἀγνὴν τηρήσαντες καὶ τὰς ἐντολὰς τοῦ κυρίου φυλάξαντες ληψόμεθα ζωὴν αἰώνιον. 5. λέγει γὰρ ὁ κύριος ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ· Εἰ τὸ μικρὸν οὐκ ἐτηρήσατε, τὸ μέγα τίς ὑμῖν δώσει; λέγω γὰρ ὑμῖν, ὅτι ὁ πιστὸς ἐν ἐλαχίστῳ καὶ ἐν πολλῷ πιστὸς ἐστίν. 6. ἄρα οὖν τοῦτο λέγει· τηρήσατε τὴν σάρκα ἀγνὴν καὶ τὴν σφραγίδα ἄσπιλον, ἵνα τὴν αἰώνιον ζωὴν ἀπολάβωμεν.

Luke 16,
10-12

IX

1. Καὶ μὴ λεγέτω τις ὑμῶν, ὅτι αὕτη ἡ σὰρξ οὐ κρίνεται οὐδὲ ἀνίσταται. 2. γινώτε· ἐν τίνι ἐσώθητε, ἐν τίνι ἀνεβλέψατε, εἰ μὴ ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ ταύτῃ ὄντες; 3. δεῖ οὖν ἡμᾶς ὡς ναὸν θεοῦ φυλάσσειν τὴν

II. CLEMENT, VIII. 1-IX. 3

VIII

1. LET us repent then while we are on the earth. Call to repentance and purity
2. For we are clay in the hand of the workman; for just as the potter, if he make a vessel, and it be bent or broken in his hand, models it afresh, but if he has come so far as to put it into the fiery oven, he can do nothing to mend it any more; so also let us, so long as we are in this world, repent with all our heart of the wicked deeds which we have done in the flesh, that we may be saved by the Lord, while we have a time for repentance. 3. For after we have departed from this world, we can no longer make confession, or repent any more in that place. 4. So then, brethren, if we do the will of the Father, if we keep the flesh pure, and if we observe the commandments of the Lord, we shall obtain eternal life. 5. For the Lord says in the Gospel, "If ye did not guard that which is small, who shall give you that which is great? For I tell you that he who is faithful in that which is least, is faithful also in that which is much." 6. He means, then, this:—Keep the flesh pure, and the seal of baptism undefiled, that we may obtain eternal life.

IX

1. AND let none of you say that this flesh is not judged and does not rise again. The resurrection of the flesh 2. Understand: in what state did you receive salvation, in what state did you receive your sight, except in this flesh? 3. We

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

σάρκα· 4. ὃν τρόπον γὰρ ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ ἐκλήθητε, καὶ ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ ἐλεύσεσθε. 5. εἰ Χριστός, ὁ κύριος ὁ σώσας ἡμᾶς, ὦν μὲν τὸ πρῶτον πνεῦμα, ἐγένετο σὰρξ καὶ οὕτως ἡμᾶς ἐκάλεσεν· οὕτως καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ σαρκὶ ἀποληψόμεθα τὸν μισθόν. 6. ἀγαπῶμεν οὖν ἀλλήλους, ὅπως ἔλθωμεν πάντες εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ. 7. ὡς ἔχομεν καιρὸν τοῦ ἰαθῆναι, ἐπιδῶμεν ἑαυτοὺς τῷ θεραπεύοντι θεῷ, ἀντιμισθίαν αὐτῷ δίδόντες. 8. ποίαν; τὸ μετανοῆσαι ἐξ εἰλικρινοῦς καρδίας. 9. προγνώστης γὰρ ἐστὶν τῶν πάντων καὶ εἰδὼς ἡμῶν τὰ ἐν καρδίᾳ. 10. δῶμεν οὖν αὐτῷ αἶνον,¹ μὴ ἀπὸ στόματος μόνου, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ καρδίας, ἵνα ἡμᾶς προσδέξηται ὡς υἱούς. 11. καὶ γὰρ εἶπεν ὁ κύριος· Ἄδελφοί μου οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ ποιοῦντες τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πατρὸς μου.

Mt. 12, 50;
Mk. 3, 35;
Luke 8, 21

X

1. Ὡστε, ἀδελφοί μου, ποιήσωμεν τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ καλέσαντος ἡμᾶς, ἵνα ζήσωμεν, καὶ διώξωμεν μᾶλλον τὴν ἀρετὴν, τὴν δὲ κακίαν καταλείψωμεν ὡς προδοιπόρον τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν, καὶ φύγωμεν τὴν ἀσέβειαν, μὴ ἡμᾶς καταλάβῃ κακά. 2. ἐὰν γὰρ σπουδάσωμεν ἀγαθοποιεῖν, διώξεται ἡμᾶς εἰρήνη. 3. διὰ ταύτην γὰρ τὴν αἰτίαν οὐκ ἔστιν εὐρεῖν² ἄνθρωπον, ὅστις

¹ αἶνον CS, αἰώνιον A; Lightfoot thinks that the original text was αἶνον αἰώνιον (everlasting praise).

² Lightfoot emends εὐρεῖν to εὐημερεῖν (to prosper), but even so the Greek is very obscure and probably there is a primitive corruption, perhaps the omission of a whole line.

II. CLEMENT, IX. 3-X. 3

must therefore guard the flesh as a temple of God, 4. for as you were called in the flesh, you shall also come in the flesh. 5. If Christ, the Lord who saved us, though he was originally spirit, became flesh and so called us, so also we shall receive our reward in this flesh. 6. Let us then love one another, that we may all attain to the kingdom of God.

7. While we have opportunity to be healed let us give ourselves to God, who heals us, giving him his recompense. 8. What recompense? Repentance from a sincere heart. 9. For he has knowledge of all things beforehand, and knows the things in our hearts. 10. Let us then give him praise, not only with our mouth, but also from our heart, that he may receive us as sons. 11. For the Lord said "My brethren are these who do the will of my Father." Call to repentance

X

1. WHEREFORE, my brethren, let us do the will of the father who called us, that we may live, and let us rather follow after virtue, but give up vice as the forerunner of our sins, and let us flee from ungodliness lest evil overtake us. 2. For, if we are zealous to do good, peace will follow after us. 3. For this cause it is not possible for a man to find it,¹ when they bring in human fears, and prefer the pleasures Exhortation to godliness and warning against vice

¹ i.e. peace.

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παράγουσι φόβους ἀνθρωπίνους, προηρημένοι μᾶλλον τὴν ἐνθάδε ἀπόλαυσιν ἢ τὴν μέλλουσαν ἐπαγγελίαν. 4. ἀγνοοῦσιν γὰρ ἡλικίην ἔχει βάσανον ἢ ἐνθάδε ἀπόλαυσις, καὶ οἷαν τρυφὴν ἔχει ἢ μέλλουσα ἐπαγγελία. 5. καὶ εἰ μὲν αὐτοὶ μόνοι ταῦτα ἔπρασσον, ἀνεκτὸν ἦν· νῦν δὲ ἐπιμένουσιν κακοδιδασκαλοῦντες τὰς ἀναιτίους ψυχάς, οὐκ εἰδότες, ὅτι δισσήν ἔξουσιν τὴν κρίσιν, αὐτοὶ τε καὶ οἱ ἀκούοντες αὐτῶν.

XI

1. Ἡμεῖς οὖν ἐν καθαρᾷ καρδίᾳ δουλεύσωμεν τῷ θεῷ, καὶ ἐσόμεθα δίκαιοι· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ δουλεύσωμεν διὰ τὸ μὴ πιστεύειν ἡμᾶς τῇ ἐπαγγελίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ, ταλαίπωροι ἐσόμεθα. 2. λέγει γὰρ καὶ ὁ προφητικὸς λόγος· Ταλαίπωροί εἰσιν οἱ δίψυχοι, οἱ διστάζοντες τῇ καρδίᾳ, οἱ λέγοντες· Ταῦτα πάλαι¹ ἠκούσαμεν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἡμέραν ἐξ ἡμέρας προσδεχόμενοι οὐδὲν τούτων ἐωράκαμεν. 3. ἀνόητοι, συμβάλετε ἑαυτοὺς ξύλω· λάβετε ἄμπελον· πρῶτον μὲν φυλλοροεῖ, εἶτα βλαστὸς γίνεται, μετὰ ταῦτα ὄμφαξ, εἶτα σταφυλὴ παρεστηκυῖα. 4. οὕτως καὶ ὁ λαὸς μου ἀκαταστασίας καὶ θλίψεις ἔσχεν· ἔπειτα ἀπολήψεται τὰ ἀγαθὰ. 5. ὥστε, ἀδελφοί μου, μὴ διψυχῶμεν, ἀλλὰ ἐλπίσαντες ὑπομείνωμεν, ἵνα καὶ τὸν μισθὸν κομισώμεθα. 6. πιστὸς γάρ ἐστιν ὁ ἐπαγγειλάμενος τὰς ἀντιμισθίας ἀποδιδόναι ἐκάστῳ τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ. 7. ἐὰν οὖν

of. 1 Clement
28, 9. 4

Heb. 10, 28

¹ πάλαι CS, πάντα A.

II. CLEMENT, x. 3-xi. 7

of the present to the promises of the future. 4. For they do not know how great torment the pleasures of the present entail, and what is the joy of the promised future. 5. And if they did these things by themselves it could be endured, but, as it is, they are continuing in teaching evil to innocent souls, and do not know that they will incur a double judgment, both themselves and their hearers.

XI

1. LET us then serve God with a pure heart, and we shall be righteous, but if we do not serve him, because we do not believe the promise of God, we shall be miserable. 2. For the prophetic word also says:—"Miserable are the double-minded that doubt in their heart, who say, These things we heard long ago and in the time of our fathers, but we have waited from day to day, and have seen none of them. 3. O foolish men! compare yourselves to a tree; take a vine; first it sheds its leaves, then there comes a bud, after this the unripe grape, then the full bunch. 4. So also my people has had tumults and afflictions; afterwards it shall receive the good things."¹ 5. Therefore, my brethren, let us not be double-minded, but let us be patient in hope, that we may also receive the reward. 6. "For he is faithful who promised" to pay to each man the recompense of his deeds. 7. If then we do righteousness before

Warning
against
doubt

¹ The additional clause at the end of this quotation seems to show that it is not derived from I. Clement, but directly from the "prophetic word," cf. note on p. 51.

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

1 Cor. 2, 9 *ποιήσωμεν τὴν δικαιοσύνην ἐναντίον τοῦ θεοῦ, εἰσήξομεν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ καὶ ληψόμεθα τὰς ἐπαγγελίας, ἃς οὐς οὐκ ἤκουσεν οὐδὲ ὄφθαλμὸς εἶδεν, οὐδὲ ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου ἀνέβη.*

XII

1. Ἐκδεχόμεθα οὖν καθ' ὥραν τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν ἀγάπῃ καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ, ἐπειδὴ οὐκ οἶδαμεν τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς ἐπιφανείας τοῦ θεοῦ. 2. ἐπερωτηθεὶς γὰρ αὐτὸς ὁ κύριος ὑπὸ τινος, πότε ἤξει αὐτοῦ ἡ βασιλεία, εἶπεν· "Ὅταν ἔσται τὰ δύο ἔν, καὶ τὸ ἔξω ὡς τὸ ἔσω, καὶ τὸ ἄρσεν μετὰ τῆς θηλείας οὔτε ἄρσεν οὔτε θῆλυ. 3. τὰ δύο δὲ ἔν ἐστίν, ὅταν λαλῶμεν ἑαυτοῖς ἀλήθειαν καὶ ἐν δυσὶ σώμασιν ἀνυποκρίτως εἶη μία ψυχὴ. 4. καὶ τὸ ἔξω ὡς τὸ ἔσω, τοῦτο λέγει· τὴν ψυχὴν λέγει τὸ ἔσω, τὸ δὲ ἔξω τὸ σῶμα λέγει. ἐν τρόπῳ οὖν σου τὸ σῶμα φαίνεται, οὕτως καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ σου δῆλος ἔστω ἐν τοῖς καλοῖς ἔργοις. 5. καὶ τὸ ἄρσεν μετὰ τῆς θηλείας, οὔτε ἄρσεν οὔτε θῆλυ, τοῦτο¹ λέγει· ἵνα ἀδελφὸς ἰδὼν ἀδελφὴν οὐδὲν² φρονῆ περι

Ev.
Aegypt. (?)

¹ From this point A is wanting.

² μηδέν seems required by the grammar of the sentence, but οὐδέν is probably a solecism of the writer rather than a corruption of the text.

II. CLEMENT, XI. 7-XII. 5

God we shall enter into his kingdom, and shall receive the promises "which ear hath not heard, nor hath eye seen, neither hath it entered into the heart of man."

XII

1. LET us then wait for the kingdom of God, from hour to hour, in love and righteousness, seeing that we know not the day of the appearing of God. 2. For when the Lord himself was asked by someone when his kingdom would come, he said: "When the two shall be one, and the outside as the inside, and the male with the female neither male nor female."¹ 3. Now "the two are one" when we speak with one another in truth, and there is but one soul in two bodies without dissimulation. 4. And by "the outside as the inside" he means this, that the inside is the soul, and the outside is the body. Therefore, just as your body is visible, so let your soul be apparent in your good works. 5. And by "the male with the female neither male nor female" he means this, that when a brother sees a sister he should have no

Interpreta-
tion of a
Saying of
the Lord

¹ The same saying, or very nearly so, is quoted from Cassianus by Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* iii. 13), and the latter states that it is from the Gospel of the Egyptians. But the whole question has been complicated by the discovery of Grenfell and Hunt's "Lost Gospel" (*Oxyrhynchus papyri*, vol. iv. pp. 22 ff.), which seems to refer to a similar saying, and the problem of the mutual relations between these documents is still unsolved.

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αὐτῆς θηλυκόν, μηδὲ φρονῆ τι περὶ αὐτοῦ ἀρσεικόν. 6. ταῦτα ὑμῶν ποιούντων, φησὶν, ἐλεύσεται ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ πατρὸς μου.

XIII

1. Ἀδελφοὶ οὖν, ἤδη ποτὲ μετανοήσωμεν, νήψωμεν ἐπὶ τὸ ἀγαθόν· μεστοὶ γάρ ἐσμεν πολλῆς ἀνοίας καὶ πονηρίας. ἐξαλείψωμεν ἀφ' ἡμῶν τὰ πρότερα ἀμαρτήματα καὶ μετανοήσαντες ἐκ ψυχῆς σωθῶμεν, καὶ μὴ γινώμεθα ἀνθρωπάρεσκοι μηδὲ θέλωμεν μόνον ἑαυτοῖς ἀρέσκειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἔξω ἀνθρώποις ἐπὶ τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ, ἵνα τὸ ὄνομα δι' ἡμᾶς μὴ βλασφημῆται. 2. λέγει γὰρ ὁ κύριος· Διὰ παντὸς τὸ ὄνομά μου βλασφημεῖται ἐν πάσιν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, καὶ πάλιν· Οὐαὶ δι' ὃν βλασφημεῖται τὸ ὄνομά μου. ἐν τίνι βλασφημεῖται; ἐν τῷ μὴ ποιεῖν ὑμᾶς ἃ βούλομαι. 3. τὰ ἔθνη γὰρ ἀκούοντα ἐκ τοῦ στόματος ἡμῶν τὰ λόγια τοῦ θεοῦ ὡς καλὰ καὶ μεγάλα θαυμάζει· ἔπειτα καταμαθόντα τὰ ἔργα ἡμῶν ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἄξια τῶν ῥημάτων ὧν λέγομεν, ἔνθεν εἰς βλασφημίαν τρέπονται, λέγοντες εἶναι μῦθόν τινα καὶ πλάνην. 4. ὅταν γὰρ ἀκούσωσιν παρ' ἡμῶν, ὅτι λέγει ὁ θεός· Οὐ χάρις ὑμῖν, εἰ ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας ὑμᾶς, ἀλλὰ χάρις ὑμῖν, εἰ ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς καὶ τοὺς μισοῦντας ὑμᾶς· ταῦτα ὅταν ἀκούσωσιν, θαυ-

Is. 52, 5

?

Luke 6, 32.
35

II. CLEMENT, XII. 5-XIII. 4

thought of her as female, nor she of him as male.¹
6. When you do this, he says, the kingdom of my Father will come.

XIII

1. THEREFORE, brethren, let us at last repent The need for repentance forthwith, and be sober for our good, for we are full of much folly and wickedness; let us wipe off from ourselves our former sins, and let us gain salvation by repenting with all our souls. Let us not be men-pleasers, and let us wish to please by our righteousness not ourselves alone, but also those who are without, that the name be not blasphemed on our account. The impression made on "those without" 2. For the Lord says, "Every way is my name blasphemed among all the heathen," and again, "Woe unto him on whose account my name is blasphemed."² Wherein is it blasphemed? 3. In that you do not do what I desire. For when the heathen hear from our mouth the oracles of God, they wonder at their beauty and greatness; afterwards, when they find out that our deeds are unworthy of the words which we speak, they turn from their wonder to blasphemy, saying that it is a myth and delusion. 4. For when they hear from us that God says: "It is no credit to you, if ye love them that love you, but it is a credit to you, if ye love your enemies, and those that hate you";—when they hear this they wonder at this extra-

¹ Or, if *αὐτοῦ* be read instead of *αὐτῶν*, "nor have any thought of himself as male."

² The source of this quotation is unknown.

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μάζουσιν τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς ἀγαθότητος· ὅταν δὲ ἴδωσιν, ὅτι οὐ μόνον τοὺς μισούντας οὐκ ἀγαπῶμεν, ἀλλ' ὅτι οὐδὲ τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας, καταγελώσιν ἡμῶν, καὶ βλασφημεῖται τὸ ὄνομα.

XIV

“Ὡστε, ἀδελφοί, ποιῶντες τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν θεοῦ ἐσόμεθα ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς πρώτης, τῆς πνευματικῆς, τῆς πρὸ ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης ἐκτισμένης. εἰ δὲ μὴ ποιήσωμεν τὸ θέλημα κυρίου, ἐσόμεθα ἐκ τῆς γραφῆς τῆς λεγούσης· Ἐγενήθη ὁ οἶκός μου σπήλαιον ληστῶν. ὥστε οὖν αἰρετισώμεθα ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς ζωῆς εἶναι, ἵνα σωθῶμεν. 2. οὐκ οἶομαι δὲ ὑμᾶς ἀγνοεῖν, ὅτι ἐκκλησία ζῶσα σῶμά ἐστιν Χριστοῦ· λέγει γὰρ ἡ γραφή· Ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἄρσεν καὶ θήλυ· τὸ ἄρσεν ἐστὶν ὁ Χριστός, τὸ θήλυ ἡ ἐκκλησία· καὶ ἔτι¹ τὰ βιβλία καὶ οἱ ἀπόστολοι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν οὐ νῦν εἶναι λέγουσιν² ἀλλὰ ἄνωθεν. ἦν γὰρ πνευματικὴ, ὡς καὶ ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἡμῶν, ἐφανερώθη δὲ ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν, ἵνα ἡμᾶς σώσῃ. 3. ἡ ἐκκλησία δὲ πνευματικὴ οὐσα ἐφανερώθη ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ Χριστοῦ, δηλοῦσα ἡμῖν, ὅτι εἰ τις ἡμῶν τηρήσῃ αὐτὴν ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ καὶ μὴ φθείρῃ, ἀπολήψεται αὐτὴν ἐν τῷ πνεύματι τῷ

Jer. 7, 11 ;
Mt. 21, 13

Eph. 1, 22.

Gen. 1, 27

I Pet. 1, 20

¹ ἔτι C, “and moreover” (ἔτι) S.

² λέγουσι om. C. Some such word is necessary to the grammar of the sentence, and is implied by S, but whether it was λέγουσι or φασί, and its exact place in the sentence is of course uncertain. S also adds “of the prophets” after “the books.”

II. CLEMENT, XIII. 4—XIV. 3

ordinary goodness; but when they see that we not only do not love those that hate us, but not even those who love us, they laugh us to scorn, and the name is blasphemed.

XIV

1. Thus, brethren, if we do the will of our Father, The pre-existent Church God, we shall belong to the first Church, the spiritual one which was created before the sun and moon; but if we do not the will of the Lord, we shall fall under the scripture, which says, "My house became a den of brigands." Therefore let us choose to belong to the Church of life, that we may win salvation. 2. Now I imagine that you are not ignorant that the living "Church is the body of Christ." For the scripture says, "God made man male and female"; the male is Christ, the female is the Church. And moreover the books and the Apostles declare that the Church belongs not to the present, but has existed from the beginning; for she was spiritual, as was also our Jesus, but he was made manifest in the last days that he might save us;¹ 3. and the Church, which is spiritual, was made manifest in the flesh of Christ, showing us that if any of us guard her in the flesh without corruption, he shall receive her back again in the Holy Spirit.

¹ The translation "she was made . . . that she might save us" is grammatically more probable, but seems to be excluded both by the context and by the history of doctrine.

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ἀγίῳ· ἡ γὰρ σὰρξ αὕτη ἀντίτυπός ἐστιν τοῦ πνεύματος· οὐδεὶς οὖν τὸ ἀντίτυπον φθείρας τὸ αὐθεντικὸν μεταλήψεται. ἄρα οὖν τοῦτο λέγει, ἀδελφοί· τηρήσατε τὴν σάρκα, ἵνα τοῦ πνεύματος μεταλάβητε. 4. εἰ δὲ λέγομεν εἶναι τὴν σάρκα τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα Χριστόν, ἄρα οὖν ὁ ὑβρίσας τὴν σάρκα ὑβρίσεν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. ὁ τοιοῦτος οὖν οὐ μεταλήψεται τοῦ πνεύματος, ὃ ἐστὶν ὁ Χριστός. 5. τοσαύτην δύναται ἡ σὰρξ αὕτη μεταλαβεῖν ζωὴν καὶ ἀφθαρσίαν κολληθέντος αὐτῇ τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ ἀγίου, οὔτε ἐξαιρεῖν τις δύναται οὔτε λαλῆσαι ἢ ἠτοίμασεν ὁ κύριος τοῖς ἐκλεκτοῖς αὐτοῦ.

1 Cor. 2, 9

XV

1. Οὐκ οἶομαι δέ, ὅτι μικρὰν συμβουλίαν ἐποίησάμην περὶ ἐγκρατείας, ἣν ποιήσας τις οὐ μετανοήσει, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἑαυτὸν σώσει καὶ τὸν συμβουλευσάντα. μισθὸς γὰρ οὐκ ἐστὶν μικρὸς πλανωμένην ψυχὴν καὶ ἀπολλυμένην ἀποστρέψαι εἰς τὸ σωθῆναι. 2. ταύτην γὰρ ἔχομεν τὴν ἀντιμισθίαν ἀποδοῦναι τῷ θεῷ τῷ κτίσαντι ἡμᾶς, ἐὰν ὁ λέγων καὶ ἀκούων μετὰ πίστεως καὶ ἀγάπης καὶ λέγῃ καὶ ἀκούῃ. 3. ἐμμείνωμεν οὖν ἐφ' οἷς ἐπιστεῦσαμεν δίκαιοι καὶ ὅσιοι, ἵνα μετὰ παρρησίας αἰτῶμεν τὸν θεὸν τὸν λέγοντα· Ἐπι λαλοῦντός σου ἔρῳ· ἰδοὺ πάρεμι. 4. τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ ῥῆμα μεγάλης ἐστὶν ἐπαγγελίας σημεῖον· ἐτοιμότερον γὰρ ἑαυτὸν λέγει ὁ κύριος εἰς τὸ διδόναι τοῦ αἰτοῦντος. 5. τοσαύτης οὖν χρηστότητος μεταλαμβάνοντες μὴ φθονήσωμεν ἑαυτοῖς τυχεῖν

II. CLEMENT, xiv. 3-xv. 5

For this flesh is an anti-type of the Spirit ; no one therefore who has corrupted the anti-type shall receive the reality. So, then, he means this, brethren : Guard the flesh, that you may receive the Spirit. The Flesh and the Spirit

4. Now if we say that the flesh is the Church, and the Spirit is Christ, of course he who has abused the flesh, has abused the Church. Such a one therefore will not receive the Spirit, which is Christ.

5. So great a gift of life and immortality has this flesh the power to receive, if the Holy Spirit be joined to it, nor can any man express or speak of the things "which the Lord hath prepared" for his elect.

XV

1. Now I think that I have given no mean advice concerning self-control, and if any man follow it, he shall have no regret, but shall save both himself and me his counsellor ; for it is no small reward to turn to salvation a soul that is wandering and perishing. Exhortation to holiness and prayer

2. For this is the recompense which we can pay to God, who created us, if he who speaks and hears both speak and hear with faith and love. 3. Let us then remain righteous and holy in our faith, that we may pray with confidence to God, who says, "While thou art speaking I will say, Behold here am I."

4. For this saying is the sign of a great promise ; for the Lord says that he is more ready to give than we to ask. 5. Let us then accept such great goodness, and not grudge ourselves the gaining of such benefits,

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τοσούτων ἀγαθῶν. ὅσην γὰρ ἡδονὴν ἔχει τὰ
ῥήματα ταῦτα τοῖς ποιήσασιν αὐτά, τοσαύτην
κατάκρισιν ἔχει τοῖς παρακούσασιν.

XVI

1. Ὡστε, ἀδελφοί, ἀφορμὴν λαβόντες οὐ μικρὰν
εἰς τὸ μετανοῆσαι, καιρὸν ἔχοντες ἐπιστρέψωμεν
ἐπὶ τὸν καλέσαντα ἡμᾶς θεόν, ἕως ἔτι ἔχομεν τὸν
παραδεχόμενον ἡμᾶς. 2. ἐὰν γὰρ ταῖς ἡδυπαθείαις
ταύταις ἀποταξώμεθα καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἡμῶν
νικήσωμεν ἐν τῷ μὴ ποιεῖν τὰς ἐπιθυμίας αὐτῆς
τὰς πονηράς, μεταληψώμεθα τοῦ ἐλέους Ἰησοῦ.

Malachi. 4, 1

Is. 34, 4

3. γινώσκετε δέ, ὅτι ἔρχεται ἤδη ἡ ἡμέρα τῆς
κρίσεως ὡς κλίβανος καιόμενος, καὶ τακῆσονται
τινες¹ τῶν οὐρανῶν καὶ πᾶσα ἡ γῆ ὡς μόλιβος
ἐπὶ πυρὶ τηκόμενος· καὶ τότε φανήσεται τὰ κρύφια
καὶ φανερὰ ἔργα τῶν ἀνθρώπων. 4. καλὸν οὖν
ἐλεημοσύνη ὡς μετάνοια ἀμαρτίας· κρείσσω
νηστεία προσευχῆς, ἐλεημοσύνη δὲ ἀμφοτέρων·
ἀγάπη δὲ καλύπτει πλῆθος ἀμαρτιῶν, προσευχὴ
δὲ ἐκ καλῆς συνειδήσεως ἐκ θανάτου ῥύεται.
μακάριος πᾶς ὁ εὐρεθεὶς ἐν τούτοις πλήρης·
ἐλεημοσύνη γὰρ κούφισμα ἀμαρτίας γίνεται.

I Pet. 4, 8

¹ Lightfoot conjectures *δυνάμεις*, which is found in the LXX text of Is. xxxiv. 4, to which the writer is alluding.

II. CLEMENT, xv. 5-xvi. 4

for as great joy as these words offer to those who do them so severe a condemnation do they threaten to the disobedient.

XVI

1. SEEING therefore, brethren, that we have received no small opportunity for repentance; let us, now that we have time, turn to the God who calls us, while we still have one who awaits us. 2. For if we bid farewell to these enjoyments, and conquer our soul, by giving up its wicked lusts, we shall share in the mercy of Jesus. 3. But you know that "the day" of judgment is already "approaching as a burning oven, and some¹ of the heavens shall melt," and the whole earth shall be as lead melting in the fire, and then shall be made manifest the secret and open deeds of men. 4. Almsgiving is therefore good even as penitence for sin; fasting is better than prayer, but the giving of alms is better than both; and love "covers a multitude of sins," but prayer from a good conscience rescues from death. Blessed is every man who is found full of these things; for almsgiving lightens sin.

The profit of
repentance

The danger
of the
Judgment

Almsgiving

¹ Possibly the text is corrupt: Lightfoot's conjecture would be translated, "the powers of heaven," but the text may be defended as a reference to the early Christian belief in seven concentric heavens surrounding the Earth.

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XVII

1. Μετανοήσωμεν οὖν ἐξ ὅλης καρδίας, ἵνα μὴ τις ἡμῶν παραπόληται. εἰ γὰρ ἐντολὰς ἔχομεν ἵνα καὶ τοῦτο πράσσωμεν, ἀπὸ τῶν εἰδώλων ἀποσπᾶν καὶ κατηχεῖν, πόσῳ μᾶλλον ψυχὴν ἤδη γινώσκουσαν τὸν θεὸν οὐ δεῖ ἀπόλλυσθαι; 2 συλλάβωμεν οὖν ἑαυτοῖς καὶ τοὺς ἀσθενοῦντας ἀνάγειν περὶ¹ τὸ ἀγαθόν, ὅπως σωθῶμεν ἅπαντες καὶ ἐπιστρέψωμεν ἀλλήλους καὶ νουθετήσωμεν. 3. καὶ μὴ μόνον ἄρτι δοκῶμεν πιστεύειν καὶ προσέχειν ἐν τῷ νουθετεῖσθαι ἡμᾶς ὑπὸ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅταν εἰς οἶκον ἀπαλλαγῶμεν,² μνημονεύωμεν τῶν τοῦ κυρίου ἐνταλμάτων καὶ μὴ ἀντιπαρελκώμεθα ἀπὸ τῶν κοσμικῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν, ἀλλὰ πυκνότερον προσερχόμενοι πειρώμεθα προκόπτειν ἐν ταῖς ἐντολαῖς τοῦ κυρίου, ἵνα πάντες τὸ αὐτὸ φρουοῦντες συνηγμένοι ὦμεν ἐπὶ τὴν ζωὴν. 4. εἶπεν γὰρ ὁ κύριος. "Ἐρχομαι συναγαγεῖν πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, φυλὰς καὶ γλώσσας· τοῦτο δὲ λέγει τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς ἐπιφανείας αὐτοῦ, ὅτε ἐλθὼν λυτρώσεται ἡμᾶς, ἕκαστον κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ. 5. καὶ ὄψονται τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ κράτος οἱ ἄπιστοι, καὶ ξενισθήσονται ἰδόντες τὸ βασίλειον τοῦ κόσμου ἐν τῷ Ἰησοῦ, λέγοντες· Οὐαὶ ἡμῖν, ὅτι σὺ ἦς, καὶ οὐκ ᾔδειμεν καὶ οὐκ ἐπιστευόμεν καὶ οὐκ ἐπειθόμεθα τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις τοῖς ἀναγγέλλουσιν ἡμῖν περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας ἡμῶν. καὶ ὁ σκώληξ αὐτῶν οὐ τελευτήσει καὶ τὸ πῦρ αὐτῶν οὐ σβεσθήσεται, καὶ ἔσονται εἰς ὄρασιν

Rom. 12, 16 ;
cf. Phil. 2, 2
Is. 66, 18

Is. 66, 24

Is. 66, 24

¹ S perhaps implies *πρός* "bring back to goodness."

² S adds "and have ceased from all."

II. CLEMENT, xvii. 1-xvii. 5

XVII

1. LET us then repent with our whole heart, that none of us perish by the way. For if we have commandments to do this also, to tear men away from idols and to instruct them, how much more is it our duty to save from perishing a soul that already knows God? 2. Let us then help one another, and bring back those that are weak in goodness, that we may all be saved, and convert and exhort one another. 3. And let us not merely seem to believe and pay attention now, while we are being exhorted by the Elders, but also when we have gone home let us remember the commandments of the Lord, and let us not be dragged aside by worldly lusts, but let us try to come here more frequently, and to make progress in the commands of the Lord; that we may "all have the same mind" and be gathered together unto life. 4. For the Lord said: "I come to gather together all the nations, tribes, and languages." Now by this he means the day of his appearing, when he will come and ransom each of us according to his works. 5. And the unbelievers "shall see his glory" and might, and they shall be amazed when they see the sovereignty of the world given to Jesus and shall say: Woe unto us, that it was thou, and we knew it not, and did not believe, and were not obedient to the Elders, when they told us of our salvation. "And their worm shall not die and their fire shall not be quenched, and they shall be a

Exhortation
to repent-
ance

Not merely
during the
exhortation
of the
Elders

Warning
of the
Judgment

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πάση σαρκί. 6. τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην λέγει τῆς κρίσεως, ὅταν ὄψονται τοὺς ἐν ἡμῖν ἀσεβήσαντας καὶ παραλογισαμένους τὰς ἐντολὰς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. 7. οἱ δὲ δίκαιοι εὐπραγήσαντες καὶ ὑπομείναντες τὰς βασάνους καὶ μισήσαντες τὰς ἡδυπαθείας τῆς ψυχῆς, ὅταν θεάσωνται τοὺς ἀστοχήσαντας καὶ ἀρνησαμένους διὰ τῶν λόγων ἢ διὰ τῶν ἔργων τὸν Ἰησοῦν, ὅπως κολάζονται δειναῖς βασάνοις πυρὶ ἀσβέστῳ, ἔσονται δόξαν διδόντες τῷ θεῷ αὐτῶν λέγοντες, ὅτι ἔσται ἐλπίς τῷ δεδουλευκότι θεῷ ἐξ ὅλης καρδίας.

Αποκ. 11, 13

XVIII

1. Καὶ ἡμεῖς οὖν γενώμεθα ἐκ τῶν εὐχαριστοῦντων, δεδουλευκότων τῷ θεῷ, καὶ μὴ ἐκ τῶν κρινομένων ἀσεβῶν. 2. καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς πανθαμαρτωλὸς ὢν καὶ μήπω φυγὼν τὸν πειρασμόν, ἀλλ' ἔτι ὢν ἐν μέσοις τοῖς ὀργάνοις τοῦ διαβόλου σπουδάζω τὴν δικαιοσύνην διώκειν, ὅπως ἰσχύσω καὶ ἐγγὺς αὐτῆς γενέσθαι, φοβούμενος τὴν κρίσιν τὴν μέλλουσαν.

XIX

1. Ὡστε, ἀδελφοὶ καὶ ἀδελφαί, μετὰ τὸν θεὸν τῆς ἀληθείας ἀναγινώσκω ὑμῖν ἐντευξίν εἰς τὸ προσέχειν τοῖς γεγραμμένοις, ἵνα καὶ ἑαυτοὺς σώσητε καὶ τὸν ἀναγινώσκοντα ἐν ὑμῖν. μισθὸν γὰρ αὐτῷ ὑμᾶς τὸ μετανοῆσαι ἐξ ὅλης καρδίας, σωτηρίαν ἑαυτοῖς καὶ ζωὴν διδόντας. τοῦτο γὰρ ποιήσαντες σκοπὸν πᾶσιν τοῖς νέοις θήσομεν, τοῖς

II. CLEMENT, xvii. 5-xix. 1

spectacle to all flesh." 6. He means that day of judgment, when they shall see those who were ungodly among us and perverted the commandments of Jesus Christ. 7. But the righteous who have done good, and have endured torture, and have hated the indulgences of the soul, when they see how those who have done amiss, and denied Jesus by word or deed, are punished with terrible torture in unquenchable fire, shall give "glory to their God," saying, There shall be hope for him who has served God with all his heart.

XVIII

1. LET us then also belong to them who give thanks, who have served God, and not to the ungodly who are judged. 2. For I myself too am altogether sinful, and I have not yet escaped temptation, but I am still in the midst of the devices of the devil, yet I am striving to follow after righteousness, that I may have the strength at least to draw near to it, in fear of the judgment to come.

XIX

1. THEREFORE, brothers and sisters, following the God of truth, I am reading you an exhortation to pay attention to that which is written, that you may both save yourselves and him who is the reader¹ among you. For as a reward I beg of you that you repent with all your heart, and give to yourselves salvation and life. For if we do this we shall set a mark for all the

¹ It is probable though not quite certain that this refers to a definite order of "Readers" in the Church.

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Eph. 4, 18

βουλομένοις περί τὴν εὐσέβειαν καὶ τὴν χρηστότητα τοῦ θεοῦ φιλοπονεῖν. 2. καὶ μὴ ἀηδῶς ἔχωμεν καὶ ἀγανακτῶμεν οἱ ἄσοφοι, ὅταν τις ἡμᾶς νοηθεῖ καὶ ἐπιστρέφῃ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀδικίας εἰς τὴν δικαιοσύνην. ἐνίστε γὰρ πονηρὰ πράσσοντες οὐ γινώσκουμεν διὰ τὴν διψυχίαν καὶ ἀπιστίαν τὴν ἐνούσαν ἐν τοῖς στήθεσιν ἡμῶν, καὶ ἐσκοτίσμεθα τὴν διάνοιαν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν τῶν ματαίων. 3. πράξωμεν οὖν τὴν δικαιοσύνην, ἵνα εἰς τέλος σωθῶμεν. μακάριοι οἱ τούτοις ὑπακούοντες τοῖς προστάγμασιν· κἂν ὀλίγον χρόνον κακοπαθήσωσιν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ τούτῳ,¹ τὸν ἀθάνατον τῆς ἀναστάσεως καρπὸν τρυγήσουσιν. 4. μὴ οὖν λυπείσθω ὁ εὐσεβής, ἐὰν ἐπὶ τοῖς νῦν χρόνοις ταλαιπωρῆ· μακάριος αὐτὸν ἀναμένει χρόνος· ἐκεῖνος ἄνω μετὰ τῶν πατέρων ἀναβιώσας εὐφρανθήσεται εἰς τὸν ἀλύπητον αἰῶνα.

XX

1. Ἀλλὰ μὴδὲ ἐκεῖνο τὴν διάνοιαν ὑμῶν ταρασσέτω, ὅτι βλέπομεν τοὺς ἀδίκους πλουτοῦντας καὶ στενοχωρουμένους τοὺς τοῦ θεοῦ δούλους. 2. πιστεῦωμεν οὖν, ἀδελφοὶ καὶ ἀδελφαί· θεοῦ ζῶντος πείραν ἀθλούμεν καὶ γυμναζόμεθα τῷ νῦν βίῳ, ἵνα τῷ μέλλοντι στεφανωθῶμεν. 3. οὐδεὶς τῶν δικαίων ταχὺν καρπὸν ἔλαβεν, ἀλλ' ἐκδέχεται αὐτόν. 4. εἰ γὰρ τὸν μισθὸν τῶν δικαίων ὁ θεὸς συντόμως ἀπέδίδου, εὐθέως ἐμπορίαν ἤσκούμεν καὶ οὐ θεοσέβειαν ἐδοκούμεν γὰρ εἶναι δίκαιοι, οὐ τὸ εὐσεβές, ἀλλὰ τὸ κερδαλέον διώκοντες. καὶ

¹ τούτῳ σμ. S, in Lightfoot's opinion correctly.

II. CLEMENT, XIX. 1-XX. 4

younger, who wish to work in the cause of piety and the goodness of God. 2. And let us not be displeased or be vexed in our foolishness when any one admonishes us, and turns us from unrighteousness to righteousness. For sometimes when we do evil we do not know it because of the double-mindedness and unbelief which is in our breasts, and we are "darkened in our understanding" by vain desires. 3. Let us then do righteousness, that we may be saved at the end. Blessed are they who obey these instructions: though they suffer for a short time in this world, they shall gather the immortal fruit of the resurrection. 4. Let not, then, the pious grieve if he endure sorrow at this present time; a time of blessedness awaits him; he shall live again with the fathers above, and rejoice to an eternity wherein is no sorrow.

XX

1. But neither let it grieve your mind that we see the unrighteous enjoying wealth, and the servants of God oppressed. 2. Let us then have faith, brothers and sisters: we are contending in the contest of the living God, and we are being trained by the life which now is, that we may gain the crown in that which is to come. 3. None of the righteous has attained a reward quickly, but waits for it; 4. for if God should pay the recompense of the righteous speedily, we should immediately be training ourselves in commerce and not in godliness; for we should seem to be righteous when we were pursuing not

The prosperity of the righteous

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διὰ τοῦτο θεία κρίσις ἔβλαψεν πνεῦμα μὴ ὄν
δίκαιον, καὶ ἐβάρυνεν δεσμοῖς.

I Tim. 1. 17

5. Τῷ μόνῳ θεῷ ἀοράτῳ, πατρὶ τῆς ἀληθείας,
τῷ ἔξαποστείλαντι ἡμῖν τὸν σωτῆρα καὶ ἀρχηγὸν
τῆς ἀφθαρσίας, δι' οὗ καὶ ἐφανερώσεν ἡμῖν τὴν
ἀλήθειαν καὶ τὴν ἐπουράνιον ζωὴν, αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα
εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν.

Κλήμεντος πρὸς Κορινθίους ἐπιστολῆ β̄.

II. CLEMENT, xx. 4-xx. 5

piety but gain. For this reason divine judgment punishes¹ a spirit which is not righteous and loads it with chains.

5. To the only invisible God, the father of truth, *Doxology* who sent forth to us the Saviour and prince of immortality, through whom he also made manifest to us truth and the life of heaven, to him be the glory for ever and ever. Amen.

The Second Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians.

¹ This translation takes the aorist as gnomic, and regards "spirit" as meaning a human spirit. But Harnack prefers to take the aorist as historical and refers the passage to the fall of Satan.

THE EPISTLES OF IGNATIUS

THE EPISTLES OF IGNATIUS

THE epistles or letters of Ignatius are among the most famous documents of early Christianity, and have a curiously complicated literary history. Eusebius in *Historia Ecclesiastica* iii. 36 tells the story of Ignatius. He was the third bishop¹ of Antioch in Syria, and was condemned to be sent to Rome to be killed by the beasts in the amphitheatre. His journey took him through various churches in Asia Minor and while he was in Smyrna he wrote letters to Ephesus, Magnesia, Tralles, and Rome, and later on, when he reached Troas he wrote to the Philadelphians, Smyrnaeans, and Polycarp the bishop of Smyrna. In his *chronicon* Eusebius fixes the date of his martyrdom in Rome in the tenth year of Trajan, *i.e.* 108 A.D.

Modern critics are by no means unanimous as to the correctness of this date, but, though each has his own special preferences, there is a general tendency to think that Ignatius was really a martyr in Rome in the time of Trajan (98-117 A.D.)

The immediate purpose of each of the letters, except that to the Romans, is to thank the recipients for the kindness which they had shown to Ignatius. The "Romans" has the object of preventing the

¹ According to tradition Peter was the first and Euodius the second (Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* iii. 22).

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Christians at Rome from making any efforts to save Ignatius from the beasts in the arena, and so robbing him of the crown of martyrdom. But besides this immediate purpose the writer is influenced by three other motives, all or some of which can be traced in each letter.

(1) Ignatius is exceedingly anxious in each community to strengthen respect for the bishop and presbyters. He ascribes the fullest kind of divine authority to their organisation, and recognises as valid no church, institution, or worship without their sanction.

(2) He protests against the form of heresy called docetism (*δοκεῖν*), which regarded the sufferings, and in some cases the life, of Jesus as merely an appearance. He also protests against any tendency to Judaistic practices, but it is disputed whether he means that this was an evil found in docetic circles, or that it was a danger threatening the church from other directions.

(3) He is also anxious to secure the future of his own church in Antioch by persuading other communities to send helpers.

Of the letters of Ignatius there are extant three recensions.

1. *The long recension.*—The most widely found contains not only the seven letters of which Eusebius speaks, but also six others. In this collection the chronological scheme (not however followed in the MSS.) is:—

(1) *From Antioch.* A letter from a certain Mary of Cassobola (a neighbouring town) to Ignatius, and a letter from him in reply.

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(2) *From Smyrna.* Letters to Ephesus, Magnesia, Tralles, and Rome.

(3) *From Troas.* Letters to Philadelphia, Smyrna, and Polycarp.

(4) *From Philippi.* Letters to Tarsus, Antioch, and Hero (the successor of Ignatius as bishop of Antioch).

(5) *From Italy.* Letter to Philippi.

There is also an appendix in the Latin version of Grosseteste containing letters from and to S. John and the Virgin Mary.

2. *The short recension.*—It was early seen that the long recension contained several letters which were clearly not genuine, and that those which had the most claim to acceptance, as having been mentioned by Eusebius, were greatly corrupted by obvious interpolations. Fortunately the remnants of an early collection have been found which originally contained only the seven Eusebian letters.

The text of this recension is nowhere extant in a pure form. All the known MSS. of Ignatius (with the possible exception of the Berlin papyrus) which contain the seven Eusebian letters belong in some degree to the "Long recension," but this degree fortunately varies. Two classes of MSS. must be distinguished. (1) MSS. containing the additional epistles of the "Long recension," but preserving the uninterpolated text of the seven Eusebian letters. (2) MSS. containing the additional epistles and the interpolated text of the Eusebian letters. It is obvious that the second class are genuine MSS. of the "Long recension," and that the former class are MSS. of the "Short recension," copied from originals

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containing only the Eusebian letters, to which the copyist has supplied the additional material of the "Long recension" from some other original, but luckily without correcting the text of the seven letters from this second source. Having, therefore, the information of Eusebius to define the extent of the original collection of letters we can use this class of MSS. to determine its text.

3. *The Syriac abridgment.*—In 1845 Dr. Cureton discovered a Syriac text of a collection of three epistles, Ephesians, Romans, and Polycarp, and there was for a time a tendency to think that this might be the original text. Lightfoot however and others showed it to be merely an abridgment from a Syriac text of the short recension. It has therefore more or less disappeared from the field of study except as evidence for the text of the short recension, in the same way as the 'long recension' is only valuable for the light which the interpolations throw on the doctrinal development of Christianity, and in a few places as a help to reconstructing the true text where the short recension has been corrupted.

The history of the discovery of the text of the short recension is worth mentioning, though it is here only possible to give it in outline. In the early middle ages the long recension was generally current, and in the west this included the correspondence between Ignatius and the Virgin Mary and St. John. This last addition was soon rejected as a forgery, but until the time of Archbishop Ussher only the long recension was known, though its genuineness was often doubted. In 1644 Ussher published an edition of Ignatius in which he restored

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the text of the short recension by the aid of a Latin version made in 1250 A.D. by Robert Grosseteste of Lincoln from a lost Greek original which belonged to the long recension but had the uninterpolated text of the Eusebian epistles. In 1646 Isaac Vossius published a Greek text of the same kind from *Cod. Medic. Laur.* lxii. 7 at Florence, which is however not complete, and omits the epistle to the Romans. This deficiency was supplied in 1689 by Ruinart in his *Acta Martyrum Sincera* from a Paris MS. (Paris Graec. 1451) of the 10th century.

In 1783 an Armenian version was published in Constantinople by Bishop Minas from five Armenian MSS., some of which are now extant, and this was reprinted and translated by Petermann in 1849. It is not a version made directly from the Greek, but from a lost Syriac version, of which however some fragments were published in 1849 in Cureton's *Corpus Ignatianum*, and some more by Lightfoot in his *Ignatius* (2nd edition) in 1889. In 1883 Ciasca, and in 1885 Lightfoot in his *Ignatius* (1st edition), published a Sahidic fragment containing part of the epistle to the Smyrnaeans, from MS. Borg. 248 in the Museo Nazionale at Naples. Finally, in 1910 a papyrus fragment of the 5th century (Berlin P. 10581) was published by C. Schmidt and W. Schubert in their *Altchristliche Texte* (*Berliner Klassikertexte*, heft vi.); this contains Smyrnaeans iii. 3-xii. 1. The text based on these sources may be regarded as fairly accurate, though it is probably by no means so good as that of I. Clement.

The symbols employed for referring to these MSS. and versions are as follows :—

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- G_1 = Codex Mediceus Laurentius lxii. 7 (the Vossian MS.).
 g = the text of the interpolated epistles i. e. the long recension.
 L = the Latin version of Grosseteste. (L^c = codex Caiensis, L^m = codex Montacutianus, known only from the collation of Ussher.)
 A = the Armenian version.
 S = the Syriac version ($S_{1,2,3,4}$ = the various fragments of the unabridged texts, Σ = Cureton's abridgment).
 C = the Sahidic version.
 B = the Berlin papyrus.

It is perhaps also desirable to note that Lightfoot and some other writers refer to the Syriac abridgment as the "short recension," and use the name of "middle recension" for the "short recension." The "Vossian epistles" is also a name sometimes used for the "short recension."

ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΙΓΝΑΤΙΟΥ ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΑΙ

ΠΡΟΣ ΕΦΕΣΙΟΥΣ ΙΓΝΑΤΙΟΣ

Ἰγνάτιος, ὁ καὶ Θεοφόρος, τῇ εὐλογημένη ἐν
μεγέθει θεοῦ πατρὸς πληρώματι, τῇ προω-
ρισμένη πρὸ αἰώνων εἶναι διὰ παντὸς εἰς
δόξαν παράμονον ἄτρεπτον, ἠνωμένη καὶ
ἐκλελεγμένη ἐν πάθει ἀληθινῶ, ἐν θελήματι
τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ
ἡμῶν, τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῇ ἀξιομακαρίστῳ, τῇ
οὔσῃ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ τῆς Ἀσίας, πλείστα ἐν
Ἰησοῦ Χριστῶ καὶ ἐν ἀμώμῳ χαρᾷ χαίρειν.

I

1. Ἀποδεξάμενος ἐν θεῷ τὸ πολυαγάπητόν σου
ὄνομα, ὃ κέκτησθε φύσει δικαία¹ κατὰ πίστιν καὶ
ἀγάπην ἐν Χριστῶ Ἰησοῦ, τῶ σωτῆρι ἡμῶν
μιμηταὶ ὄντες θεοῦ, ἀναζωπυρήσαντες ἐν αἵματι
θεοῦ τὸ συγγενικὸν ἔργον τελείως ἀπηρτίσατε·
2. ἀκούσαντες γὰρ δεδεμένον ἀπὸ Συρίας ὑπὲρ

¹ "Truly immaculate will," A(S).

THE EPISTLES OF SAINT IGNATIUS

I.—IGNATIUS TO THE EPHESIANS

IGNATIUS, who is also called Theophorus,¹ to Greeting the Church, worthy of all felicitation, which is at Ephesus in Asia,—blessed with greatness by the fulness of God the Father, predestined from eternity for abiding and unchangeable glory, united and chosen through true suffering by the will of the Father and Jesus Christ our God,—abundant greeting in Jesus Christ and in blameless joy.

I

1. I BECAME acquainted through God with your much beloved name, which you have obtained by your righteous nature, according to faith and love in Christ Jesus our Saviour. You are imitators of God, and, having kindled your brotherly² task by the blood of God, you completed it perfectly. 2. For when you

¹ i.e. "The God-bearer." In the 3rd century Acts of Ignatius the Emperor asks "And who is Theophorus?" and Ignatius replied "He who has Christ in his heart."

² Or "natural," "congenial," as Lightfoot suggests: the translation given is that of Zahn.

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τοῦ κοινοῦ ὀνόματος καὶ ἐλπίδος, ἐλπίζοντα τῇ προσευχῇ ὑμῶν ἐπιτυχεῖν ἐν Ῥώμῃ θηριομαχῆσαι, ἵνα διὰ τοῦ ἐπιτυχεῖν δυνηθῶ μαθητὴς εἶναι, ἰδεῖν ἐσπουδάσατε.¹ 3. ἐπεὶ οὖν τὴν πολυπλήθειαν ὑμῶν ἐν ὀνόματι θεοῦ ἀπέκληθα ἐν Ὀνησίμῳ, τῷ ἐν ἀγάπῃ ἀδιηγῆτό, ὑμῶν δὲ ἐπισκόπῳ,² ὃν εὐχομαι κατὰ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ὑμᾶς ἀγαπᾶν καὶ πάντα ὑμᾶς αὐτῷ ἐν ὁμοιότητι εἶναι. εὐλογητὸς γὰρ ὁ χαρισάμενος ὑμῖν ἀξίους οὐσι τοιοῦτον ἐπίσκοπον κεκτήσθαι.

II

1. Περὶ δὲ τοῦ συνδούλου μου Βούρρου, τοῦ κατὰ θεὸν διακόνου ὑμῶν ἐν πᾶσιν εὐλογημένου, εὐχομαι παραμεῖναι αὐτὸν εἰς τιμὴν ὑμῶν καὶ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου· καὶ Κρόκος δέ, ὁ θεοῦ ἄξιος καὶ ὑμῶν, ὃν ἐξεμπλᾶριον τῆς ἀφ' ὑμῶν ἀγάπης ἀπέλαβον, κατὰ πάντα με ἀνέπαυσεν, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ πατὴρ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀναψύξαι, ἅμα Ὀνησίμῳ καὶ Βούρρῳ καὶ Εὐπλῳ καὶ Φρόντωνι, δι' ὧν πάντα ὑμᾶς κατὰ ἀγάπην εἶδον. 2. ὀναίμην ὑμῶν διὰ παντός, ἐάνπερ ἄξιός ᾧ. πρέπον οὖν ἐστὶν κατὰ πάντα τρόπον δοξάζειν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τὸν δοξάσαντα ὑμᾶς, ἵνα ἐν μιᾷ ὑποταγῇ κατηγορησόμενοι, ὑποτασσόμενοι τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ, κατὰ πάντα ἢτε ἡγιασμένοι.

¹ ἰδεῖν ἐσπουδάσατε om. Gg, the text is restored from ALS, but Lightfoot prefers ἱστορήσαι to ἰδεῖν.

² ἐν σαρκὶ ἐπισκ. GL, "your bishop in the flesh."

IGNATIUS TO THE EPHESIANS, 1. 2-II. 2

heard that I had been sent a prisoner from Syria for the sake of our common name and hope, in the hope of obtaining by your prayers the privilege of fighting with beasts at Rome, that by so doing I might be enabled to be a true disciple, you hastened to see me. 3. Seeing then that I received in the name of God your whole congregation in the person of Onesimus, a man of inexpressible love and your bishop, I beseech you by Jesus Christ to love him, and all to resemble him. For blessed is he who granted you to be worthy to obtain such a bishop.

The bishop,
Onesimus

II

1. Now concerning my fellow servant, Burrhus, your deacon by the will of God, who is blessed in all things, I beg that he may stay longer, for your honour and for that of the bishop. And Crocus also, who is worthy of God and of you, whom I received as an example of your love, has relieved me in every way,—may the Father of Jesus Christ refresh him in like manner,—together with Onesimus and Burrhus and Euplus and Fronto, in whose persons I have seen you all in love. 2. May I ever have joy of you, if I be but worthy. It is, therefore, seemly in every way to glorify Jesus Christ, who has glorified you, that you may be joined together in one subjection, subject to the bishop and to the presbytery, and may in all things be sanctified.

Other
members
of the
Ephesian
church

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

III

1. Οὐ διατάσσομαι ὑμῖν ὡς ὦν τις. εἰ γὰρ καὶ δέδεμαι ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι, οὐπω ἀπήρτισμαι ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ· νῦν γὰρ ἀρχὴν ἔχω τοῦ μαθητεύεσθαι, καὶ προσλαλῶ ὑμῖν ὡς συνδιδασκαλίταις μου. ἐμὲ γὰρ ἔδει ὑφ' ὑμῶν ὑπαλειφθῆναι πίστει, νοουθεσίᾳ, ὑπομονῇ, μακροθυμίᾳ. 2. ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἡ ἀγάπη οὐκ ἔᾶ με σιωπᾶν περὶ ὑμῶν, διὰ τοῦτο προέλαβον παρακαλεῖν ὑμᾶς, ὅπως συντρέχητε τῇ γνώμῃ τοῦ θεοῦ. καὶ γὰρ Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, τὸ ἀδιάκριτον ἡμῶν ζῆν, τοῦ πατρὸς ἡ γνώμη, ὡς καὶ οἱ ἐπίσκοποι, οἱ κατὰ τὰ πέρατα ὀρισθέντες, ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ γνώμη εἰσίν.

IV

1. Ὅθεν πρέπει ὑμῖν συντρέχειν τῇ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου γνώμῃ, ὅπερ καὶ ποιεῖτε. τὸ γὰρ ἀξιονόμαστον ὑμῶν πρεσβυτέριον, τοῦ θεοῦ ἄξιον, οὕτως συνήρμωσται τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, ὡς χορδαὶ κιθάρα. διὰ τοῦτο ἐν τῇ ὁμονοίᾳ ὑμῶν καὶ συμφώνῳ ἀγάπῃ Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ἄδεται. 2. καὶ οἱ κατ' ἄνδρα δὲ χορὰς γίνεσθε, ἵνα σύμφωνοι ὄντες ἐν ὁμονοίᾳ, χρῶμα θεοῦ λαβόντες ἐν ἐνότητι, ἄδητε ἐν φωνῇ μιᾷ διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τῷ πατρί, ἵνα ὑμῶν καὶ ἀκούσῃ καὶ ἐπιγινώσκῃ, δι' ὧν εὖ πράσσετε, μέλη

IGNATIUS TO THE EPHESIANS, III. 1-IV. 2

III

1. I do not give you commands as if I were some one great, for though I am a prisoner for the Name, I am not yet perfect in Jesus Christ; for now I do but begin to be a disciple, and I speak to you as to my fellow learners. For I needed to be prepared¹ by you in faith, exhortation, endurance, long-suffering. 2. But since love does not suffer me to be silent concerning you, for this reason I have taken upon me to exhort you that you live² in harmony with the will of God. For Jesus Christ, our inseparable life, is the will of the Father, even as the bishops, who have been appointed throughout the world, are by the will of Jesus Christ.

Exhortation
to Unity

IV

1. THEREFORE it is fitting that you should live in harmony with the will of the bishop, as indeed you do. For your justly famous presbytery, worthy of God, is attuned to the bishop as the strings to a harp. Therefore by your concord and harmonious love Jesus Christ is being sung. 2. Now do each of you join in this choir, that being harmoniously in concord you may receive the key³ of God in unison, and sing with one voice through Jesus Christ to the Father, that he may both hear you and may recognise, through your good works, that you are

Obedience
to the
Bishop

¹ Literally "anointed." The allusion is to the preparation of a gymnast or gladiator.

² Literally "run."

³ i.e. in the musical sense of the word.

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

ὄντας τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ. χρήσιμον οὖν ἐστὶν ὑμᾶς ἐν ἀμώμῳ ἐνότητι εἶναι, ἵνα καὶ θεοῦ πάντοτε μετέχητε.

V

1. Εἰ γὰρ ἐγὼ ἐν μικρῷ χρόνῳ τοιαύτην συνήθειαν ἔσχον πρὸς τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ὑμῶν, οὐκ ἀνθρωπίνην οὖσαν, ἀλλὰ πνευματικὴν, πόσῳ μᾶλλον ὑμᾶς μακαρίζω τοὺς ἐγκεκραμένους¹ οὕτως, ὡς ἡ ἐκκλησία Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ, καὶ ὡς Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς τῷ πατρὶ, ἵνα πάντα ἐν ἐνότητι σύμφωνα ᾗ; 2. μηδεὶς πλανάσθω· ἐὰν μή τις ἦ ἐντὸς τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου, ὑστερεῖται τοῦ ἄρτου τοῦ θεοῦ. εἰ γὰρ ἐνὸς καὶ δευτέρου προσευχῆ τοσαύτην ἰσχὺν ἔχει, πόσῳ μᾶλλον ἢ τε τοῦ ἐπισκόπου καὶ πάσης τῆς ἐκκλησίας; 3. ὁ οὖν μὴ ἐρχόμενος ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ οὗτος ἤδη ὑπερηφανεῖ καὶ ἑαυτὸν διέκρινεν. γέγραπται γάρ· Ὑπερηφάνοις ὁ θεὸς ἀντιτάσσεται, σπουδάσωμεν οὖν μὴ ἀντιτάσσεσθαι τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, ἵνα ὤμεν θεῷ² ὑποτασσόμενοι.

Joh. 6, 33

Prov. 3, 34;
James 4, 5;
I Pet. 5, 5

VI

1. Καὶ ὅσον βλέπει τις σιγῶντα ἐπίσκοπον, πλείονως αὐτὸν φοβείσθω· πάντα γάρ, ὃν πέμπει ὁ οἰκοδεσπότης εἰς ἰδίαν οἰκονομίαν, οὕτως δεῖ

¹ ἀνακεκραμένους g, which Lightfoot prefers.

² θεοῦ is found in G and Lightfoot prefers it for transcriptional probability, but θεῷ is supported by LS and some patristic quotations.

IGNATIUS TO THE EPHESIANS, IV. 2-VI. 1

members of his Son. It is therefore profitable for you to be in blameless unity, in order that you may always commune with God.

V

1. For if I in a short time gained such fellowship with your bishop as was not human but spiritual, how much more do I count you blessed who are so united with him as the Church is with Jesus Christ, and as Jesus Christ is with the Father, that all things may sound together in unison! 2. Let no man be deceived: unless a man be within the sanctuary he lacks the bread of God, for if the prayer of one or two has such might, how much more has that of the bishop and of the whole Church? 3. So then he who does not join in the common assembly, is already haughty, and has separated himself.¹ For it is written "God resisteth the proud:" let us then be careful not to oppose the bishop, that we may be subject to God.²

The necessity of subordination to the bishop

VI

1. AND the more anyone sees that the bishop is silent, the more let him fear him. For every one whom the master of the house sends to do his

The silence of the bishop

¹ There is a curious mixture of tenses in the Greek: Lightfoot takes the final aorist as gnomic: but it is possible that Ignatius is, at least in part, referring to some special instance.

² Or, with the alternative reading, "by our submission we may belong to God."

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

ἡμᾶς αὐτὸν δέχεσθαι, ὡς αὐτὸν τὸν πέμφαντα. τὸν οὖν ἐπίσκοπον δῆλον ὅτι ὡς αὐτὸν κύριον δεῖ προσβλέπειν. 2. αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν Ὀνήσιμος ὑπερ-επαινεῖ ὑμῶν τὴν ἐν θεῷ εὐταξίαν, ὅτι πάντες κατὰ ἀλήθειαν ζητε καὶ ὅτι ἐν ὑμῖν οὐδεμία αἵρεσις κατοικεῖ· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἀκούετε τινος πλέον, ἢ περὶ¹ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ λαλοῦντος ἐν ἀληθείᾳ.

VII

1. Εἰώθασιν γάρ τινες δόλῳ πονηρῷ τὸ ὄνομα περιφέρειν, ἄλλα τινὰ πράσσοντες ἀνάξια θεοῦ· οὓς δεῖ ὑμᾶς ὡς θηρία ἐκκλίνειν· εἰσὶν γὰρ κύνες λυσσῶντες, λαθροδιῆκται· οὓς δεῖ ὑμᾶς φυλάσσεισθαι ὄντας δυσθεραπεύτους. 2. εἰς ἰατρός ἐστιν, σαρκικός τε καὶ πνευματικός, γεννητὸς καὶ ἀγέννητος, ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ² θεός, ἐν θανάτῳ ζωὴ ἀληθινή, καὶ ἐκ Μαρίας καὶ ἐκ θεοῦ, πρῶτον παθητὸς καὶ τότε ἀπαθής, Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν.

VIII

1. Μὴ οὖν τις ὑμᾶς ἐξαπατάτω, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ ἐξαπατᾶσθε, ὅλοι ὄντες θεοῦ. ὅταν γὰρ μηδεμία ἔρις³ ἐνῆρυσται ἐν ὑμῖν ἢ δυναμένη ὑμᾶς βασανί-

¹ The reading of G is *εἴτε*; the Latin is *aliquem amplius quam Iesum Christum loquentem*; the Armenian supports the text (ἢ περὶ) which is Lightfoot's emendation.

² This reading is justified by early patristic quotation, and (slightly corrupted) by A. GL read *ἐν σαρκὶ γενόμενος θεός* "God become incarnate."

³ A Σ g read *ἐπιθυμία*, "lust," which Lightfoot accepts.

IGNATIUS TO THE EPHESIANS, VI. I—VIII. I

business ought we to receive as him who sent him. Therefore it is clear that we must regard the bishop as the Lord himself. 2. Indeed Onesimus himself gives great praise to your good order in God, for you all live according to truth, and no heresy dwells among you; nay, you do not even listen to any unless he speak concerning Jesus Christ in truth.

VII

1. **FOR** there are some who make a practice of carrying about the Name with wicked guile, and do certain other things unworthy of God; these you must shun as wild beasts, for they are ravening dogs, who bite secretly, and you must be upon your guard against them, for they are scarcely to be cured. 2. There is one Physician, who is both flesh and spirit, born and yet not born, who is God in man, true life in death, both of Mary and of God, first passible and then impassible, Jesus Christ our Lord.

VIII

1. **LET** none therefore deceive you, and indeed you have not been deceived, but belong wholly to God. For since no strife is fixed among you which might

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σαι, ἄρα κατὰ θεὸν ζήτε. περίψημα ὑμῶν καὶ ἀγνίζομαι ὑμῶν Ἐφεσίων, ἐκκλησίας τῆς διαβολῆ-
Rom. 8, 5. 8 του τοῖς αἰώσιν. 2. οἱ σαρκικοὶ τὰ πνευματικὰ πράσσειν οὐ δύνανται, οὐδὲ οἱ πνευματικοὶ τὰ σαρκικά, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ ἡ πίστις τὰ τῆς ἀπιστίας οὐδὲ ἡ ἀπιστία τὰ τῆς πίστεως. ἃ δὲ καὶ κατὰ σάρκα πράσσετε, ταῦτα πνευματικὰ ἔστιν ἐν Ἰησοῦ γὰρ Χριστῷ πάντα πράσσετε.

IX

1. Ἐγνων δὲ παροδεύσαντάς τινας ἐκεῖθεν, ἔχοντας κακὴν διδαχὴν· οὓς οὐκ εἰάσατε σπεῖραι εἰς ὑμᾶς, βύσαντες τὰ ὦτα, εἰς τὸ μὴ παραδέξασθαι τὰ σπειρόμενα ὑπ' αὐτῶν, ὡς ὄντες λίθοι ναοῦ πατρός, ἡτοιμασμένοι¹ εἰς οἰκοδομὴν θεοῦ πατρός, ἀναφερόμενοι εἰς τὰ ὑψηλὰ διὰ τῆς μηχανῆς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὃς ἔστιν σταυρός, σχοινίῳ χρώμενοι τῷ πνεύματι τῷ ἁγίῳ· ἡ δὲ πίστις ὑμῶν ἀναγωγεὺς ὑμῶν, ἡ δὲ ἀγάπη ὁδὸς ἡ ἀναφέρουσα εἰς θεόν.
2. ἔστὲ οὖν καὶ σύνοδοι πάντες, θεοφόροι καὶ ναοφόροι, χριστοφόροι, ἀγιοφόροι, κατὰ πάντα κεκοσμημένοι ἐντολαῖς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ· οἷς

¹ Lightfoot emends πατρός (written παῖς) ἡτοιμασμένοι into προητοιμασμένοι.

IGNATIUS TO THE EPHESIANS, VIII. 1-IX. 2

torture you, you do indeed live according to God. I am dedicated¹ and devoted to you Ephesians, and your Church, which is famous to eternity. 2. They who are carnal cannot do spiritual things, neither can they who are spiritual do carnal things, just as faith is incapable of the deeds of infidelity, and infidelity of the deeds of faith. But even what you do according to the flesh is spiritual, for you do all things in Jesus Christ.

IX

1. I HAVE learnt, however, that some from elsewhere have stayed with you, who have evil doctrine; but you did not suffer them to sow it among you, and stopped your ears, so that you might not receive what they sow, seeing that you are as stones of the temple of the Father, made ready for the building of God our Father, carried up to the heights by the engine of Jesus Christ, that is the cross, and using as a rope the Holy Spirit. And your faith is your windlass and love is the road which leads up to God. 2. You are then all fellow travellers, and carry with you God, and the Temple, and Christ, and holiness, and are in all ways adorned by commandments of Jesus Christ. And I

Their
abstinence
from heresy

¹ Lit. "The refuse of": the word was used of criminals and others whose death was regarded as a piacular sacrifice, and so it came to mean a sacrifice of this kind. Ultimately it lost its meaning so far as to become merely a form of epistolary politeness.

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καὶ ἀγαλλιώμενος ἠξιώθη δι' ὧν γράφω προσομιλῆσαι ὑμῖν καὶ συγχαρῆναι, ὅτι κατ' ἀνθρώπων¹ βίον οὐδὲν ἀγαπάτε εἰ μὴ μόνον τὸν θεόν.

X

Thesa. 5, 17 1. Καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄλλων δὲ ἀνθρώπων ἀδιαλείπτως προσεύχεσθε, ἔστιν γὰρ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐλπίς μετανοίας, ἵνα θεοῦ τύχωσιν. ἐπιτρέψατε οὖν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἔργων ὑμῖν μαθητευθῆναι. 2. πρὸς τὰς ὀργὰς αὐτῶν ὑμεῖς πραεῖς, πρὸς τὰς μεγαλορημοσύνας αὐτῶν ὑμεῖς ταπεινόφρονες, πρὸς τὰς βλασφημίας αὐτῶν ὑμεῖς τὰς προσευχάς, πρὸς τὴν πλάνην αὐτῶν ὑμεῖς ἐδραῖοι τῇ πίστει, πρὸς τὸ ἄγριον αὐτῶν ὑμεῖς ἡμεροὶ, μὴ σπουδάζοντες ἀντιμιμῆσασθαι αὐτούς. 3. ἀδελφοὶ αὐτῶν εὐρεθῶμεν τῇ ἐπιεικείᾳ· μιμηταὶ δὲ τοῦ κυρίου σπουδάζωμεν εἶναι, τίς πλέον ἀδικηθῆ, τίς ἀποστερηθῆ, τίς ἀθετηθῆ· ἵνα μὴ τοῦ διαβόλου βοτάνη τις εὐρεθῆ ἐν ὑμῖν, ἀλλ' ἐν πάσῃ ἀγνεΐᾳ καὶ σωφροσύνῃ μένητε² ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ σαρκικῶς καὶ πνευματικῶς.

Col. 1, 28;
cf. Rom. 4,
20;
1 Cor. 16, 13

XI

1. Ἐσχατοὶ καιροί. λοιπὸν αἰσχυρθῶμεν, φοβηθῶμεν τὴν μακροθυμίαν τοῦ θεοῦ, ἵνα μὴ ἡμῖν εἰς

¹ This is Lightfoot's emendation: GL read κατ' ἄλλον βίον. A seems to imply the same reading, but it gives no good meaning and g reads οὐδὲ κατὰ σάρκα ἀγαπάτε ἀλλὰ κατὰ θεόν (you do not love according to the flesh but according to God), a paraphrase which may be taken to imply Lightfoot's reading.

² G reads μένετε, "but remain."

IGNATIUS TO THE EPHESIANS, ix. 2—xi. 1

share in this joy, for it has been granted to me to speak to you through my writing, and to rejoice with you, that you love nothing, according to human life, but God alone.

X

1. Now for other men "pray unceasingly," for there is in them a hope of repentance, that they may find God. Suffer them therefore to become your disciples, at least through your deeds. 2. Be yourselves gentle in answer to their wrath; be humble minded in answer to their proud speaking; offer prayer for their blasphemy; be stedfast in the faith for their error; be gentle for their cruelty, and do not seek to retaliate. 3. Let us be proved their brothers by our gentleness and let us be imitators of the Lord, and seek who may suffer the more wrong, be the more destitute, the more despised; that no plant of the devil be found in you but that you may remain in all purity and sobriety in Jesus Christ, both in the flesh and in the Spirit.

Exhortation
to prayer
and
lowliness

XI

1. THESE are the last times. Therefore let us be modest, let us fear the long-suffering of God, that it

The ap-
proach of
the end:
the fear
of God

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

κρίμα γένηται. ἡ γὰρ τὴν μέλλουσαν ὄργην φοβηθῶμεν, ἢ τὴν ἐνεστῶσαν χάριν ἀγαπήσωμεν, ἐν τῶν δύο· μόνον ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ εὐρεθῆναι εἰς τὸ ἀληθινὸν ζῆν. 2. χωρὶς τούτου μηδὲν ὑμῖν πρεπέτω, ἐν ᾧ τὰ δεσμά περιφέρω, τοὺς πνευματικοὺς μαργαρίτας, ἐν οἷς γένοιτό μοι ἀναστήναι τῇ προσευχῇ ὑμῶν, ἧς γένοιτό μοι αἰεὶ μέτοχον εἶναι, ἵνα ἐν κλήρῳ Ἐφεσίων εὐρεθῶ τῶν Χριστιανῶν, οἳ καὶ τοῖς ἀποστόλοις πάντοτε συνήνεσαν ἐν δυνάμει Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ

XII

1. Οἶδα, τίς εἰμι καὶ τίσιν γράφω. ἐγὼ κατάκριτος, ὑμεῖς ἠλεημένοι· ἐγὼ ὑπὸ κίνδυνον, ὑμεῖς ἐστηριγμένοι· 2. πάροδος ἐστε τῶν εἰς θεὸν ἀναιρουμένων, Παύλου συμμύσται τοῦ ἡγιασμένου, τοῦ μεμαρτυρημένου, ἀξιομακαρίστου, οὗ γένοιτό μοι ὑπὸ τὰ ἔχνη εὐρεθῆναι, ὅταν θεοῦ ἐπιτύχω, ὃς ἐν πάσῃ ἐπιστολῇ μνημονεύει ὑμῶν ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ.

XIII

1. Σπουδάζετε οὖν πυκνότερον συνέρχεσθαι εἰς εὐχαριστίαν θεοῦ καὶ εἰς δόξαν. ὅταν γὰρ πυκνῶς ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ γίνεσθε, καθαιροῦνται αἱ δυνάμεις τοῦ Σατανᾶ, καὶ λύεται ὁ ὄλεθρος αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ ὁμοιοῖα ὑμῶν τῆς πίστεως. 2. οὐδὲν ἐστὶν ἄμεινον εἰρήνης, ἐν ἣ πᾶς πόλεμος καταργεῖται ἐπουρανίων καὶ ἐπιγείων.

IGNATIUS TO THE EPHESIANS, XI. I—XIII. 2

may not become our judgment. For let us either fear the wrath to come, or love the grace which is present,—one of the two,—only let us be found in Christ Jesus unto true life. 2. Without him let nothing seem comely to you, for in him I carry about my chains, the spiritual pearls in which may it be granted me to rise again through your prayers, which I beg that I may ever share, that I be found in the lot of the Christians of Ephesus, who also were ever of one mind with the Apostles in the power of Jesus Christ.

XII

1. I KNOW who I am and to whom I write. I am condemned, you have obtained mercy; I am in danger, you are established in safety; 2. you are the passage for those who are being slain for the sake of God, fellow-initiates with Paul, who was sanctified, who gained a good report, who was right blessed, in whose footsteps may I be found when I shall attain to God, who in every Epistle makes mention of you in Christ Jesus.

Contrast
between
himself
and his
readers

XIII

1. SEEK, then, to come together more frequently to give thanks¹ and glory to God. For when you gather together frequently the powers of Satan are destroyed, and his mischief is brought to nothing, by the concord of your faith. 2. There is nothing better than peace, by which every war in heaven and on earth is abolished.

Exhortation
to more
frequent
assemblies

¹ It is probable that there is here an allusion to the Eucharist.

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XIV

1. Ὁν οὐδὲν λαυθάνει ὑμᾶς, ἐὰν τελείως εἰς Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἔχητε τὴν πίστιν καὶ τὴν ἀγάπην, ἣτις ἐστὶν ἀρχὴ ζωῆς καὶ τέλος· ἀρχὴ μὲν πίστις, I Tim. 1, 5 τέλος δὲ ἀγάπη. τὰ δὲ δύο ἐν ἐνότητι γενόμενα θεὸς ἐστίν, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα πάντα εἰς καλοκαγαθίαν ἀκόλουθά ἐστίν. 2. οὐδεὶς πίστιν ἐπαγγελλλόμενος Mt. 12, 83 ἀμαρτάνει, οὐδὲ ἀγάπην κεκτημένος μισεῖ. φανερὸν τὸ δένδρον ἀπὸ τοῦ καρποῦ αὐτοῦ. οὕτως οἱ ἐπαγγελλλόμενοι Χριστοῦ εἶναι δι' ὧν πράσσουσιν ὀφθήσονται. οὐ γὰρ νῦν ἐπαγγελίας τὸ ἔργον, ἀλλ' ἐν δυνάμει πίστεως ἐάν τις εὐρεθῇ εἰς τέλος.

XV

1. Ἀμεινόν ἐστιν σιωπᾶν καὶ εἶναι, ἢ λαλοῦντα μὴ εἶναι. καλὸν τὸ διδάσκειν, ἐὰν ὁ λέγων ποιῇ. εἰς Pa. 83, 9 ; οὖν διδάσκαλος, ὃς εἶπεν, καὶ ἐγένετο· καὶ ἃ σιγῶν 148, 5 ; δὲ πεποιήκεν ἄξια τοῦ πατρός ἐστίν. 2. ὁ λόγον Judith 16, 14 Ἰησοῦ κεκτημένος ἀληθῶς δύναται καὶ τῆς ἡσυχίας αὐτοῦ ἀκούειν, ἵνα τέλειος ᾗ, ἵνα δι' ὧν λαλεῖ πράσση καὶ δι' ὧν σιγᾷ γινώσκηται. 3. οὐδὲν λαυθάνει τὸν κύριον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ κρυπτὰ ἡμῶν I Cor. 8, 16 ἐγγὺς αὐτῷ ἐστίν. πάντα οὖν ποιῶμεν ὡς αὐτοῦ ἐν ἡμῖν κατοικοῦντος, ἵνα ὦμεν αὐτοῦ ναοὶ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν ἡμῖν θεὸς ἡμῶν¹ ὅπερ καὶ ἐστίν καὶ φανήσεται πρὸ προσώπου ἡμῶν, ἐξ ὧν δικαίως ἀγαπῶμεν αὐτόν.

¹ ἐν ἡμῖν θεὸς ἡμῶν GL, ἐν ἡμῖν θεός Sg, θεὸς ἡμῶν A.

XIV

1. NONE of these things are unknown to you if ^{Faith and Love} you possess perfect faith towards Jesus Christ, and love, which are the beginning and end of life; for the beginning is faith and the end is love, and when the two are joined together in unity it is God, and all other noble things follow after them. 2. No man who professes faith sins, nor does he hate who has obtained love. "The tree is known by its fruits": so they who profess to be of Christ shall be seen by their deeds. For the "deed" is not in present profession, but is shown by the power of faith, if a man continue to the end.

XV

1. IT is better to be silent and be real, than to ^{Speech and silence} talk and to be unreal. Teaching is good, if the teacher does what he says. There is then one teacher who "spoke and it came to pass," and what he has done even in silence is worthy of the Father. 2. He who has the word of Jesus for a true possession can also hear his silence, that he may be perfect, that he may act through his speech, and be understood through his silence. 3. Nothing is hid from the Lord, but even our secret things are near him. Let us therefore do all things as though he were dwelling in us, that we may be his temples, and that he may be our God in us. This indeed is so, and will appear clearly before our face by the love which we justly have to him.

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

XVI

I Cor. 6, 9.

10;
cf. Eph. 5, 5

1. Μὴ πλανᾶσθε, ἀδελφοί μου· οἱ οἰκοφθόροι βασιλείαν θεοῦ οὐ κληρονομήσουσιν. 2. εἰ οὖν οἱ κατὰ σάρκα ταῦτα πράσσοντες ἀπέθανον, πὸς ὧ μᾶλλον, ἐὰν πίστιν θεοῦ ἐν κακῇ διδασκαλίᾳ φθείρη, ὑπὲρ ἧς Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ἐσταυρώθη; ὁ τοιοῦτος ῥυπαρὸς γενόμενος, εἰς τὸ πῦρ τὸ ἄσβεστον χωρήσει, ὁμοίως καὶ ὁ ἀκούων αὐτοῦ.

XVII

Mt. 26, 7;

Joh. 12, 3

1. Διὰ τοῦτο μύρον ἔλαβεν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ ὁ κύριος, ἵνα πνέῃ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀφθαρσίαν. μὴ ἀλείφεσθε δυσωδίαν τῆς διδασκαλίας τοῦ ἄρχοντος τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου, μὴ αἰχμαλωτίσῃ ὑμᾶς ἐκ τοῦ προκειμένου ζῆν. 2. διὰ τί δὲ οὐ πάντες φρόνιμοι γινόμεθα λαβόντες θεοῦ γνῶσιν, ὃ ἐστὶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός; τί μωρῶς ἀπολλύμεθα, ἀγνοοῦντες τὸ χάρισμα, ὃ πέπομφεν ἀληθῶς ὁ κύριος;

XVIII

Gal. 5, 11

I Cor. 1, 20

1. Περίψημα τὸ ἐμὸν πνεῦμα τοῦ σταυροῦ, ὃ ἐστὶν σκάνδαλον τοῖς ἀπιστοῦσιν, ἡμῖν δὲ σωτηρία καὶ ζωὴ αἰώνιος. ποῦ σοφός; ποῦ συζητητής; ποῦ καύχησις τῶν λεγομένων συνετῶν; 2. ὁ γὰρ θεὸς ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστὸς ἐκνοφορήθη ὑπὸ

XVI

1. Do not err, my brethren; they who corrupt families shall not inherit the kingdom of God. Warning against false teachers
2. If then those who do this according to the flesh suffer death, how much more if a man corrupt by false teaching the faith of God for the sake of which Jesus Christ was crucified? Such a one shall go in his foulness to the unquenchable fire, as also shall he who listens to him.

XVII

1. For this end did the Lord receive ointment on his head that he might breathe immortality on the Church. Be not anointed with the evil odour of the doctrine of the Prince of this world, lest he lead you away captive from the life which is set before you.
2. But why are we not all prudent seeing that we have received knowledge of God, that is, Jesus Christ? Why are we perishing in our folly, ignoring the gift which the Lord has truly sent?

XVIII

1. My spirit is devoted¹ to the cross, which is an offence to unbelievers, but to us salvation and eternal life. True doctrine “Where is the wise? Where is the disputer?” Where is the boasting of those who are called prudent? 2. For our God, Jesus the Christ,

¹ See note on viii. 1, p. 183.

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

Joh. 7, 42 ;
Rom. 1, 8 ;
II Tim. 2, 8

Μαρίας κατ' οἰκονομίαν θεοῦ¹ ἐκ σπέρματος μὲν
Δαυεὶδ, πνεύματος δὲ ἁγίου· ὃς ἐγεννήθη καὶ
ἐβαπτίσθη, ἵνα τῷ πάθει τὸ ὕδωρ καθαρῶσιν.

XIX

1. Καὶ ἔλαθεν τὸν ἄρχοντα τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου
ἢ παρθενία Μαρίας καὶ ὁ τοκετὸς αὐτῆς, ὁμοίως
καὶ ὁ θάνατος τοῦ κυρίου· τρία μυστήρια κραυγῆς,
ἅτινα ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ θεοῦ ἐπράχθη. 2. πῶς οὖν
ἐφανερώθη τοῖς αἰῶσιν; ἄστηρ ἐν οὐρανῷ ἔλαμψεν
ὑπὲρ πάντας τοὺς ἀστέρας, καὶ τὸ φῶς αὐτοῦ
ἀνεκκάλητον ἦν καὶ ξενισμὸν παρεῖχεν ἢ καινότης
αὐτοῦ, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ πάντα ἄστρα ἅμα ἠλίῳ καὶ
σελήνῃ χορὸς ἐγένετο τῷ ἀστέρι, αὐτὸς δὲ ἦν
ὑπερβάλλον τὸ φῶς αὐτοῦ ὑπὲρ πάντα· ταραχὴ
τε ἦν, πόθεν ἢ καινότης ἢ ἀνόμοιος αὐτοῖς.
3. ὅθεν ἐλύετο πᾶσα μαγεία καὶ πᾶς δεσμὸς
ἠφανίζετο κακίας· ἄγνοια καθηρεῖτο, παλαιὰ βασι-
λεία διεφθείρετο² θεοῦ ἀνθρωπίνως φανερούμενου
εἰς καινότητα αἰδίου ζωῆς· ἀρχὴν δὲ ἐλάμβανεν
τὸ παρὰ θεῷ ἀπηρτισμένον. ἔνθεν τὰ πάντα
συνεκινεῖτο διὰ τὸ μελετᾶσθαι θανάτου κατὰ-
λυσιν.

Rom. 6, 4

¹ Lightfoot omits θεοῦ on the authority of g and transcriptional probability.

² Lightfoot omits διεφθείρετο, and readjusts the punctuation, on the authority of AΣ.

IGNATIUS TO THE EPHESIANS, XVIII. 2—XIX. 3

was conceived by Mary by the dispensation of God, "as well of the seed of David" as of the Holy Spirit: he was born, and was baptized, that by himself submitting¹ he might purify the water.

XIX

1. AND the virginity of Mary, and her giving birth were hidden from the Prince of this world, as was also the death of the Lord. Three mysteries of a cry which were wrought in the stillness of God. 2. How then was he manifested to the world? A star shone in heaven beyond all the stars, and its light was unspeakable, and its newness caused astonishment, and all the other stars, with the sun and moon, gathered in chorus² round this star, and it far exceeded them all in its light; and there was perplexity, whence came this new thing, so unlike them. 3. By this all magic was dissolved and every bond of wickedness vanished away, ignorance was removed, and the old kingdom was destroyed, for God was manifest as man for the "newness" of eternal life, and that which had been prepared by God received its beginning. Hence all things were disturbed, because the abolition of death was being planned.

The
mystery of
the Nativity
and its
manifestation

¹ Or perhaps "by his suffering"; but the allusion seems to be to the Baptism, not to the Passion.

² Cf. Ign. Rom. ii. The metaphor is probably from the chorus or choir which gathered round the altar in heathen ceremonial, and sang a sacrificial hymn.

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

XX

1. Ἐάν με καταξιώσῃ Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ἐν τῇ προσευχῇ ὑμῶν καὶ θέλημα ἦ, ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ βιβλιδίῳ, ὃ μέλλω γράφειν ὑμῖν, προσδηλώσω ὑμῖν, ἧς ἠρξάμην οἰκονομίας εἰς τὸν καινὸν ἄνθρωπον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ πίστει καὶ ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ ἀγάπῃ, ἐν πάθει αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀναστάσει.
 2. μάλιστα ἐὰν ὁ κύριός μοι ἀποκαλύψῃ, ὅτι¹ οἱ κατ' ἄνδρα κοινῇ πάντες ἐν χάριτι ἐξ ὀνόματος συνέρχεσθε ἐν μιᾷ πίστει καὶ ἐν² Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ, τῷ κατὰ σάρκα ἐκ γένους Δαυεὶδ, τῷ υἱῷ ἀνθρώπου καὶ υἱῷ θεοῦ, εἰς τὸ ὑπακούειν ὑμᾶς τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ ἀπερισπάστῳ διανοία, ἕνα ἄρτον κλῶντες, ὃς ἐστὶν φάρμακον ἀθανασίας, ἀντίδοτος τοῦ μὴ ἀποθανεῖν, ἀλλὰ ζῆν ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ διὰ παντός.

Rom. 1, 8

XXI

1. Ἀντίψυχον ὑμῶν ἐγὼ καὶ ὧν ἐπέμψατε εἰς θεοῦ τιμὴν εἰς Σμύρναν, ὅθεν καὶ γράφω ὑμῖν, εὐχαριστῶν τῷ κυρίῳ, ἀγαπῶν Πολύκαρπον ὡς καὶ ὑμᾶς· μνημονεύτέ μου, ὡς καὶ ὑμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός. 2. προσεύχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκκλησίας

¹ Zahn and, with some hesitation, Lightfoot emend ὅτι τοι, connecting it with ἀποκαλύψῃ. If so the translation would be "if the Lord reveal anything to me. Join in the common meeting, etc."

² Theodoret quotes this as ἐν I. X. "one Jesus Christ," and Lightfoot accepts this reading.

XX

1. IF Jesus Christ permit me through your prayers, and it be his will, in the second book,¹ which I propose to write to you, I will show you concerning the dispensation of the new man Jesus Christ, which I have begun to discuss, dealing with his faith and his love, his suffering and his resurrection; 2. especially if the Lord reveal² to me that you all severally join in the common meeting in grace from his name,³ in one faith and in Jesus Christ, "who was of the family of David according to the flesh," the Son of Man and the Son of God, so that you obey the bishop and the presbytery with an undisturbed mind, breaking one bread, which is the medicine of immortality, the antidote that we should not die, but live for ever in Jesus Christ.

Promise of
future
doctrinal
exposition

XXI

1. MAY my soul be given for yours, and for them whom you sent in the honour of God to Smyrna, whence I also write to you, thanking the Lord and loving Polycarp as I do also you. Remember me as Jesus Christ also remembers you. 2. Pray for the

Final
greetings

¹ This second book was either never written, or at all events is not extant in the genuine recension: but a later editor has supplied a "second epistle to the Ephesians" which is undoubtedly not genuine.

² This appears to be the only possible translation. But the text is not improbably corrupt.

³ Or possibly, as Lightfoot thinks, ἐξ ἑνόςματος means "every individual of you." It is in any case a strange phrase.

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

τῆς ἐν Συρίᾳ, ὅθεν δεδεμένος εἰς Ῥώμην ἀπάγομαι, ἔσχατος ὢν τῶν ἐκεῖ πιστῶν, ὥσπερ ἠξιώθην εἰς τιμὴν θεοῦ εὐρεθῆναι. ἔρρωσθε ἐν θεῷ πατρὶ καὶ ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ, τῇ κοινῇ ἐλπίδι ἡμῶν.

ΜΑΓΝΗΣΙΕΥΣΙΝ ΙΓΝΑΤΙΟΣ

Ἰγνάτιος, ὁ καὶ Θεοφόρος, τῇ εὐλογημένῃ ἐν χάριτι θεοῦ πατρὸς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ σωτῆρι ἡμῶν, ἐν ᾧ ἀσπάζομαι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τὴν οὖσαν ἐν Μαγνησίᾳ τῇ πρὸς Μαιάνδρῳ καὶ εὐχομαι ἐν θεῷ πατρὶ καὶ ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ πλείστα χαίρειν.

I

1. Γνοὺς ὑμῶν τὸ πολυεύτακτον τῆς κατὰ θεὸν ἀγάπης, ἀγαλλιῶμενος προειλόμην ἐν πίστει Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ προσλαλήσαι ὑμῖν. 2. καταξιωθείς γὰρ ὀνόματος θεοπρεπεστάτου, ἐν οἷς περιφέρω δεσμοῖς ἄδω τὰς ἐκκλησίας, ἐν αἷς ἔνωσιν εὐχομαι σαρκὸς καὶ πνεύματος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τοῦ διὰ παντὸς ἡμῶν ζῆν, πίστεώς τε καὶ ἀγάπης, ἧς οὐδὲν προκέκριται, τὸ δὲ κυριώτερον Ἰησοῦ καὶ πατρὸς· ἐν ᾧ ὑπομένοντες τὴν πᾶσαν ἐπήρειαν τοῦ ἄρχοντος τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου καὶ διαφυγόντες θεοῦ τευξόμεθα.

IGNATIUS TO THE MAGNESIANS, XXI. 2-1. 2

Church in Syria, whence I am led a prisoner to Rome, being the least of the faithful who are there, even as I was thought worthy to show the honour of God. Farewell in God our Father and in Jesus Christ, our common hope.

II.—IGNATIUS TO THE MAGNESIANS.

Ignatius, who is also called Theophorus, to her¹ Greetings
who is blessed in the Grace of God the Father by Christ Jesus, our Saviour, in whom I greet the Church which is in Magnesia on the Maeander, and bid it in God the Father and in Christ Jesus abundant greeting.

I

1. KNOWING the great orderliness of your love towards God I gladly determined to address you in the faith of Jesus Christ. 2. For being counted worthy to bear a most godly name I sing the praise of the Churches in the bonds which I carry about, and pray that in them there may be a union of the flesh and spirit of Jesus Christ, who is our everlasting life, a union of faith and love, to which is nothing preferable, and (what is more than all) a union of Jesus and the Father. If we endure in him all the evil treatment of the Prince of this world and escape, we shall attain unto God. Prayer for the church

¹ i.e. the Church.

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

II

1. Ἐπεὶ οὖν ἤξιώθηεν ἰδεῖν ὑμᾶς διὰ Δαμᾶ τοῦ ἀξιοθέου ὑμῶν ἐπισκόπου καὶ πρεσβυτέρων ἀξίων Βάσσου καὶ Ἀπολλωνίου καὶ τοῦ συνδούλου μου διακόνου Ζωτίωνος, οὐ ἐγὼ ὀναίμην, ὅτι ὑποτάσσεται τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ὡς χάριτι θεοῦ καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ ὡς νόμῳ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

III

1. Καὶ ὑμῖν δὲ πρέπει μὴ συγχρᾶσθαι τῇ ἡλικίᾳ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, ἀλλὰ κατὰ δύναμιν θεοῦ πατρὸς πᾶσαν ἐντροπήν αὐτῷ ἀπονέμειν, καθὼς ἔγνωμεν καὶ τοὺς ἁγίους πρεσβυτέρους οὐ προσειληφότας τὴν φαινομένην νεωτερικὴν τάξιν, ἀλλ' ὡς φρονίμους¹ ἐν θεῷ συγχωροῦντας αὐτῷ, οὐκ αὐτῷ δέ, ἀλλὰ τῷ πατρὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τῷ πάντων ἐπισκόπῳ. 2. εἰς τιμὴν οὖν ἐκείνου τοῦ θελήσαντος ἡμᾶς² πρέπον ἐστὶν ἐπακούειν κατὰ μηδεμίαν ὑπόκρισιν· ἐπεὶ οὐχ ὅτι τὸν ἐπίσκοπον τοῦτον τὸν βλεπόμενον πλανᾷ τις, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἀόρατον παραλογίζεται. τὸ δὲ τοιοῦτον οὐ πρὸς σάρκα ὁ λόγος, ἀλλὰ πρὸς θεὸν τὸν τὰ κρύφια εἰδότα.

¹ Lightfoot reads φρονίμῳ "as to one prudent in God" with Ag.: it certainly gives a better sense, but for that reason may be a correction.

² ἡμᾶς GL, ὑμᾶς Ag.

IGNATIUS TO THE MAGNESIANS, II. I-III. 2

II

1. FORASMUCH then as I was permitted to see you in the person of Damas, your godly bishop, and the worthy presbyters Bassus and Apollonius, and my fellow servant the deacon Zotion, whose friendship I would enjoy because he is subject to the bishop as to the grace of God, and to the presbytery as to the law of Jesus Christ,——¹

The representatives of the Magnesians

III

1. Now it becomes you not to presume on the youth of the bishop, but to render him all respect according to the power of God the Father, as I have heard that even the holy presbyters have not taken advantage of his outwardly youthful appearance, but yield to him in their godly prudence, yet not to him, but to the Father of Jesus Christ, to the bishop of all. 2. For the honour therefore of him who desired us, it is right that we yield obedience without hypocrisy, for a man does not merely deceive this bishop who is seen, but is dealing wrongly with him who is invisible. And in this matter his reckoning is not with flesh, but with God, who knows the secret things.

The bishop of Magnesia

¹ The sentence is unfinished : possibly the text is corrupt.

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

IV

1. Πρέπον οὖν ἐστὶν μὴ μόνον καλεῖσθαι Χριστιανούς, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἶναι ὡσπερ καὶ τινες ἐπίσκοπον μὲν καλοῦσιν, χωρὶς δὲ αὐτοῦ πάντα πράσσουσιν. οἱ τοιοῦτοι δὲ οὐκ εὐσυνείδητοί μοι εἶναι φαίνονται διὰ τὸ μὴ βεβαίως κατ' ἐντολὴν συναθροίζεσθαι.

V

1. Ἐπεὶ οὖν τέλος τὰ πράγματα ἔχει καὶ πρόκειται τὰ δύο ὁμοῦ, ὃ τε θάνατος καὶ ἡ ζωὴ, καὶ ἕκαστος εἰς τὸν ἴδιον τόπον μέλλει χωρεῖν.
2. ὡσπερ γάρ ἐστὶν νομίσματα δύο, ὃ μὲν θεοῦ, ὃ δὲ κόσμου, καὶ ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ἴδιον χαρακτῆρα ἐπικείμενον ἔχει, οἱ ἄπιστοι τοῦ κόσμου τούτου, οἱ δὲ πιστοὶ ἐν ἀγάπῃ χαρακτῆρα θεοῦ πατρὸς διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, δι' οὗ εἰ μὴ ἀυθαιρέτως ἔχωμεν τὸ ἀποθανεῖν εἰς τὸ αὐτοῦ πάθος, τὸ ζῆν αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν ἡμῖν.

VI

1. Ἐπεὶ οὖν ἐν τοῖς προγεγραμμένοις προσώποις τὸ πᾶν πλήθος ἐθεώρησα ἐν πίστει καὶ ἡγάπησιν, παραινῶ, ἐν ὁμοιοῖα θεοῦ σπουδάζετε πάντα πράσσειν, προκαθημένου τοῦ ἐπισκόπου εἰς τόπον¹

¹ τόπον GLg, τύπον SA, and so also in the next line. Cf. Trall. iii. Lightfoot prefers τύπον, but it seems to be more probably a softening of the rather startling τόπον by the Syriac translator.

IV

1. IT is right, then, that we should be really Christians, and not merely have the name; even as there are some who recognize the bishop in their words, but disregard him in all their actions. Such men seem to me not to act in good faith, since they do not hold valid meetings according to the commandment.

Obedience
to the
bishop

V

1. SEEING then that there is an end to all, that the choice is between two things, death and life, and that each is to go to his own place; 2. for, just as there are two coinages,¹ the one of God, the other of the world, and each has its own stamp impressed on it, so the unbelievers bear the stamp of this world, and the believers the stamp of God the Father in love through Jesus Christ, and unless we willingly choose to die through him in his passion, his life is not in us.

The fate of
unbelievers

VI

1. SEEING then that I have looked on the whole congregation in faith in the persons mentioned above, and have embraced them, I exhort you:—Be zealous to do all things in harmony with God, with the bishop

Exhortation
to harmony

¹ This is perhaps a reference to Mt. xxii. 19.

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

θεοῦ καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων εἰς τόπον συνεδρίου τῶν ἀποστόλων, καὶ τῶν διακόνων τῶν ἐμοὶ γλυκυτάτων πεπιστευμένων διακονίαν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὃς πρὸ αἰῶνων παρὰ πατρὶ ἦν καὶ ἐν τέλει ἐφάνη. 2. πάντες οὖν ὁμοήθειαν θεοῦ λαβόντες ἐντρέπεσθε ἀλλήλους καὶ μηδεὶς κατὰ σάρκα βλεπέτω τὸν πλησίον, ἀλλ' ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ ἀλλήλους διὰ παντὸς ἀγαπᾶτε. μηδὲν ἔστω ἐν ὑμῖν, ὃ δυνήσεται ὑμᾶς μερίσαι ἀλλ' ἐνώθητε τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ καὶ τοῖς προκαθημένοις εἰς τύπον καὶ διδαχὴν ἀφθαρσίας.

VII

Joh. 5, 19.
30; 8, 28

1. Ὡσπερ οὖν ὁ κύριος ἄνευ τοῦ πατρὸς οὐδὲν ἐποίησεν, ἠνωμένος ὢν, οὔτε δι' ἑαυτοῦ οὔτε διὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων· οὕτως μηδὲ ὑμεῖς ἄνευ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων μηδὲ πράσσετε· μηδὲ πειράσητε εὐλογόν τι φαίνεσθαι ἰδίᾳ ὑμῖν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ μία προσευχή, μία δέησις, εἰς νοῦς, μία ἐλπίς ἐν ἀγάπῃ, ἐν τῇ χαρᾷ τῇ ἀμώμῳ, ὃ ἔστιν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, οὗ ἄμεινον οὐδέν ἐστιν. 2. πάντες ὡς εἰς ἓνα ναὸν συντρέχετε θεοῦ, ὡς ἐπὶ ἐν θυσιαστήριον, ἐπὶ ἓνα Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, τὸν ἀφ' ἐνὸς πατρὸς προελθόντα καὶ εἰς ἓνα ὄντα καὶ χωρήσαντα.

IGNATIUS TO THE MAGNESIANS, VI. I-VII. 2

presiding in the place of God and the presbyters in the place of the Council of the Apostles, and the deacons,¹ who are most dear to me, entrusted with the service of Jesus Christ, who was from eternity with the Father and was made manifest at the end of time. 2. Be then all in conformity with God, and respect one another, and let no man regard his neighbour according to the flesh, but in everything love one another in Jesus Christ. Let there be nothing in you which can divide you, but be united with the bishop and with those who preside over you as an example and lesson of immortality.

VII

1. As then the Lord was united to the Father and did nothing without him, neither by himself nor through the Apostles, so do you do nothing without the bishop and the presbyters. Do not attempt to make anything appear right for you by yourselves, but let there be in common one prayer, one supplication, one mind, one hope in love, in the joy which is without fault, that is Jesus Christ, than whom there is nothing better. 2. Hasten all to come together as to one temple of God, as to one altar, to one Jesus Christ, who came forth from the one Father, and is with one, and departed to one.

Obedience
to the
bishop and
presbyters

¹ The sentences seem to be unfinished; the Apostolic Constitutions ii. 26 say "Let the Deacon be honoured as a type of Holy Spirit."

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

VIII

1. Μὴ πλανᾶσθε ταῖς ἑτεροδοξίαις μὴδὲ μυθεύμασι τοῖς παλαιοῖς ἀνωφελέσιν οὖσιν. εἰ γὰρ μέχρι νῦν κατὰ Ἰουδαϊσμὸν ζῶμεν, ὁμολογοῦμεν χάριν μὴ εἰληφέναι. 2. οἱ γὰρ θειότατοι προφήται κατὰ Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν ἔζησαν. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐδιώχθησαν, ἐνπνεόμενοι ὑπὸ τῆς χάριτος αὐτοῦ, εἰς τὸ πληροφορηθῆναι τοὺς ἀπειθούντας, ὅτι εἰς θεὸς ἐστίν, ὁ φανερώσας ἑαυτὸν διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ, ὃς ἐστίν αὐτοῦ λόγος ἀπὸ συγῆς προελθών,¹ ὃς κατὰ πάντα εὐηρέστησεν τῷ πέμψαντι αὐτόν.

IX

1. Εἰ οὖν οἱ ἐν παλαιοῖς πράγμασι ἀναστραφέντες εἰς καινότητα ἐλπίδος ἦλθον, μηκέτι σαββατίζοντες, ἀλλὰ κατὰ κυριακὴν ζῶντες, ἐν ἧ καὶ ἡ ζωὴ ἡμῶν ἀνέτειλεν δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ, ὃν τινες² ἀρνοῦνται, δι' οὗ μυστηρίου ἐλάβομεν τὸ πιστεύειν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὑπομένομεν, ἵνα εὐρεθῶμεν μαθηταὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ μόνου διδασκάλου ἡμῶν. 2. πῶς ἡμεῖς δυνασόμεθα ζῆσαι χωρὶς αὐτοῦ, οὗ καὶ οἱ προφῆται μαθηταὶ

¹ So A and a quotation in Severus. GL read λόγος ἀπίστος οὐκ ἀπὸ συγῆς προελθών, but this is rightly regarded by recent editors as a doctrinal emendation due to fear of Gnostic theories in which Σιγή and Θεός were the original pair from which Λόγος emanated, cf. Clem. Alex. *Ecl. Theol.* ii. 9.

² ὅς τινες L, οἱ τινες G, g paraphrases but has ἔν not ὅ, A is ambiguous. There is thus a slight balance in favour of ὃν τινες.

VIII

1. BE not led astray by strange doctrines or by old fables which are profitless. For if we are living until now according to Judaism, we confess that we have not received grace. 2. For the divine prophets lived according to Jesus Christ. Therefore they were also persecuted, being inspired by his grace, to convince the disobedient that there is one God, who manifested himself through Jesus Christ his son, who is his Word proceeding from silence, who in all respects was well-pleasing to him that sent him.

Warning
against
Judaism

IX

1. IF then they who walked in ancient customs came to a new hope, no longer living for the Sabbath, but for the Lord's Day, on which also our life sprang up through him and his death,—though some deny him,—and by this mystery we received faith, and for this reason also we suffer, that we may be found disciples of Jesus Christ our only teacher; 2. if these things be so, how then shall we be able to live without him of whom even the prophets were disciples in the Spirit and to whom they looked

Life with
Christ

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

ὄντες τῷ πνεύματι ὡς διδάσκαλον αὐτὸν προσεδόκων; καὶ διὰ τοῦτο, ὃν δικάίως ἀνέμενον, παρῶν ἤγειρεν αὐτοὺς ἐκ νεκρῶν.

M t. 27, 52

X

1. Μὴ οὖν ἀναισθητῶμεν τῆς χρηστότητος αὐτοῦ. ἐὰν γὰρ ἡμᾶς μιμήσῃται καθὰ πράσσομεν, οὐκέτι ἐσμέν. διὰ τοῦτο, μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ γενόμενοι, μάθωμεν κατὰ Χριστιανισμὸν ζῆν. ὃς γὰρ ἄλλῳ ὀνόματι καλεῖται πλέον τούτου, οὐκ ἔστιν τοῦ θεοῦ. 2. ὑπέρθεσθε οὖν τὴν κακὴν ζύμην, τὴν παλαιωθεῖσαν καὶ ἐνοξίσασαν, καὶ μεταβάλεσθε εἰς νέαν ζύμην, ἧ ἔστιν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός. ἀλίσθητε ἐν αὐτῷ, ἵνα μὴ διαφθαρῇ τις ἐν ὑμῖν, ἐπεὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ὀσμῆς ἐλεγχθήσεσθε. 3. ἄτοπὸν ἔστιν, Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν λαλεῖν καὶ ἰουδαΐζειν. ὁ γὰρ Χριστιανισμὸς οὐκ εἰς Ἰουδαϊσμὸν ἐπίστευσεν, ἀλλ' Ἰουδαϊσμὸς εἰς Χριστιανισμὸν, ᾧ¹ πᾶσα γλῶσσα πιστεύσασα εἰς θεὸν συνήχθη.

I Cor. 5, 7

Is. 66, 18

¹ φ S, ὡς GL, εἰς ὃν g (A).

IGNATIUS TO THE MAGNESIANS, IX. 2-X. 3

forward as their teacher? And for this reason he whom they waited for in righteousness, when he came raised them from the dead.¹

X

1. LET us then not be insensible to his goodness, ^{Christianity} for if he should imitate us in our actions we are lost.² ^{and} ^{Judaism}

For this cause let us be his disciples, and let us learn to lead Christian lives. For whoever is called by any name other than this is not of God. 2. Put aside then the evil leaven, which has grown old and sour, and turn to the new leaven, which is Jesus Christ. Be salted in him, that none among you may be corrupted, since by your savour you shall be tested.

3. It is monstrous to talk of Jesus Christ and to practise Judaism. For Christianity did not base its faith on Judaism, but Judaism on Christianity, and every tongue believing on God was brought together in it.

¹ This is possibly a proleptic reference to final resurrection, but more probably to the belief, found in many documents of a later date, that Jesus by the descent into Hades set free, and took into Paradise, the righteous dead. Cf. especially the *Gospel of Nicodemus* or *Acta Pilati*.

² The meaning appears to be "if God should treat us according to human standards none of us should see salvation."

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

XI

1. Ταῦτα δέ, ἀγαπητοί μου, οὐκ ἐπεὶ ἔγνων τινας ἐξ ὑμῶν οὕτως ἔχοντας, ἀλλ' ὡς μικρότερος ὑμῶν θέλω προφυλάσσεσθαι ὑμᾶς, μὴ ἐμπεσεῖν εἰς τὰ ἄγκιστρα τῆς κενοδοξίας, ἀλλὰ πεπληροφορηῆσθαι ἐν τῇ γεννήσει καὶ τῷ πάθει καὶ τῇ ἀναστάσει τῇ γενομένῃ ἐν καιρῷ τῆς ἡγεμονίας Ποντίου Πιλάτου· πραχθέντα ἀληθῶς καὶ βεβαίως ὑπὸ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τῆς ἐλπίδος ἡμῶν, ἧς ἐκτραπήναι μηδενὶ ὑμῶν γένοιτο.

XII

1. Ὁναίμην ὑμῶν κατὰ πάντα, ἐάνπερ ἄξιος ὦ. εἰ γὰρ καὶ δέδεμαι, πρὸς ἓνα τῶν λελυμένων ὑμῶν οὐκ εἰμί. οἶδα ὅτι οὐ φυσιοῦσθε· Ἰησοῦν γὰρ Χριστὸν ἔχετε ἐν ἑαυτοῖς· καὶ μᾶλλον, ὅταν ἐπαινῶ ὑμᾶς, οἶδα, ὅτι ἐντρέπεσθε, ὡς γέγραπται, Prov. 18, 17 ὅτι ὁ δίκαιος ἑαυτοῦ κατήγορος.

XIII

1. Σπουδάσετε οὖν βεβαιωθῆναι ἐν τοῖς δόγμασιν τοῦ κυρίου καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων, ἵνα πάντα, ὅσα ποιεῖτε, κατενοδωθῆτε σαρκὶ καὶ πνεύματι, πίστει καὶ ἀγάπῃ, ἐν υἱῷ καὶ πατρὶ καὶ ἐν πνεύματι, ἐν ἀρχῇ καὶ ἐν τέλει, μετὰ τοῦ ἀξιοπρεπεστάτου ἐπισκόπου ὑμῶν καὶ ἀξιοπλόκου πνευματικοῦ στεφάνου τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου ὑμῶν καὶ τῶν κατὰ θεὸν διακόνων. 2. ὑποτάγητε τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ καὶ Ps. 1, 8

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XI

1. Now I say this, beloved, not because I know that there are any of you that are thus, but because I wish to warn you, though I am less than you, not to fall into the snare of vain doctrine, but to be convinced of the birth and passion and resurrection which took place at the time of the procuratorship of Pontius Pilate; for these things were truly and certainly done by Jesus Christ, our hope, from which God grant that none of you be turned aside.

Warning as
to the true
faith

XII

1. LET me have joy of you in all things, if I be but worthy. For even though I am in bonds I am not to be compared to one of you that have been set free. I know that you are not puffed up; for you have Jesus Christ in yourselves. And I know that when I praise you your modesty increases the more, as it is written, "The righteous man is his own accuser."

Praise of
the
Magnesians

XIII

1. BE diligent therefore to be confirmed in the ordinances of the Lord and the Apostles, in order that "you may prosper in all things whatsoever ye do" in the flesh and in the spirit, in faith and love, in the Son and the Father and the Spirit, at the beginning and at the end, together with your revered bishop and with your presbytery, that aptly woven spiritual crown, and with the godly deacons.
2. Be subject to the bishop and to one another, even

Firmness
in the
faith

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

ἀλλήλοις, ὡς Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς τῷ πατρὶ¹ καὶ οἱ ἀπόστολοι τῷ Χριστῷ καὶ τῷ πατρὶ² ἵνα ἔνωσις ᾗ σὰρκικὴ τε καὶ πνευματικὴ.

XIV

1. Εἰδὼς, ὅτι θεοῦ γέμετε, συντόμως παρεκέλευσα³ ὑμᾶς. μνημονεύετε μου ἐν ταῖς προσευχαῖς ὑμῶν, ἵνα θεοῦ ἐπιτύχω, καὶ τῆς ἐν Συρίᾳ ἐκκλησίας, ὅθεν οὐκ ἄξιός εἰμι καλεῖσθαι ἐπιδέομαι γὰρ τῆς ἡνωμένης ὑμῶν ἐν θεῷ προσευχῆς καὶ ἀγάπης, εἰς τὸ ἀξιωθῆναι τὴν ἐν Συρίᾳ ἐκκλησίαν διὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας⁴ ὑμῶν δροσισθῆναι.

XV

1. Ἀσπάζονται ὑμᾶς Ἐφέσιοι ἀπὸ Σμύρνης, ὅθεν καὶ γράφω ὑμῖν, παρόντες εἰς δόξαν θεοῦ, ὥσπερ καὶ ὑμεῖς οὐ κατὰ πάντα με ἀνέπανσαν ἅμα Πολυκάρπῳ, ἐπισκόπῳ Σμυρναίων. καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ δὲ ἐκκλησίαι ἐν τιμῇ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀσπάζονται ὑμᾶς. ἔρρωσθε ἐν ὁμονοίᾳ θεοῦ, κεκτημένοι ἀδιάκριτον πνεῦμα, ὅς ἐστιν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός.

¹ πατρί A(g), *adid* κατὰ σάρκα "according to the flesh" GL.

² πατρὶ A, *adid* καὶ τῷ πνεύματι, "and the spirit" GL.

³ παρεκέλευσα G, *παρεκάλεσα* g which Lightfoot adopts on the ground that it is a common Ignatian word, while *παρεκλεύειν* is not found elsewhere in the Epistles.

⁴ Lightfoot reads *ἐκτερείας* "of fervent supplication" on the authority of A.

IGNATIUS TO THE MAGNESIANS, XIII. 2-XV. 1

as Jesus Christ was subject to the Father, and the Apostles were subject to Christ and to the Father, in order that there may be a union both of flesh and of spirit.

XIV

1. I KNOW that you are full of God, and I have exhorted you briefly. Remember me in your prayers, that I may attain to God, and remember the Church in Syria, of which I am not worthy to be called a member. For I need your united prayer in God and your love, that the Church which is in Syria may be granted refreshment from the dew of your Church.

Request for
the prayers
of the
Magnesians

XV

1. THE Ephesians greet you from Smyrna, whence also I am writing to you; they, like yourselves, are here for the glory of God and have in all things given me comfort, together with Polycarp the bishop of the Smyrnaeans. And the other Churches also greet you in honour of Jesus Christ. Farewell in godly concord and may you possess an unhesitating¹ spirit, for this is Jesus Christ.

Final
greetings

¹ The translation "a spirit that knows no division" is possible, and perhaps suits the context here better than "unhesitating," but the latter rendering seems to be justified by Trallians i, 1. A somewhat different shade of meaning is found in Ignatius, Ephesians iii, 2.

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

ΤΡΑΛΛΙΑΝΟΙΣ ΙΓΝΑΤΙΟΣ

Ἰγνάτιος, ὁ καὶ Θεοφόρος, ἠγαπημένη θεῶ, πατρὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἐκκλησία ἀγία τῆ οὔσῃ ἐν Τράλλεσιν τῆς Ἀσίας, ἐκλεκτῇ καὶ ἀξιθέῳ, εἰρηνευούσῃ ἐν σαρκὶ καὶ πνεύματι τῷ πάθει Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τῆς ἐλπίδος ἡμῶν ἐν τῇ εἰς αὐτὸν ἀναστάσει· ἦν καὶ ἀσπάζομαι ἐν τῷ πληρώματι ἐν ἀποστολικῷ χαρακτήρι καὶ εὐχομαι πλεῖστα χαίρειν.

I

1. Ἄμωμον διάνοιαν καὶ ἀδιάκριτον ἐν ὑπομονῇ ἔγνω ὑμᾶς ἔχοντας, οὐ κατὰ χρῆσιν ἀλλὰ κατὰ φύσιν, καθὼς ἐδήλωσέν μοι Πολύβιος, ὁ ἐπίσκοπος ὑμῶν, ὃς παρεγένετο θελήματι θεοῦ καὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐν Σμύρνῃ καὶ οὕτως μοι συνεχάρη δεδεμένῳ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, ὥστε με τὸ πᾶν πλῆθος ὑμῶν ἐν αὐτῷ θεωρεῖσθαι.¹ 2. ἀποδεξάμενος οὖν τὴν κατὰ θεὸν εὐνοίαν δι' αὐτοῦ ἐδόξασα, εὐρῶν ὑμᾶς, ὡς ἔγνω, μιμητὰς ὄντας θεοῦ.

II

1. Ὅταν γὰρ τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ὑποτάσσησθε ὡς Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ, φαίνεσθέ μοι οὐ κατὰ ἄνθρωπον ζῶντες, ἀλλὰ κατὰ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς

¹ θεωρεῖσθαι G, θεωρήσαι g.

III.—IGNATIUS TO THE TRALLIANS.

IGNATIUS, who is also called Theophorus, to the Greetings
Holy Church which is at Tralles in Asia, beloved
of God the Father of Jesus Christ, elect and
worthy of God, having peace in the flesh and in
the Spirit through the passion of Jesus Christ,
who is our hope through our resurrection unto
him. Which Church I also greet in the Divine
fulness after the apostolic fashion, and I bid her
abundant greeting.

I

1. I HAVE learned that you possess a mind free The virtue
from blame and unhesitating in endurance, not from of the
habit, but by nature, as Polybius your bishop showed Trallians
me, when he visited me in Smyrna by the will of
God and of Jesus Christ, and so greatly rejoiced with
me, prisoner for Jesus Christ as I was, that I saw
your whole congregation in his person. 2. I received
therefore your godly benevolence through him, and
gave God glory that I found you, as I had learnt,
imitators of God.

II

1. FOR when you are in subjection to the bishop as Submission
to Jesus Christ it is clear to me that you are living to the
not after men, but after Jesus Christ, who died for bishop,
presbyters
and
deacons

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

ἀποθανόντα, ἵνα πιστεύσαντες εἰς τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν ἐκφύγητε. 2. ἀναγκαῖον οὖν ἐστίν, ὥσπερ ποιεῖτε, ἀνευ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου μηδὲν πράσσειν ὑμᾶς, ἀλλ' ὑποτάσσεσθαι καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ ὡς τοῖς ἀποστόλοις Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τῆς ἐλπίδος ἡμῶν, ἐν ᾧ διάγοντες εὐρεθησόμεθα.¹ 3. δεῖ δὲ καὶ τοὺς διακόνους ὄντας μυστηρίων Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ κατὰ πάντα τρόπον πᾶσιν ἀρέσκειν. οὐ γὰρ βρωμάτων καὶ ποτῶν εἰσιν διάκονοι, ἀλλ' ἐκκλησίας θεοῦ ὑπηρεταί· δέον οὖν αὐτοὺς φυλάσσεσθαι τὰ ἐγκλήματα ὡς πῦρ.

III

1. Ὅμοίως πάντες ἐντρεπέσθωσαν τοὺς διακόνους ὡς Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, ὡς καὶ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ὄντα τύπον τοῦ πατρός, τοὺς δὲ πρεσβυτέρους ὡς συνέδριον θεοῦ καὶ ὡς σύνδεσμον ἀποστόλων. χωρὶς τούτων ἐκκλησία οὐ καλεῖται. 2. περὶ ὧν πέπεισμαι ὑμᾶς οὕτως ἔχει. τὸ γὰρ ἐξεμπλᾶριον τῆς ἀγάπης ὑμῶν ἔλαβον καὶ ἔχω μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ ἐν τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ὑμῶν, οὐ αὐτὸ τὸ κατάστημα μεγάλη μαθητεία, ἣ δὲ πραότης αὐτοῦ δύναμις· ὃν λογίζομαι καὶ τοὺς ἀθέους ἐντρέπεσθαι. 3. ἀγαπῶν ὑμᾶς φείδομαι, συντονώτερον δυνάμενος γράφειν ὑπὲρ τούτου.² οὐκ εἰς τοῦτο φήθην, ἵνα ὢν κατάκριτος ὡς ἀπόστολος ὑμῖν διατάσσωμαι.

¹ εὐρεθησόμεθα GL, ἐν αὐτῷ εὐρεθ. S g.

² The text is here confused and corrupt in all the authorities. Lightfoot prefers to read οὕτως φείδομαι, and adds [ἀλλ' οὐχ ἱκανὸν ἑαυτόν] εἰς τοῦτο κ.τ.λ.

IGNATIUS TO THE TRALLIANS, II. I-III. 3

our sake, that by believing on his death you may escape death. 2. Therefore it is necessary (as is your practice) that you should do nothing without the bishop, but be also in subjection to the presbytery, as to the Apostles of Jesus Christ our hope, for if we live in him we shall be found in him. 3. And they also who are deacons of the mysteries of Jesus Christ must be in every way pleasing to all men. For they are not the ministers of food and drink, but servants of the Church of God; they must therefore guard against blame as against fire.

III

1. **LIKEWISE** let all respect the deacons as Jesus Christ, even as the bishop is also a type of the Father, and the presbyters as the council of God and the college of Apostles. Without these the name of "Church" is not given. 2. I am confident that you accept this. For I have received the example of your love, and I have it with me in the person of your bishop, whose very demeanour is a great lesson, and whose meekness is a miracle,¹ and I believe that even the godless pay respect to him. 3. I am sparing you in my love, though I might write more sharply on his behalf: I did not think myself competent, as a convict, to give you orders like an Apostle.

The reverence due to them

¹ Or, possibly, "is his power."

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

IV

1. Πολλὰ φρονῶ ἐν θεῷ, ἀλλ' ἑμαυτὸν μετρῶ, ἵνα μὴ ἐν καυχῇσει ἀπόλωμαι. νῦν γὰρ με δεῖ πλέον φοβεῖσθαι καὶ μὴ προσέχειν τοῖς φυσιοῦσίν με. οἱ γὰρ λέγοντές μοι μαστιγοῦσίν με. 2. ἀγαπῶ μὲν γὰρ τὸ παθεῖν, ἀλλ' οὐκ οἶδα, εἰ ἄξιός εἰμι. τὸ γὰρ ζῆλος πολλοῖς μὲν οὐ φαίνεται, ἐμὲ δὲ πλέον πολεμεῖ. χρήζω οὖν πραότητος, ἐν ᾗ καταλύεται ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου.

V

1. Μὴ οὐ δύναμαι ὑμῖν τὰ ἐπουράνια γράψαι ;
Cor. 8, 1. 2 ἀλλὰ φοβοῦμαι, μὴ νηπίοις οὖσιν ὑμῖν βλάβην παραθῶ καὶ συγγνωμονεῖτέ μοι, μήποτε οὐ δυνηθέντες χωρῆσαι στραγγαλωθῆτε. 2. καὶ γὰρ ἐγώ, οὐ καθότι δέδεμαι καὶ δύναμαι νοεῖν τὰ ἐπουράνια καὶ τὰς τοποθεσίας τὰς ἀγγελικὰς καὶ τὰς συστάσεις τὰς ἀρχοντικὰς, ὁρατά τε καὶ ἀόρατα, Col. 1, 16 παρὰ τοῦτο ἤδη καὶ μαθητῆς εἰμι. πολλὰ γὰρ ἡμῖν λείπει, ἵνα θεοῦ μὴ λειπώμεθα.

VI

1. Παρακαλῶ οὖν ὑμᾶς, οὐκ ἐγώ, ἀλλ' ἡ ἀγάπη Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ· μόνη τῇ χριστιανῇ τροφῇ χρῆσθε, ἀλλοτρίας δὲ βοτάνης ἀπέχεσθε, ἧτις ἐστίν

IV

1. I HAVE many thoughts in God, but I take the measure of myself that I perish not through boasting, for at present it is far better for me to be timid, and not to give heed to them who puff me up. For they who speak thus are a scourge to me. 2. For I desire to suffer, but I know not if I am worthy, for the jealousy of the devil¹ is to many not obvious, but against me it fights the more. I have need therefore of meekness, by which the prince of this world is brought to nothing.

Ignatius' need of humility

V

1. AM I not able to write to you heavenly things? Yes, but I am afraid that I should do you harm "seeing you are babes." Pardon me, for I refrain lest you be choked by what you cannot receive. 2. For I myself, though I am in bonds and can understand heavenly things, and the places of the angels and the gatherings of principalities, and "things seen and unseen," not for this am I a disciple even now, for much is lacking to us, that we may not lack God.

Reason for simple teaching

VI

1. I BESEECH you therefore (yet not I but the love of Jesus Christ) live only on Christian fare, and refrain from strange food, which is heresy. 2. For

Warning against heresy

¹ This is probably the meaning: an alternative translation would be: "Ambition is not obvious, etc." But cf. the letter to the Romans v. 3.

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

αἵρεσις· 2. οἱ ἑαυτοῖς¹ παρεμπλέκουσιν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν καταξιοπιστευόμενοι, ὥσπερ θανάσιμον φάρμακον διδόντες μετὰ οἴνομέλιτος, ὅπερ ὁ ἀγνοῶν ἠδέως λαμβάνει ἐν ἡδονῇ κακῇ² τὸ ἀποθανεῖν.

VII

1. Φυλάττεσθε οὖν τοὺς τοιούτους, τοῦτο δὲ ἔσται ὑμῖν μὴ φυσιομένοις καὶ οὖσιν ἀχωρίστοις θεοῦ³ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου καὶ τῶν διαταγμάτων τῶν ἀποστόλων. 2. ὁ ἐντὸς θυσιαστηρίου ὢν καθαρὸς ἔστιν· ὁ δὲ ἐκτὸς θυσιαστηρίου ὢν οὐ καθαρὸς ἔστιν· τοῦτ' ἔστιν, ὁ χωρὶς ἐπισκόπου καὶ πρεσβυτερίου καὶ διακόνων πρᾶσσων τι, οὗτος οὐ καθαρὸς ἔστιν τῇ συνειδήσει.

VIII

1. Οὐκ ἐπεὶ ἔγνων τοιούτῳν τι ἐν ὑμῖν, ἀλλὰ προφυλάσσω ὑμᾶς ὄντας μου ἀγαπητούς, προορῶν τὰς ἐνέδρας τοῦ διαβόλου. ὑμεῖς οὖν τὴν πρᾶυπάθειαν ἀναλαμβάνετε ἀνακτῆσασθε ἑαυτοὺς ἐν πίστει ὃ ἔστιν σὰρξ τοῦ κυρίου, καὶ ἐν ἀγάπῃ, ὃ ἔστιν αἷμα Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. 2. μηδεὶς ὑμῶν κατὰ τοῦ

¹ οἱ ἑαυτοῖς παρεμπλέκουσιν seems to be the text implied by the translations of SA, but G(L) read οἱ καιροὶ παρεμπλέκουσιν and g has καὶ τὸν ἴδν προσπλέκοντες. The text is clearly corrupt, and Lightfoot suggests καὶ ἰφ παρεμπλέκουσιν κ.τ.λ. "for they even mingle poison with Jesus Christ."

² κακῇ L, om. SA, κακεῖ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν "and therein is death" G.

³ The text is doubtful. A omits θεοῦ; probably there is some corruption though it is impossible to be sure what it is.

IGNATIUS TO THE TRALLIANS, VI. 2—VIII. 2

these men mingle Jesus Christ with themselves in specious honesty, mixing as it were a deadly poison with honeyed wine, which the ignorant takes gladly in his baneful pleasure, and it is his death.

VII

1. BEWARE therefore of such men ; and this will be possible for you, if you are not puffed up, and are inseparable from God, from Jesus Christ¹ and from the bishop and the ordinances of the Apostles. The need of remaining loyal to the bishop
2. He who is within the sanctuary is pure, but he who is without the sanctuary is not pure ; that is to say whoever does anything apart from the bishop and the presbytery and the deacons is not pure in his conscience.

VIII

I. IT is not that I know that there is anything of this kind among you, but I warn you because you are dear to me, and I foresee the snares of the devil. Warning against the snares of the devil
Therefore adopt meekness and be renewed in faith, which is the flesh of the Lord, and in love, which is the blood of Jesus Christ. 2. Let none of you have a

¹ Or possibly "from our God Jesus Christ."

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

1a. 52, 5
πλησίον ἐχέτω. μὴ ἀφορμὰς δίδοτε τοῖς ἔθνεσιν,
ἵνα μὴ δι' ὀλίγους ἄφρονας τὸ ἐν θεῷ πλήθος
βλασφημῆται. Οὐαὶ γάρ, δι' οὗ ἐπὶ ματαιότητι
τὸ ὄνομά μου ἐπὶ τινῶν βλασφημεῖται.

IX

1. Κωφώθητε οὖν, ὅταν ὑμῖν χωρὶς Ἰησοῦ
Χριστοῦ λαλῆ τις, τοῦ ἐκ γένους Δαυεὶδ, τοῦ
ἐκ Μαρίας, ὃς ἀληθῶς ἐγεννήθη, ἔφαγέν τε καὶ
ἔπιεν, ἀληθῶς ἐδιώχθη ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου,
ἀληθῶς ἐσταυρώθη καὶ ἀπέθανεν, βλεπόντων
τῶν ἐπουρανίων καὶ ἐπιγείων καὶ ὑποχθονίων.
2. ὃς καὶ ἀληθῶς ἠγέρθη ἀπὸ νεκρῶν, ἐγείραντος
I Cor. 15,
12 ff.
αὐτὸν τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ, κατὰ τὸ ὁμοίωμα ὃς καὶ¹
ἡμᾶς τοὺς πιστεύοντας αὐτῷ οὕτως ἐγερεῖ ὁ πατὴρ
αὐτοῦ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, οὗ χωρὶς τὸ ἀληθινὸν ζῆν
οὐκ ἔχομεν.

X

1. Εἰ δέ, ὥσπερ τινὲς ἄθεοι ὄντες, τουτέστιν
ἄπιστοί, λέγουσιν, τὸ δοκεῖν πεπονημέναι αὐτόν,
αὐτοὶ ὄντες τὸ δοκεῖν, ἐγὼ τί δέδεμαι, τί δὲ καὶ
εὐχομαι θηριομαχῆσαι; δωρεὰν οὖν ἀποθνήσκω.
ἄρα οὖν καταψεύδομαι τοῦ κυρίου.

¹ κατὰ τὸ ὁμοίωμα ὃς καὶ G, qui et secundum similitudinem
L. SA perhaps imply ὡς καὶ κατὰ τὸ ὁμοίωμα.

IGNATIUS TO THE TRALLIANS, VIII. 2-X. 1

grudge against his neighbour. Give no occasion to the heathen, in order that the congregation of God may not be blasphemed for a few foolish persons. For "Woe unto him through whom my name is vainly blasphemed among any."

IX

1. BE deaf therefore when anyone speaks to you apart from Jesus Christ, who was of the family of David, and of Mary, who was truly born, both ate and drank, was truly persecuted under Pontius Pilate, was truly crucified and died in the sight of those in heaven and on earth and under the earth; 2. who also was truly raised from the dead, when his Father raised him up, as in the same manner his Father shall raise up in Christ Jesus us who believe in him, without whom we have no true life.

X

1. BUT if, as some affirm who are without God, —that is, are unbelievers—his suffering was only a semblance (but it is they who are merely a semblance), why am I a prisoner, and why do I even long to fight with the beasts? In that case I am dying in vain. Then indeed am I lying concerning the Lord.

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

XI

1. Φεύγετε οὖν τὰς κακὰς παραφυάδας τὰς γεννώσας καρπὸν θανατηφόρον, οὗ ἂν γεύσηται τις, παρ' αὐτὰ ἀποθνήσκει. οὗτοι γὰρ οὐκ εἰσιν φυτεία πατρός. 2. εἰ γὰρ ἦσαν, ἐφαίνοντο ἂν κλάδοι τοῦ σταυροῦ, καὶ ἦν ἂν ὁ καρπὸς αὐτῶν ἀφθαρτος· δι' οὗ ἐν τῷ πάθει αὐτοῦ προσκαλεῖται ὑμᾶς ὄντας μέλη αὐτοῦ. οὐ δύναται οὖν κεφαλὴ χωρὶς γεννηθῆναι ἄνευ μελῶν, τοῦ θεοῦ ἕνωσιν ἐπαγγελλομένου, ὃ ἐστὶν αὐτός.

Mt. 16, 18

XII

1. Ἀσπάζομαι ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ Σμύρνης ἅμα ταῖς συμπαρούσαις μοι ἐκκλησίαις τοῦ θεοῦ, οἷ κατὰ πάντα με ἀνέπαυσαν σαρκί τε καὶ πνεύματι. 2. παρακαλεῖ ὑμᾶς τὰ δεσμά μου, ἃ ἔνεκεν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ περιφέρω, αἰτούμενος θεοῦ ἐπιτυχεῖν· διαμένετε ἐν τῇ ὁμονοίᾳ ὑμῶν καὶ τῇ μετ' ἀλλήλων προσευχῇ. πρέπει γὰρ ὑμῖν τοῖς καθ' ἓνα, ἐξαιρέτως καὶ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις, ἀναψύχειν τὸν ἐπίσκοπον εἰς τιμὴν πατρός, Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων. 3. εὐχομαι ὑμᾶς ἐν ἀγάπῃ ἀκοῦσαί μου, ἵνα μὴ εἰς μαρτύριον ὧ ἐν ὑμῖν γράψας. καὶ περὶ ἐμοῦ δὲ προσεύχεσθε, τῆς ἀφ' ὑμῶν ἀγάπης χρῆζοντος ἐν τῷ ἐλέει τοῦ θεοῦ, εἰς τὸ καταξιωθῆναί με τοῦ κλήρου, οὗ περίκειμαι¹ ἐπιτυχεῖν, ἵνα μὴ ἀδόκιμος εὔρεθῶ.

I Cor. 9, 27

¹ Lightfoot thinks περίκειμαι impossible and accepts Bunsen's emendation οὐπερ ἔγκειμαι.

IGNATIUS TO THE TRALLIANS, XI. 1—XII. 3

XI

1. FLY from these wicked offshoots, which bear deadly fruit, which if a man eat he presently dies. Against heresy For these are not the planting of the Father. 2. For if they were they would appear as branches of the Cross (and their fruit would be incorruptible) by which through his Passion he calls you who are his members. The head therefore cannot be borne without limbs, since God promises union, that is himself.

XII

1. I GREET you from Smyrna together with the Churches of God that are present with me, men who in all things have given me rest in the flesh and in the spirit. Exhortation to unity and love 2. My bonds exhort you, which I carry about for the sake of Jesus Christ, praying that I may attain to God; continue in your present harmony and in prayer with one another. For it is right that each of you, and especially the presbyters, should refresh the bishop, to the honour of the Father, of Jesus Christ, and of the Apostles. 3. I entreat you to listen to me in love, that I become not by my writing a witness against you. And pray for me also, for I have need of your love in the mercy of God, that I may be granted the lot which I am set to obtain, that I be not found reprobate.

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

XIII

1. Ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς ἡ ἀγάπη Σμυρναίων καὶ Ἐφεσίων. μνημονεύετε ἐν ταῖς προσευχαῖς ὑμῶν τῆς ἐν Συρία ἐκκλησίας, ὅθεν καὶ οὐκ ἀξίος εἶμι λέγεσθαι, ὧν ἔσχατος ἐκείνων. 2. ἔρρωσθε ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ, ὑποτασσόμενοι τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ὡς τῇ ἐντολῇ, ὁμοίως καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ. καὶ οἱ κατ' ἄνδρα ἀλλήλους ἀγαπάτε ἐν ἀμερίστῳ καρδίᾳ. 3. ἀγνίζεται ὑμῶν τὸ ἐμὸν πνεῦμα οὐ μόνον νῦν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅταν θεοῦ ἐπιτύχω. ἔτι γὰρ ὑπὸ κίνδυνόν εἶμι· ἀλλὰ πιστὸς ὁ πατήρ ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ πληρῶσαί μου τὴν αἴτησιν καὶ ὑμῶν, ἐν ᾧ εὐρεθείητε¹ ἄμωμοι.

ΡΩΜΑΙΟΙΣ ΙΓΝΑΤΙΟΣ

Ἰγνάτιος, ὁ καὶ Θεοφόρος, τῇ ἡλεημένῃ ἐν μεγαλειότητι πατρὸς ὑψίστου καὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ μόνου υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐκκλησία ἡγαπημένη καὶ πεφωτισμένη ἐν θελήματι τοῦ θελήσαντος τὰ πάντα, ἃ ἔστιν, κατὰ ἀγάπην Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν, ἣτις καὶ προκάθηται ἐν τόπῳ χωρίου Ῥωμαίων, ἀξιοθεός, ἀξιοπρεπής, ἀξιωμακάριστος, ἀξιεπαῖνος, ἀξιεπίτευκτος, ἀξιαγνός καὶ προκαθημένη τῆς ἀγάπης, χριστῶνυμος,² πατρώνυμος, ἣν καὶ ἀσπάζομαι ἐν

¹ The Armenian and g read εὐρεθείημεν "may we be found."

² ALS read χριστόνομος "having the law of Christ."

IGNATIUS TO THE ROMANS

XIII

1. THE love of the Smyrnaeans and Ephesians greet you : remember in your prayers the Church in Syria, in which I am not worthy to be reckoned, being the least of its members. 2. Farewell in Jesus Christ. Submit yourselves to the bishop as to the commandment, and likewise to the presbytery. Let each of you individually love one another with an undivided heart. 3. My spirit is consecrated to you not only now, but also when I attain to God. For I am still in peril, but the Father is faithful in Jesus Christ to fulfil both your and my prayer, in which may you be found blameless.

Final
greetings

IV.—IGNATIUS TO THE ROMANS.

IGNATIUS, who is also called Theophorus, to her who has obtained mercy in the greatness of the Most High Father, and of Jesus Christ his only Son ; to the Church beloved and enlightened by the will of him who has willed all things which are, according to the love of Jesus Christ, our God, which also has the presidency in the country of the land of the Romans, worthy of God, worthy of honour, worthy of blessing, worthy of praise, worthy of success, worthy in its holiness, and pre-eminent in love, named after Christ, named after the Father, which also I greet in the name of

Greeting

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, υἱοῦ πατρὸς· κατὰ σάρκα καὶ πνεῦμα ἠνωμένοις πάσῃ ἐντολῇ αὐτοῦ, πεπληρωμένοις χάριτος θεοῦ ἀδιακρίτως καὶ ἀποδιῦλισμένοις ἀπὸ παντὸς ἄλλοτρίου χρώματος πλείστα ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ, τῷ θεῷ ἡμῶν, ἀμώμως χαίρειν.

I

1. Ἐπεὶ εὐξάμενος θεῷ ἐπέτυχον ἰδεῖν ὑμῶν τὰ ἀξιόθεα πρόσωπα, ὡς καὶ πλέον ἠτούμην λαβεῖν· δεδεμένος γὰρ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ ἐλπίζω ὑμᾶς ἀσπᾶσασθαι, εἴανπερ θέλημα ἦ τοῦ ἀξιωθῆναι με εἰς τέλος εἶναι. 2. ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἀρχὴ εὐοικονόμητός ἐστιν, εἴανπερ χάριτος¹ ἐπιτύχω εἰς τὸ τὸν κληρὸν μου ἀνεμποδίστως ἀπολαβεῖν. φοβοῦμαι γὰρ τὴν ὑμῶν ἀγάπην, μὴ αὐτὴ με ἀδικήσῃ. ὑμῖν γὰρ εὐχερές ἐστιν, ὃ θέλετε, ποιῆσαι· ἐμοὶ δὲ δύσκολόν ἐστιν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπιτυχεῖν, εἴανπερ ὑμεῖς μὴ φείσησθέ μου.

II

1 Thess. 2, 4 1. Οὐ γὰρ θέλω ὑμᾶς ἀνθρωπαρεσκῆσαι, ἀλλὰ θεῷ ἀρέσαι, ὡσπερ καὶ ἀρέσκετε. οὔτε γὰρ ἐγὼ ποτε ἔξω καιρὸν τοιοῦτον θεοῦ ἐπιτυχεῖν, οὔτε ὑμεῖς, εἴαν σιωπήσητε, κρείττονι ἔργῳ ἔχετε ἐπιγραφῆναι. εἴαν γὰρ σιωπήσητε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ, ἐγὼ λόγος θεοῦ· εἴαν δὲ ἐρασθῆτε τῆς σαρκός μου,

¹ A, with partial support in other authorities, reads πέρατος "may reach the goal."

IGNATIUS TO THE ROMANS, I. I-II. I

Jesus Christ, the Son of the Father; to those who are united in flesh and spirit in every one of his commandments, filled with the grace of God without wavering, and filtered clear from every foreign stain, abundant greeting in Jesus Christ, our God, in blamelessness.

I

1. FORASMUCH as I have gained my prayer to God to see your godly faces, so that I have obtained more than I asked,—for in bondage in Christ Jesus I hope to greet you if it be his will that I be found worthy to the end. Hope of seeing the Romans 2. For the beginning has been well ordered, if I may obtain grace to come unhindered to my lot. For I am afraid of your love, lest even that do me wrong. For it is easy for you to do what you will, but it is difficult for me to attain to God, if you do not spare me.

II

1. For I would not have you “men-pleasers” but “God-pleasers,” even as you do indeed please him. His desire not to be saved from the beasts For neither shall I ever have such an opportunity of attaining to God, nor can you, if you be but silent, have any better deed ascribed to you. For if you are silent concerning me, I am a word of God; but if

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

πάλιν ἔσομαι φωνή. 2. πλέον μοι μὴ παράσχησθε τοῦ σπονδισθῆναι θεῷ, ὡς ἔτι θυσιαστήριον ἔτοιμόν ἐστιν, ἵνα ἐν ἀγάπῃ χορὸς γενόμενοι ἄσητε τῷ πατρὶ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, ὅτι τὸν ἐπίσκοπον Συρίας ὁ θεὸς κατηξίωσεν εὐρεθῆναι εἰς δύσιν ἀπὸ ἀνατολῆς μεταπεμφάμενος. καλὸν τὸ δύναι ἀπὸ κόσμου πρὸς θεόν, ἵνα εἰς αὐτὸν ἀνατείλω.

III

1. Οὐδέποτε ἐβασκάνατε οὐδενί, ἄλλους ἐδιδάξατε. ἐγὼ δὲ θέλω, ἵνα κάκεινα βέβαια ἢ ἁ μαθητεύοντες ἐντέλλεσθε. 2. μόνον μοι δύναμιν αἰτείσθε ἔσωθέν τε καὶ ἔξωθεν, ἵνα μὴ μόνον λέγω ἀλλὰ καὶ θέλω, ἵνα μὴ μόνον λέγωμαι Χριστιανὸς ἀλλὰ καὶ εὐρεθῶ. εἰ γὰρ εὐρεθῶ, καὶ λέγεσθαι δύναμαι, καὶ τότε πιστὸς εἶναι, ὅταν κόσμῳ μὴ φαίνωμαι. 3. οὐδὲν φαινόμενον καλόν· ὁ γὰρ θεὸς ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ἐν πατρὶ ὧν μᾶλλον φαίνεται. οὐ πεισμονῆς τὸ ἔργον, ἀλλὰ μεγέθους ἐστὶν ὁ Χριστιανισμὸς, ὅταν μισῆται ὑπὸ κόσμου.

IGNATIUS TO THE ROMANS, II. I-III. 3

you love my flesh, I shall again be only a cry.
2. Grant me nothing more than that I be poured out to God, while an altar is still ready, that forming yourselves into a chorus¹ of love, you may sing to the Father in Christ Jesus, that God has vouchsafed that the bishop of Syria shall be found at the setting of the sun, having fetched him from the sun's rising. It is good to set to the world towards God, that I may rise to him.

III

1. You never have envied anyone, you taught others. But I desire that those things may stand fast which you enjoin in your instructions. 2. Only pray for me for strength, both inward and outward, that I may not merely speak, but also have the will, that I may not only be called a Christian, but may also be found to be one. For if I be found to be one, I can also be called one, and then be deemed faithful when I no longer am visible in the world. 3. Nothing visible is good, for our God, Jesus Christ, being now in the Father, is the more plainly visible.² Christianity is not the work of persuasiveness, but of greatness, when it is hated by the world.

Request
that they
should pray
for him

¹ Cf. note on Eph. xix., p. 193.

² The sentence is clumsily expressed: apparently Ignatius means "nothing directly visible is good, and Jesus Christ, who is no longer visible, being in the Father, is more clearly perceived by the eye of faith," but he has sacrificed clearness to a paradoxical playing with the words.

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

IV

1. Ἐγὼ γράφω πάσαις ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις, καὶ ἐντέλλομαι πᾶσιν, ὅτι ἐγὼ ἐκὼν ὑπὲρ θεοῦ ἀποθνήσκω, ἵνα ὑμεῖς μὴ κωλύσητε. παρακαλῶ ὑμᾶς, μὴ εὐνοια ἄκαιρος γένησθέ μοι. ἄφετέ με θηρίων εἶναι βορᾶν, δι' ὧν ἔνεστιν θεοῦ ἐπιτυχεῖν. σίτός εἰμι θεοῦ καὶ δι' ὀδόντων θηρίων ἀλήθομαι, ἵνα καθαρὸς ἄρτος εὑρεθῶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ.¹ 2. μᾶλλον κολακεύσατε τὰ θηρία, ἵνα μοι τάφος γένωνται καὶ μηθὲν καταλίπωσι τῶν τοῦ σώματός μου, ἵνα μὴ κοιμηθεῖς βαρὺς τινι γένωμαι. τότε ἔσομαι μαθητὴς ἀληθῶς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὅτε οὐδὲ τὸ σῶμά μου ὁ κόσμος ὄψεται. λιτανεύσατε τὸν Χριστὸν² ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ, ἵνα διὰ τῶν ὀργάνων τούτων θυσία³ εὑρεθῶ. 3. οὐχ ὡς Πέτρος καὶ Παῦλος διατάσσομαι ὑμῖν. ἐκεῖνοι ἀπόστολοι, ἐγὼ κατάκριτος· ἐκεῖνοι ἐλεύθεροι, ἐγὼ δὲ μέχρι νῦν δούλος. ἀλλ' ἐὰν πάθω, ἀπελεύθερος γενήσομαι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ ἀναστήσομαι ἐν αὐτῷ ἐλεύθερος. νῦν μανθάνω δεδεμένος μηδὲν ἐπιθυμεῖν.

Cf. Zenobius
Paroem. i.
50

I Cor. 7, 22

V

1. Ἀπὸ Συρίας μέχρι Ῥώμης θηριομαχῶ, διὰ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης, νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας, δεδεμένος

¹ τοῦ Χριστοῦ GL, θεοῦ Sg Iren.^{lat.}, om. Iren.^{gr.} Hieron.

² τὸν Χριστὸν GL, τὸν Κύριον SA.

³ θεῶ (θεοῦ) θυσία LSA.

IGNATIUS TO THE ROMANS, IV. 1-V. 1

IV

1. I AM writing to all the Churches, and I give His desire to suffer injunctions to all men, that I am dying willingly for God's sake, if you do not hinder it. I beseech you, be not "an unseasonable kindness"¹ to me. Suffer me to be eaten by the beasts, through whom I can attain to God. I am God's wheat, and I am ground by the teeth of wild beasts that I may be found pure bread of Christ. 2. Rather entice the wild beasts that they may become my tomb, and leave no trace of my body, that when I fall asleep I be not burdensome to any. Then shall I be truly a disciple of Jesus Christ, when the world shall not even see my body. Beseech Christ on my behalf, that I may be found a sacrifice through these instruments.² 3. I do not order you as did Peter and Paul; they were Apostles, I am a convict; they were free, I am even until now a slave. But if I suffer I shall be Jesus Christ's freedman, and in him I shall rise free. Now I am learning in my bonds to give up all desires.

V

1. FROM Syria to Rome I am fighting with wild His journey, and expectation of martyrdom beasts, by land and sea, by night and day, bound to

¹ Apparently a partial quotation from the proverb preserved by Zenobius *ἄκαιρος εὖνος ὀδδὲν ἐχθρας διαφέρει* "an unseasonable kindness is nothing different from hostility."

² I.e. the wild beasts.

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

Cor. 4, 4 δέκα λεοπάρδοις, ὃ ἐστὶν στρατιωτικὸν τάγμα· οἱ καὶ εὐεργετούμενοι χεῖρους γίνονται. ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀδικήμασιν αὐτῶν μᾶλλον μαθητεύομαι, ἀλλ' οὐ παρὰ τοῦτο δεδικαίωμαι. 2. ὀναίμην τῶν θηρίων τῶν ἐμοὶ ἡτοιμασμένων καὶ εὐχομαι σύντομά μοι εὐρεθῆναι· ἃ καὶ κολακεύσω, συντόμως με καταφαγεῖν, οὐχ ὥσπερ τινῶν δειλαινόμενα οὐχ ἤψαντο. κἂν αὐτὰ δὲ ἄκοντα¹ μὴ θελήσῃ, ἐγὼ προσβιάσομαι. 3. συγγνώμην μοι ἔχετε· τί μοι συμφέρει, ἐγὼ γινώσκω, νῦν ἄρχομαι μαθητῆς εἶναι. μηθὲν με ζηλώσαι τῶν ὁρατῶν καὶ ἀοράτων, ἵνα Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐπιτύχω. πῦρ καὶ σταυρὸς θηρίων τε συστάσεις, ἀνατομαί, διαιρέσεις, σκορπισμοὶ ὀστέων, συγκοπὴ μελῶν, ἀλεσμοὶ ὄλου τοῦ σώματος, κακαὶ κολάσεις τοῦ διαβόλου ἐπ' ἐμὲ ἐρχέσθωσαν, μόνον ἵνα Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐπιτύχω.

VI

Cor. 9, 15 1. Οὐδέν μοι ὠφελήσει τὰ πέρατα τοῦ κόσμου οὐδὲ αἱ βασιλεῖαι τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου. καλόν μοι ἀποθανεῖν εἰς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν, ἢ βασιλεύειν τῶν περάτων τῆς γῆς. ἐκεῖνον ζητῶ, τὸν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀποθανόντα· ἐκεῖνον θέλω, τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς ἀναστάντα. ὃ δὲ τοκετός μοι ἐπίκειται. 2. σύγγνωτέ μοι,

¹ ἄκοντα G Euseb, ἐκόντα Lg, (om. SA ?). Lightfoot prefers ἐκόντα "willing," which must be an accusative referring to Ignatius.

IGNATIUS TO THE ROMANS, v. 1-VI. 2

ten "leopards" (that is, a company of soldiers¹), and they become worse for kind treatment. Now I become the more a disciple for their ill deeds, "but not by this am I justified." 2. I long for the beasts that are prepared for me; and I pray that they may be found prompt for me; I will even entice them to devour me promptly; not as has happened to some whom they have not touched from fear; even if they be unwilling of themselves, I will force them to it. 3. Grant me this favour. I know what is expedient for me; now I am beginning to be a disciple. May nothing of things seen or unseen envy me my attaining to Jesus Christ. Let there come on me fire, and cross, and struggles with wild beasts, cutting, and tearing asunder, rackings of bones, mangling of limbs, crushing of my whole body, cruel tortures of the devil, may I but attain to Jesus Christ!

VI

1. THE ends of the earth and the kingdoms of this world shall profit me nothing. It is better for me to die in Christ Jesus than to be king over the ends of the earth. I seek Him who died for our sake. I desire Him who rose for us. The pains of birth are upon me. 2. Suffer me, my brethren; hinder me

The glory
of
martyrdom

¹ The first impression made by this passage is that "leopards" was the name of some regiment, and that the following words are an explanatory gloss; but there is no evidence for this use of "leopard." *Τάγμα* is perhaps the equivalent of "manipulus" in the later sense of "ten men." The whole passage is rendered stranger still by the fact that it is the first instance of the word "leopard" in Greek or Latin literature.

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

ἀδελφοί· μὴ ἐμποδίσθητέ μοι ζῆσαι, μὴ θελήσητέ με ἀποθανεῖν· τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ θέλοντα εἶναι κόσμῳ μὴ χαρίσησθε, μηδὲ ὕλη ἐξαπατήσητε.¹ ἄφετέ με καθαρὸν φῶς λαβεῖν· ἐκεῖ παραγενόμενος ἄνθρωπος ἔσομαι. 3. ἐπιτρέψατέ μοι μιμητὴν εἶναι τοῦ πάθους τοῦ θεοῦ μου. εἴ τις αὐτὸν ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἔχει, νοησάτω ὃ θέλω, καὶ συμπαθείτω μοι εἰδῶς τὰ συνέχοντά με.

VII

1. Ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου διαρπάσαι με βούλεται καὶ τὴν εἰς θεὸν μου γνώμην διαφθεῖραι. μηδεὶς οὖν τῶν παρόντων ὑμῶν βοηθείτω αὐτῷ· μᾶλλον ἐμοῦ γίνεσθε, τουτέστιν τοῦ θεοῦ. μὴ λαλεῖτε Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, κόσμον δὲ ἐπιθυμεῖτε. 2. βασκανία ἐν ὑμῖν μὴ κατοικεῖτω. μηδ' ἂν ἐγὼ παρὼν παρακαλῶ ὑμᾶς, πείσθητέ μοι· τούτοις δὲ μᾶλλον πείσθητε, οἷς γράφω ὑμῖν. ζῶν γὰρ γράφω ὑμῖν, ἐρῶν τοῦ ἀποθανεῖν. ὃ ἐμὸς ἔρωσ ἐσταύρωται, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν ἐμοὶ πῦρ φιλόυλου· ὕδωρ δὲ ζῶν καὶ λαλοῦν² ἐν ἐμοί, ἔσωθέν μοι λέγον· Δεῦρο πρὸς τὸν πατέρα. 3. οὐχ ἠδομαι τροφῇ φθορᾶς οὐδὲ ἠδοναῖς τοῦ βίου τούτου. ἄρτον θεοῦ θέλω, ὃ ἐστὶν σὰρξ Ἰησοῦ³ Χριστοῦ, τοῦ ἐκ σπέρματος Δανειδ, καὶ πόμα θέλω τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ, ὃ ἐστὶν ἀγάπη ἀφθαρτος.

Joh. 4, 10 ;
7, 38

Joh. 6, 33

Joh. 7, 42 ;
Rom. 1, 3 ;
II Tim. 2, 8

¹ μηδὲ ὕλη ἐξαπατήσητε is omitted in Gg ; Lightfoot thinks that LSA imply *κολακεύσητε* rather than *ἐξαπατήσητε*.

² The text is much expanded in the later authorities : Lightfoot is inclined to emend *καὶ λαλοῦν* to *ἀλλόμενον*, which is found in g, as a reference to Joh. 4, 14.

³ Ἰησοῦ GLA, *om.* 3g.

IGNATIUS TO THE ROMANS, VI. 2-VII. 3

not from living, do not wish me to die. Do not give to the world one who desires to belong to God, nor deceive him with material things. Suffer me to receive the pure light; when I have come thither I shall become a man. 3. Suffer me to follow the example of the Passion of my God. If any man have him within himself, let him understand what I wish, and let him sympathise with me, knowing the things which constrain me.

VII

1. THE Prince of this world wishes to tear me in pieces, and to corrupt my mind towards God. Let none of you who are present help him. Be rather on my side, that is on God's. Do not speak of Jesus Christ, and yet desire the world. 2. Let no envy dwell among you. Even though when I come I beseech you myself, do not be persuaded by me, but rather obey this, which I write to you: for in the midst of life I write to you desiring death. My lust has been crucified, and there is in me no fire of love for material things; but only water living and speaking in me, and saying to me from within, "Come to the Father." 3. I have no pleasure in the food of corruption or in the delights of this life. I desire the "bread of God," which is the flesh of Jesus Christ, who was "of the seed of David," and for drink I desire his blood, which is incorruptible love.¹

The temptations of the devil, and his own feelings

¹ There is here perhaps a play on the words: the word translated "love" was also used either as a synonym for the Eucharist, or, as some think, as the name of a religious meal originally connected with the Eucharist.

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

VIII

1. Οὐκέτι θέλω κατὰ ἀνθρώπους ζῆν. τοῦτο δὲ ἔσται, ἐὰν ὑμεῖς θελήσητε. θελήσατε, ἵνα καὶ ὑμεῖς θεληθῆτε. 2. δι' ὀλίγων γραμμάτων αἰτοῦμαι ὑμᾶς πιστεῦσατέ μοι. Ἰησοῦς δὲ Χριστὸς ὑμῖν ταῦτα φανερώσει, ὅτι ἀληθῶς λέγω· τὸ ἀψευδὲς στόμα, ἐν ᾧ ὁ πατὴρ ἐλάλησεν ἀληθῶς. 3. αἰτήσασθε περὶ ἐμοῦ, ἵνα ἐπιτύχω. οὐ κατὰ σάρκα ὑμῖν ἔγραψα, ἀλλὰ κατὰ γνώμην θεοῦ. ἐὰν πάθω, ἠθελήσατε· ἐὰν ἀποδοκιμασθῶ, ἐμισήσατε.

IX

1. Μνημονεύετε ἐν τῇ προσευχῇ ὑμῶν τῆς ἐν Συρία ἐκκλησίας, ἣτις ἀντὶ ἐμοῦ ποιμένι τῷ θεῷ χρήται. μόνος αὐτὴν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ἐπισκοπήσει καὶ ἡ ὑμῶν ἀγάπη. 2. ἐγὼ δὲ αἰσχύνομαι ἐξ αὐτῶν λέγεσθαι· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄξιός εἰμι, ὧν ἔσχατος αὐτῶν καὶ ἔκτρομα· ἀλλ' ἠλέημαί τις εἶναι, ἐὰν θεοῦ ἐπιτύχω. 3. ἀσπάζεταιται ὑμᾶς τὸ ἐμὸν πνεῦμα καὶ ἡ ἀγάπη τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν τῶν δεξαμένων με εἰς ὄνομα Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, οὐχ ὡς παροδεύοντα. καὶ γὰρ αἱ μὴ προσήκουσαί μοι τῇ ὁδῷ τῇ κατὰ σάρκα, κατὰ πόλιν με προῆγον.

X

1. Γράφω δὲ ὑμῖν ταῦτα ἀπὸ Σμύρνης δι' Ἐφεσίων τῶν ἀξιομακαρίστων. ἔστιν δὲ καὶ ἅμα ἐμοὶ σὺν ἄλλοις πολλοῖς καὶ Κρόκος, τὸ ποθητόν

IGNATIUS TO THE ROMANS, VIII. I-X. I

VIII

1. I no longer desire to live after the manner of men, and this shall be, if you desire it. Desire it, in order that you also may be desired. 2. I beg you by this short letter; believe me. And Jesus Christ shall make this plain to you, that I am speaking the truth. He is the mouth which cannot lie, by which the Father has spoken truly. 3. Pray for me that I may attain. I write to you not according to the flesh, but according to the mind of God. If I suffer, it was your favour: if I be rejected, it was your hatred.

Desire of
martyrdom

IX

1. REMEMBER in your prayers the Church in Syria which has God for its Shepherd in my room. Its bishop shall be Jesus Christ alone,—and your love. 2. But for myself I am ashamed to be called one of them, for I am not worthy; for I am the least of them, and “born out of time;” but I have obtained mercy to be someone, if I may attain to God. 3. My spirit greets you, and the love of the Churches which have received me in the Name of Jesus Christ, not as a mere passer by, for even those which did not lie on my road according to the flesh went before me from city to city.

The Church
in Syria

X

1. Now I am writing these things to you from Smyrna by the blessed Ephesians, and Crocus, a name very dear to me, is also with me, and many

Final
greetings

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

μοι ὄνομα. 2. περὶ τῶν προελθόντων με ἀπὸ Συρίας εἰς Ῥώμην εἰς δόξαν τοῦ θεοῦ πιστεύω ὑμᾶς ἐπεγνωκέναι, οἷς καὶ δηλώσατε ἐγγύς με ὄντα. πάντες γὰρ εἰσιν ἄξιοι τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ὑμῶν οὓς πρέπον ὑμῖν ἐστὶν κατὰ πάντα ἀναπαύσαι. 3. ἔγραψα δὲ ὑμῖν ταῦτα τῇ πρὸ ἐννέα καλανδῶν Σεπτεμβρίων. ἔρρωσθε εἰς τέλος ἐν ὑπομονῇ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

II Thess 3, 5

ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΕΥΣΙΝ ΙΓΝΑΤΙΟΣ

Ἰγνάτιος, ὁ καὶ Θεοφόρος, ἐκκλησία θεοῦ πατρὸς καὶ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τῇ οὔσῃ ἐν Φιλαδελφίᾳ τῆς Ἀσίας, ἡλεημένη καὶ ἠδρασμένη ἐν ὁμοιοῖα θεοῦ καὶ ἀγαλλιωμένη ἐν τῷ πάθει τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν ἀδιακρίτως καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀναστάσει αὐτοῦ πεπληροφορημένη ἐν παντὶ ἐλέει, ἣν ἀσπάζομαι ἐν αἵματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἣτις ἐστὶν χαρὰ αἰώνιος καὶ παράμωμος, μάλιστα εἰάν ἐν ἐνὶ ὧσιν σὺν τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ καὶ τοῖς σὺν αὐτῷ πρεσβυτέροις καὶ διακόνοις ἀποδεδειγμένοις ἐν γνώμῃ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, οὓς κατὰ τὸ ἴδιον θέλημα ἐστήριξεν ἐν βεβαιωσύνῃ τῷ ἀγίῳ αὐτοῦ πνεύματι.

I

1. Ὁν ἐπίσκοπον ἔγνω οὐκ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ οὐδὲ δι' ἀνθρώπων κεκτῆσθαι τὴν διακονίαν τὴν εἰς τὸ

IGNATIUS TO THE PHILADELPHIANS, I. 1

others. 2. Concerning those who have preceded me from Syria to Rome to the glory of God, I believe that you have received information; tell them that I am close at hand; for they are all worthy of God and of you, and it is right for you to refresh them in every way. 3. I write this to you on the 24th of August. Farewell unto the end, in the endurance of Jesus Christ.

V.—IGNATIUS TO THE PHILADELPHIANS.

IGNATIUS, who is also called Theophorus, to the Greetings Church of God the Father and of the Lord Jesus Christ, which is in Philadelphia in Asia, which has obtained mercy, and is established in the harmony of God, and rejoices in the Passion of our Lord without doubting, and is fully assured in all mercy in his resurrection; I greet her in the blood of Jesus Christ, which is eternal and abiding joy, especially if men be at one with the bishop, and with the presbyters and deacons, who together with him have been appointed according to the mind of Jesus Christ, and he established them in security according to his own will by his Holy Spirit.

I

1. I KNOW that your bishop obtained the ministry, The Bishop of Philadelphia which makes for the common good, neither from

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

κοινὸν ἀνήκουσαν οὐδὲ κατὰ κενοδοξίαν, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀγάπῃ θεοῦ πατρὸς καὶ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ οὐ καταπέπληγμαι τὴν ἐπιείκειαν, ὃς σιγῶν πλείονα δύναται τῶν μάταια¹ λαλούντων. 2. συνευρύθμισται γὰρ ταῖς ἐντολαῖς ὡς χορδαῖς κιθάρα. διὸ μακαρίζει μου ἡ ψυχὴ τὴν εἰς θεὸν αὐτοῦ γνώμην, ἐπιγνοὺς ἐνάρετον καὶ τέλειον οὖσαν, τὸ ἀκίνητον αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ ἀόργητον αὐτοῦ ἐν πίσῃ ἐπιεικείᾳ θεοῦ ζῶντος.

II

1. Τέκνα οὖν φωτὸς ἀληθείας,² φεύγετε τὸν μερισμὸν καὶ τὰς κακοδιδασκαλίας· ὅπου δὲ ὁ ποιμὴν ἔστιν, ἐκεῖ ὡς πρόβατα ἀκολουθεῖτε. 2. πολλοὶ γὰρ λύκοι ἀξιόπιστοι ἠδουῆ κακῆ αἰχμαλωτίζουσιν τοὺς θεοδρόμους· ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ ἐνότητι ὑμῶν οὐχ ἔξουσιν τόπον.

III

ME. 15, 18 1. Ἀπέχεσθε τῶν κακῶν βοτανῶν, ἄστινας οὐ γεωργεῖ Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, διὰ τὸ μὴ εἶναι αὐτοὺς φυτεῖαν πατρὸς· οὐχ ὅτι παρ' ὑμῖν μερισμὸν εὔρον, ἀλλ' ἀποδιῦλισμόν. 2. ὅσοι γὰρ θεοῦ εἰσιν καὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, οὗτοι μετὰ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου εἰσίν. καὶ ὅσοι ἂν μετανοήσαντες ἔλθωσιν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐνότητα τῆς ἐκκλησίας, καὶ οὗτοι θεοῦ ἔσονται,

¹ μάταια GL, om. A, πλέον g. Lightfoot favours the reading of A.

² φωτὸς καὶ ἀληθείας A "light and truth"; Lightfoot thinks that φωτὸς is an early gloss.

IGNATIUS TO THE PHILADELPHIANS, I. 1-III 2

himself nor through men, nor for vain-glory, but in the love of God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ. And I was amazed at his gentleness, and at his ability to do more by silence than those who use vain words. 2. For he is attuned to the commandments as a harp to its strings. Therefore my soul blesses his godly mind, recognising its virtue and perfection, and the unmoveable and passionless temper by which he lives in all godly gentleness.

II

1. THEREFORE as children of the light of truth flee from division and wrong doctrine. And follow as sheep where the shepherd is. 2. For there are many specious wolves who lead captive with evil pleasures the runners in God's race, but they will find no place if you are in unity. Warning
against
heresy

III

1. ABSTAIN from evil growths, which Jesus Christ does not tend, because they are not the planting of the Father. Not that I have found division among you but 'filtering.'¹ 2. For as many as belong to God and Jesus Christ,—these are with the bishop. And as many as repent and come to the unity of the Church,—these also shall be of God, to be living according to Warning
against
schism

¹ The meaning is that the Christians at Philadelphia had "filtered out" the impurity of heresy from their church.

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

I Cor. 6, 9, 10 ἵνα ὧσιν κατὰ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ζῶντες. 3. μὴ πλανᾶσθε, ἀδελφοί μου· εἴ τις σχίζοντι ἀκολουθεῖ, βασιλείαν θεοῦ οὐ κληρονομεῖ· εἴ τις ἐν ἀλλοτρίᾳ γνώμῃ περιπατεῖ, οὗτος τῷ πάθει οὐ συγκατατίθεται.

IV

I Cor. 10, 16, 17 Σπουδάσατε οὖν μιᾷ εὐχαριστίᾳ χρῆσθαι· μία γὰρ σὰρξ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ ἐν ποτήριον εἰς ἔνωσιν τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ, ἐν θυσιαστήριον, ὡς εἰς ἐπίσκοπος ἅμα τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ καὶ διακόνοις τοῖς συνδούλοις μου· ἵνα, ὃ ἐὰν πράσσητε, κατὰ θεὸν πράσσητε.

V

1. Ἀδελφοί μου, λίαν ἐκκέχυμαι ἀγαπῶν ὑμᾶς καὶ ὑπεραγαλλόμενος ἀσφαλίζομαι ὑμᾶς· οὐκ ἐγὼ δέ, ἀλλ' Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, ἐν ᾧ δεδεμένος φοβοῦμαι μᾶλλον, ὡς ἔτι ὢν ἀναπάρτιστος· ἀλλ' ἡ προσευχὴ ὑμῶν εἰς θεόν¹ με ἀπαρτίσει, ἵνα ἐν ᾧ κλήρω ἡλεήθην ἐπιτύχω, προσφυγὼν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ ὡς σαρκὶ Ἰησοῦ, καὶ τοῖς ἀποστόλοις ὡς πρεσβυτερίῳ ἐκκλησίας. 2. καὶ τοὺς προφήτας δὲ ἀγαπῶμεν, διὰ τὸ καὶ αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον κατηγγελκέναι καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν ἐλπίζειν καὶ αὐτὸν ἀναμένειν, ἐν ᾧ καὶ πιστεύσαντες ἐσώθησαν, ἐν ἐνότῃ Ἰησοῦ

¹ εἰς θεόν Gg, om. L(A).

IGNATIUS TO THE PHILADELPHIANS, III. 2-V. 2

Jesus Christ. 3. "Be not deceived," my brethren, if any one follow a maker of schism, "he does not inherit the kingdom of God;" if any man walk in strange doctrine he has no part in the Passion.

IV

1. BE careful therefore to use one Eucharist (for there is one flesh of our Lord Jesus Christ, and one cup for union with his blood, one altar, as there is one bishop with the presbytery and the deacons my fellow servants), in order that whatever you do you may do it according unto God. The one Eucharist

V

1. BRETHREN, I am overflowing with love to you, and exceedingly joyful in watching over your safety. Yet not I, but Jesus Christ, whose bonds I bear, but am the more fearful in that I am not yet perfected; but your prayer will make me perfect for God, that I may attain the lot wherein I found mercy, making the Gospel my refuge as the flesh of Jesus, and the Apostles as the presbytery of the Church. 2. And the prophets¹ also do we love,² because they also have announced the Gospel, and are hoping in him and waiting for him, by faith in whom they also obtain salvation, being united with Jesus Christ, for Petition for their prayers

¹ He probably means the Christian prophets: cf. the Didache and Hermas.

² An alternative translation is "let us love."

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

Χριστοῦ ὄντες, ἀξιαγάπητοι καὶ ἀξιοθαύμαστοι ἅγιοι, ὑπὸ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ μεμαρτυρημένοι καὶ συνηριθμημένοι ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ τῆς κοινῆς ἐλπίδος.

VI

1. Ἐὰν δέ τις ἰουδαϊσμὸν ἐρμηνεύῃ ὑμῖν, μὴ ἀκούετε αὐτοῦ. ἄμεινον γάρ ἐστιν παρὰ ἀνδρὸς περιτομὴν ἔχοντος χριστιανισμὸν ἀκούειν, ἢ παρὰ ἀεροβύστου ἰουδαϊσμὸν. ἐὰν δὲ ἀμφότεροι περὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ μὴ λαλῶσιν, οὗτοι ἐμοὶ στήλαι εἰσιν καὶ τάφοι νεκρῶν, ἐφ' οἷς γέγραπται μόνον ὀνόματα ἀνθρώπων. 2. φεύγετε οὖν τὰς κακοτεχνίας καὶ ἐνέδρας τοῦ ἄρχοντος τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου, μὴποτε θλιβέντες τῇ γνώμῃ αὐτοῦ ἐξασθενήσετε ἐν τῇ ἀγάπῃ· ἀλλὰ πάντες ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ γίνεσθε ἐν ἀμερίστῳ καρδίᾳ. 3. εὐχαριστῶ δὲ τῷ θεῷ μου, ὅτι εὐσυνείδητός εἰμι ἐν ὑμῖν καὶ οὐκ ἔχει τις καυχῆσασθαι οὔτε λάθρα οὔτε φανερώς, ὅτι ἐβύρησά τινα ἐν μικρῷ ἢ ἐν μεγάλῳ. καὶ πᾶσι δέ, ἐν οἷς ἐλάλησα, εὐχομαι, ἵνα μὴ εἰς μαρτύριον αὐτὸ κτήσωνται.

VII

1. Εἰ γὰρ καὶ κατὰ σάρκα μέ τινες ἠθέλησαν πλανῆσαι, ἀλλὰ τὸ πνεῦμα οὐ πλανᾶται ἀπὸ θεοῦ ὄν. οἶδεν γάρ, πόθεν ἔρχεται καὶ ποῦ ὑπάγει, καὶ τὰ κρυπτὰ ἐλέγχει. ἐκραύγασα μεταξὺ ὧν, ἐλάλουν μεγάλη φωνῇ, θεοῦ φωνῇ· Τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ προσέχετε καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ καὶ διακόνοις.

Joh. 3, 8

I Cor. 2, 10

IGNATIUS TO THE PHILADELPHIANS, v. 2-VII. 1

they are worthy of love and saints worthy of admiration, approved by Jesus Christ, and numbered together in the Gospel of the common hope.

VI

1. But if anyone interpret Judaism to you do not listen to him; for it is better to hear Christianity from the circumcised than Judaism from the uncircumcised. But both of them, unless they speak of Jesus Christ, are to me tombstones and sepulchres of the dead, on whom only the names of men are written. 2. Flee then from the wicked arts and snares of the prince of this world, lest you be afflicted by his device, and grow weak in love; but come all together with undivided heart. 3. But I thank my God that I have a good conscience towards you, and that no one can boast either secretly or openly that I was a burden to anyone in small or in great matters. And I pray for all among whom I spoke, that they may not turn it to a testimony against themselves.

VII

1. For even if some desired to deceive me after the flesh, the spirit is not deceived, for it is from God. For it "knoweth whence it comes and whither it goes" and tests secret things. I cried out while I was with you, I spoke with a great voice,—with God's own voice,—“Give heed to the bishop,

His conduct
in Phila-
delphia

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

2. οἱ δὲ ὑποπτεύσαντές με ὡς προειδόντα τὸν μερισμὸν τινων λέγειν ταῦτα· μάρτυς δέ μοι, ἐν ᾧ δέδεμαι, ὅτι ἀπὸ σαρκὸς ἀνθρωπίνης οὐκ ἔγνων. τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα ἐκήρυσσεν λέγον τάδε· Χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου μηδὲν ποιεῖτε, τὴν σάρκα ὑμῶν ὡς ναὸν θεοῦ τηρεῖτε, τὴν ἔνωσιν ἀγαπάτε, τοὺς μερισμοὺς φεύγετε, μιμηταὶ γίνεσθε Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ.

VIII

1. Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν τὸ ἴδιον ἐποίουν ὡς ἄνθρωπος εἰς ἔνωσιν κατηρτισμένος. οὐ δὲ μερισμὸς ἐστὶν καὶ ὀργή, θεὸς οὐ κατοικεῖ. πᾶσιν οὖν μετανοοῦσιν ἀφίει ὁ κύριος, εἰ μὴ μετανοήσωσιν εἰς ἐνότητα θεοῦ καὶ συνέδριον τοῦ ἐπισκόπου. πιστεύω τῇ χάριτι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὃς λύσει ἀφ' ὑμῶν πάντα δεσμὸν. 2. παρακαλῶ δὲ ὑμᾶς μηδὲν κατ' ἐριθείαν πράσσειν,¹ ἀλλὰ κατὰ χριστομαθίαν. ἐπεὶ ἤκουσά τινων λεγόντων, ὅτι εἰ μὴ ἐν τοῖς ἀρχείοις εὔρω ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ οὐ πιστεύω· καὶ λέγοντός μου αὐτοῖς ὅτι γέγραπται, ἀπεκρίθησάν μοι ὅτι πρόκειται. ἐμοὶ δὲ ἀρχεῖα ἐστὶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, τὰ ἄθικτα ἀρχεῖα ὁ σταυρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ θάνατος καὶ ἡ ἀνάστασις αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ πίστις ἡ δι' αὐτοῦ, ἐν οἷς θέλω ἐν τῇ προσευχῇ ὑμῶν δικαιωθῆναι.

¹ Πράσσειν GL, πράσσετε GA.

and to the presbytery and deacons." 2. But some suspected me of saying this because I had previous knowledge of the division of some persons: but he in whom I am bound is my witness that I had no knowledge of this from any human being, but the Spirit was preaching, and saying this, "Do nothing without the bishop, keep your flesh as the temple of God, love unity, flee from divisions, be imitators of Jesus Christ, as was he also of his Father."

VIII

1. I THEN did my best as a man who was set on unity. But where there is division and anger God does not dwell. The Lord then forgives all who repent, if their repentance lead to the unity of God and the council of the bishop. I have faith in the grace of Jesus Christ, and he shall loose every bond from you. 2. But I beseech you to do nothing in factiousness, but after the teaching of Christ. For I heard some men saying, "if I find it not in the charters in the Gospel I do not believe,"¹ and when I said to them that it is in the Scripture, they answered me, "that is exactly the question." But to me the charters are Jesus Christ, the inviolable charter is his cross, and death, and resurrection, and the faith which is through him;—in these I desire to be justified by your prayers.

Exhortation to unity

¹ The Greek, without punctuation, is as ambiguous as the English: "If I find it not in the charters,—in the Gospel I do not believe," or "If I find it not in the charters, in the Gospel, I do not believe." Probably the former should be preferred on the ground that "the charters" probably means the Old Testament.

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

IX

1. Καλοὶ καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς, κρεῖσσον δὲ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ὁ πεπιστευμένος τὰ ἅγια τῶν ἀγίων, ὃς μόνος πεπίστευται τὰ κρυπτὰ τοῦ θεοῦ· αὐτὸς ὢν θύρα τοῦ πατρὸς, δι' ἧς εἰσέρχονται Ἄβρααμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ καὶ οἱ προφῆται καὶ ἀπόστολοι καὶ ἡ ἐκκλησία. πάντα ταῦτα εἰς ἐνότητα θεοῦ.
2. ἐξαίρετον δέ τι ἔχει τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, τὴν παρουσίαν τοῦ σωτῆρος, κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τὸ πάθος αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὴν ἀνάστασιν. οἱ γὰρ ἀγαπητοὶ προφῆται κατήγγειλαν εἰς αὐτόν· τὸ δὲ εὐαγγέλιον ἀπάρτισμά ἐστιν ἀφθαρσίας. πάντα ὁμοῦ καλά ἐστίν, εἴαν ἐν ἀγάπῃ πιστεύητε.

X

1. Ἐπειδὴ κατὰ τὴν προσευχὴν ὑμῶν καὶ κατὰ τὰ σπλάγχνα, ἃ ἔχετε ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, ἀπηγγέλη μοι εἰρηνεύειν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τὴν ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ τῆς Συρίας, πρέπον ἐστὶν ὑμῖν ὡς ἐκκλησία θεοῦ, χειροτονῆσαι διάκονον εἰς τὸ πρεσβεῦσαι ἐκεῖ θεοῦ πρεσβείαν, εἰς τὸ συγχαρῆναι αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ γενομένοις καὶ δοξάσαι τὸ ὄνομα. 2. μακάριος ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ, ὃς καταξιοθήσεται τῆς τοιαύτης διακονίας, καὶ ὑμεῖς δοξασθήσεσθε. θέλουσιν δὲ ὑμῖν οὐκ ἐστὶν ἀδύνατον ὑπὲρ ὀνόματος θεοῦ, ὡς καὶ αἱ ἐγγιστα ἐκκλησῖαι ἐπεμφαν ἐπισκόπους, αἱ δὲ πρεσβυτέρους καὶ διακόνους.

IX

1. THE priests likewise are noble, but the High Priest who has been entrusted with the Holy of Holies is greater, and only to him have the secret things of God been entrusted. He is the door of the Father, through which enter Abraham and Isaac and Jacob and the Prophets and the Apostles and the Church. All these things are joined in the unity of God. 2. But the Gospel has somewhat of pre-eminence, the coming of the Saviour, our Lord Jesus Christ, his passion, and the resurrection. For the beloved prophets had a message pointing to him, but the Gospel is the perfection of incorruption. All things together are good if you hold the faith in love.

The old and
new Dis-
pensations

X

1. SINCE it was reported to me that the Church which is in Antioch in Syria is in peace, in accordance with your prayers, and the compassion which you have in Christ Jesus, it is proper for you, as a Church of God, to appoint a deacon to go as the ambassador of God to it, to congratulate those who are gathered together, and to glorify the Name. 2. Blessed in Jesus Christ is he who shall be found worthy of such a ministry, and you yourselves shall be glorified. And if you have the will it is not impossible for you to do this for the sake of the Name of God, even as the neighbouring Churches have sent bishops, and others presbyters and deacons.

The Church
in Syria

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

XI

1. Περὶ δὲ Φίλωνος τοῦ διακόνου ἀπὸ Κιλικίας, ἀνδρὸς μεμαρτυρημένου, ὃς καὶ νῦν ἐν λόγῳ θεοῦ ὑπηρετεῖ μοι ἅμα Ῥέφ¹ Ἀγαθόποδι, ἀνδρὶ ἐκλεκτῷ, ὃς ἀπὸ Συρίας μοι ἀκολουθεῖ ἀποταξάμενος τῷ βίῳ, οἱ καὶ μαρτυροῦσιν ὑμῖν, καὶ γὰρ τῷ θεῷ εὐχαριστῶ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, ὅτι ἐδέξασθε αὐτούς, ὡς καὶ ὑμᾶς ὁ κύριος· οἱ δὲ ἀτιμάσαντες αὐτοὺς λυτρωθῆσαν ἐν τῇ χάριτι τοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

2. ἀσπάζεταιται ὑμᾶς ἡ ἀγάπη τῶν ἀδελφῶν τῶν ἐν Τρωάδι· ὅθεν καὶ γράφω ὑμῖν διὰ Βούρρου πεμφθέντος ἅμα ἐμοὶ ἀπὸ Ἐφεσίων καὶ Σμυρναίων εἰς λόγον τιμῆς. τιμήσει αὐτοὺς ὁ κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, εἰς ὃν ἐλπίζουσιν σαρκί, ψυχῇ, πνεύματι, πίστει, ἀγάπῃ, ὁμονοίᾳ. ἔρρωσθε ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, τῇ κοινῇ ἐλπίδι ἡμῶν.

ΣΜΥΡΝΑΙΟΙΣ ΙΓΝΑΤΙΟΣ

Ἰγνάτιος, ὁ καὶ Θεοφόρος, ἐκκλησία θεοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ ἡγαπημένου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἡλεημένη ἐν παντὶ χαρίσματι, πεπληρωμένη ἐν πίστει καὶ ἀγάπῃ, ἀνυστέρητῳ οὔσῃ παντὸς χαρίσματος, θεοπρεπεστάτῃ καὶ ἀγιο-

1 Cor. 1, 7

¹ Lightfoot emends to Ῥαίφ on the grounds that this form is justified by inscriptions, while Ῥέφ is unknown, and g which has Γαίφ implies this reading.

IGNATIUS TO THE SMYRNAEANS

XI

1. But concerning Philo, the deacon from Cilicia, ^{Thanks and final greetings} a man of good report, who is at present serving me in the word of God, with Rheus Agathopous, an elect man who is following me from Syria, and has renounced this life;—these bear you witness (and I also thank God on your behalf) that you received them even as the Lord received you;¹ but may those who treated them with disrespect be redeemed by the grace of Jesus Christ. 2. The love of the brethren at Troas salutes you; and I am writing thence to you by the hand of Burrhus, who was sent with me by the Ephesians and Smyrnaeans as a mark of honour. The Lord Jesus Christ shall reward them, on whom they hope in flesh and soul and spirit, in faith, in love and in harmony. Farewell in Christ Jesus, our common hope.

VI.—IGNATIUS TO THE SMYRNAEANS.

IGNATIUS, who is also called Theophorus, to the ^{Greeting} Church of God the Father and the Beloved Jesus Christ, which has obtained mercy in every gift, and is filled with faith and love, and comes behind in no gift, most worthy of God, and

¹ Or possibly "even as may the Lord receive you."

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

φόρῳ, τῇ οὔσῃ ἐν Σμύρνῃ τῆς Ἀσίας, ἐν ἀμώμῳ πνεύματι καὶ λόγῳ θεοῦ πλείστα χαίρειν.

I

1. Δοξάζω Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τὸν θεὸν τὸν οὕτως ὑμᾶς σοφίσαντα· ἐνόησα γὰρ ὑμᾶς κατηρτισμένους ἐν ἀκινήτῳ πίστει, ὡσπερ καθηλωμένους ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ σαρκί τε καὶ πνεύματι καὶ ἠδρασμένους ἐν ἀγάπῃ ἐν τῷ αἵματι Χριστοῦ, πεπληροφορημένους εἰς τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν, ἀληθῶς ὄντα ἐκ γένους Δαυεὶδ κατὰ σάρκα, υἱὸν θεοῦ κατὰ θέλημα καὶ δύναμιν θεοῦ,¹ γεγεννημένον ἀληθῶς ἐκ παρθένου, βαπτισμένον ὑπὸ Ἰωάννου, ἵνα πληρωθῇ πᾶσα δικαιοσύνη ὑπ' αὐτοῦ· 2. ἀληθῶς ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου καὶ Ἡρώδου τετράρχου καθηλωμένον ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐν σαρκί, ἀφ' οὗ καρποῦ ἡμεῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ θεομακαρίστου αὐτοῦ πάθους, ἵνα ἄρῃ σύσσημον εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας διὰ τῆς ἀναστάσεως εἰς τοὺς ἀγίους καὶ πιστοὺς αὐτοῦ, εἴτε ἐν Ἰουδαίοις εἴτε ἐν ἔθνεσιν, ἐν ἐνὶ σώματι τῆς ἐκκλησίας αὐτοῦ.

Rom. 1, 3

Mt. 3, 15

Is. 5, 26 (11, 12; 49, 22; 62, 10)

Eph. 2, 16

II

1. Ταῦτα γὰρ πάντα ἔπαθεν δι' ἡμᾶς, ἵνα σωθῶμεν.² καὶ ἀληθῶς ἔπαθεν, ὡς καὶ ἀληθῶς ἀνέστησεν ἑαυτὸν, οὐχ ὡσπερ ἄπιστοί τινες

¹ A Theodoret omit θεοῦ and are followed by Lightfoot.

² ἵνα σωθῶμεν om. C.

IGNATIUS TO THE SMYRNAEANS, I. I-II. I

gifted with holiness,—the Church which is in Smyrna in Asia—abundant greeting in a blameless spirit and in the Word of God.

I

1. I GIVE glory to Jesus Christ, the God who has thus given you wisdom; for I have observed that you are established in immoveable faith, as if nailed to the cross of the Lord Jesus Christ, both in flesh and spirit, and confirmed in love by the blood of Christ, being fully persuaded as touching our Lord, that he is in truth of the family of David according to the flesh, God's son by the will and power of God, truly born of a Virgin, baptised by Johu that "all righteousness might be fulfilled by him," 2. truly nailed to a tree¹ in the flesh for our sakes under Pontius Pilate and Herod the Tetrarch, (and of its fruit are we from his divinely blessed Passion) that "he might set up an ensign" for all ages through his Resurrection, for his saints and believers, whether among the Jews, or among the heathen, in one body of his Church.

The faith
of the
Smyrnaeans

II

1. For he suffered all these things for us that we might attain salvation, and he truly suffered even as he also truly raised himself, not as some unbelievers

Against
Dacetism

¹ "Tree" is not expressed in the Greek: but seems to be implied by the "fruit" in the next sentence, though the exact meaning of the passage is obscure.

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

λέγουσιν, τὸ δοκεῖν αὐτὸν πεπονθέναι, αὐτοὶ το δοκεῖν ὄντες· καὶ καθὼς φρονούσιν, καὶ συμβήσεται αὐτοῖς, οὓσιν ἀσωμάτοις καὶ δαιμονικοῖς.

III

1. Ἐγὼ γὰρ καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν ἐν σαρκὶ αὐτὸν οἶδα καὶ πιστεύω ὄντα. 2. καὶ ὅτε πρὸς τοὺς περὶ Πέτρον ἦλθεν, ἔφη αὐτοῖς· Λάβετε, ψηλαφήσατέ με καὶ ἴδετε, ὅτι οὐκ εἰμὶ δαιμόνιον ἀσώματον. καὶ εὐθὺς αὐτοῦ ἤψαντο καὶ ἐπίστευσαν, κραθέντες τῇ σαρκὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῷ πνεύματι.¹ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ θανάτου κατεφρόνησαν, ἠνρέθησαν δὲ ὑπὲρ θάνατον. 3. μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀνάστασιν συνέφαγεν αὐτοῖς καὶ συνέπιεν ὡς σαρκικός, καίπερ πνευματικῶς ἠνωμένος τῷ πατρί.

Cf. Luke
24, 39

Acts 10, 41

IV

1. Ταῦτα δὲ παραινῶ ὑμῖν, ἀγαπητοί, εἰδὼς ὅτι καὶ ὑμεῖς οὕτως ἔχετε. προφυλάσσω δὲ ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ τῶν θηρίων τῶν ἀνθρωπομόρφων, οὓς οὐ μόνον δεῖ ὑμᾶς μὴ παραδέχεσθαι, ἀλλ' εἰ δυνατὸν μηδὲ συναντᾶν,² μόνον δὲ προσεύχεσθε³ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, εἴαν πως μετανοήσωσιν, ὅπερ δύσκολον, τούτου δὲ ἔχει ἐξουσίαν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, τὸ

¹ πνεύματι GLC, αἵματι A.

² συναντᾶν BG, συναντᾶν αὐτοῖς LAC.

³ προσεύχεσθε BC(S), προσεύχεσθαι GLA.

IGNATIUS TO THE SMYRNAEANS, II. I-IV. I

say, that his Passion was merely in semblance,—but it is they who are merely in semblance, and even according to their opinions it shall happen to them, and they shall be without bodies and phantasmal.

III

1. For I know and believe that he was in the flesh even after the Resurrection. 2. And when he came to those with Peter he said to them: "Take, handle me and see that I am not a phantom without a body." And they immediately touched him and believed, being mingled both with his flesh and spirit. Therefore they despised even death, and were proved to be above death. 3. And after his Resurrection he ate and drank with them as a being of flesh, although he was united in spirit to the Father.

The Resur-
rection in
the flesh

IV

1. Now I warn you of these things, beloved, knowing that you also are so minded. But I guard you in advance against beasts in the form of men, whom you must not only not receive, but if it is possible not even meet, but only pray for them, if perchance they may repent, difficult though that be,—but Jesus Christ who is our true life has the

Warning
against
heretical
teachers

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

ἀληθινὸν ἡμῶν ζῆν. 2. εἰ γὰρ τὸ δοκεῖν¹ ταῦτα ἐπράχθη ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν, καὶ γὰρ τὸ δοκεῖν δέδεμαι. τί δὲ καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἔκδοτον δέδωκα τῷ θανάτῳ, πρὸς πῦρ, πρὸς μάχαιραν, πρὸς θηρία; ἀλλ' ἐγγὺς μαχαίρας ἐγγὺς θεοῦ, μεταξὺ θηρίων μεταξὺ θεοῦ· μόνον ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰς τὸ συμπαθεῖν αὐτῷ πάντα ὑπομένω, αὐτοῦ με ἐνδυναμοῦντος τοῦ τελείου ἀνθρώπου.²

Phil. 4, 13

V

1. Ὅν τινες ἀγνοοῦντες ἀρνοῦνται, μᾶλλον δὲ ἠρνήθησαν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ὄντες συνήγοροι τοῦ θανάτου μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς ἀληθείας· οὓς οὐκ ἔπεισαν αἱ προφητεῖαι οὐδὲ ὁ νόμος Μωϋσεως, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ μέχρι νῦν τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, οὐδὲ τὰ ἡμέτερα τῶν κατ' ἄνδρα παθήματα. 2. καὶ γὰρ περὶ ἡμῶν τὸ αὐτὸ φρονοῦσιν. τί γάρ με ὠφελεῖ τις, εἰ ἐμὲ ἐπαινεῖ, τὸν δὲ κύριόν μου βλασφημεῖ, μὴ ὁμολογῶν αὐτὸν σαρκοφόρον; ὁ δὲ τοῦτο λέγων³ τελείως αὐτὸν ἀπήρηται, ὧν νεκροφόρος. 3. τὰ δὲ ὀνόματα αὐτῶν, ὄντα ἄπιστα, οὐκ ἔδοξέν μοι ἐγγράψαι. ἀλλὰ μηδὲ γένοιτό μοι αὐτῶν μνημονεύειν, μέχρις οὗ μετανοήσωσιν εἰς τὸ πάθος, ὃ ἐστὶν ἡμῶν ἀνάστασις.

¹ Here and elsewhere Bg read τῷ δοκεῖν against G which has τὸ δοκεῖν.

² add. γενομένου GL.

³ λέγων BC, μὴ λέγων GLA.

IGNATIUS TO THE SMYRNAEANS, IV. 1-V. 3

power over this. 2. For if it is merely in semblance that these things were done by our Lord I am also a prisoner in semblance. And why have I given myself up to death, to fire, to the sword, to wild beasts? Because near the sword is near to God, with the wild beasts is with God; in the name of Jesus Christ alone am I enduring all things, that I may suffer with him, and the perfect man himself gives me strength.

V

1. THERE are some who ignorantly deny him, but rather were denied by him, being advocates of death rather than of the truth. These are they whom neither the prophecies nor the law of Moses persuaded, nor the gospel even until now, nor our own individual sufferings. 2. For they have the same opinion concerning us. For what does anyone profit me if he praise me but blaspheme my Lord, and do not confess that he was clothed in flesh? But he who says this has denied him absolutely and is clothed with a corpse. 3. Now I have not thought right to put into writing their unbelieving names; but would that I might not even remember them, until they repent concerning the Passion, which is our resurrection.

Against
Docetism

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

VI

Με 19, 12

1. Μηδείς πλανάσθω· καὶ τὰ ἐπουράνια καὶ ἡ δόξα τῶν ἀγγέλων καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες ὄρατοί τε καὶ ἀόρατοι, ἐὰν μὴ πιστεύσωσιν εἰς τὸ αἷμα Χριστοῦ, κἀκείνοις κρίσις ἐστίν· ὁ χωρῶν χωρεῖτω. τόπος μηδένα φυσιοῦτω· τὸ γὰρ ὅλον ἐστὶν πίστις καὶ ἀγάπη, ὧν οὐδὲν προκέκριται. 2. καταμάθετε δὲ τοὺς ἑτεροδοξοῦντας εἰς τὴν χάριν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τὴν εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐλθοῦσαν, πῶς ἐναντίοι εἰσὶν τῇ γνώμῃ τοῦ θεοῦ. περὶ ἀγάπης οὐ μέλει αὐτοῖς, οὐ περὶ χήρας, οὐ περὶ ὀρφανοῦ, οὐ περὶ θλιβομένου, οὐ περὶ δεδεμένου ἢ λελυμένου,¹ οὐ περὶ πεινῶντος ἢ διψῶντος.

VII

1. Εὐχαριστίας καὶ προσευχῆς ἀπέχονται, διὰ τὸ μὴ ὁμολογεῖν τὴν εὐχαριστίαν σάρκα εἶναι τοῦ σωτήρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν παθοῦσαν, ἣν τῇ χρηστότητι ὁ πατήρ ἤγειρεν. οἱ οὖν ἀντιλέγοντες τῇ δωρεᾷ τοῦ θεοῦ συζητοῦντες ἀποθνήσκουσιν· συνέφερεν δὲ αὐτοῖς ἀγαπᾶν, ἵνα καὶ ἀναστῶσιν. 2. πρέπον² ἐστὶν ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν τοιούτων καὶ μῆτε κατ' ἰδίαν περὶ αὐτῶν λαλεῖν μῆτε κοινῇ, προσέχειν δὲ

¹ λελυμένου BGL, om. AC.

² πρέπον BA(L), πρέπον οὖν Gg.

VI.

1. LET no one be deceived; even things in heaven and the glory of the angels, and the rulers visible and invisible, even for them there is a judgment if they do not believe on the blood of Christ. "He that receiveth let him receive." Let not office exalt anyone, for faith and love is everything, and nothing has been preferred to them. 2. But mark those who have strange opinions concerning the grace of Jesus Christ which has come to us, and see how contrary they are to the mind of God. For love they have no care, none for the widow, none for the orphan, none for the distressed, none for the afflicted, none for the prisoner, or for him released from prison, none for the hungry or thirsty.

The universal judgment

The unchristian behaviour of heretics

VII

1. THEY abstain from Eucharist and prayer, because they do not confess that the Eucharist is the flesh of our Saviour Jesus Christ who suffered for our sins, which the Father raised up by his goodness. They then who deny the gift of God are perishing in their disputes; but it were better for them to have love, that they also may attain to the Resurrection. 2. It is right to refrain from such men and not even to speak about them in private or in public, but to give heed to the prophets and especially to the

Heretics and the Eucharist

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

τοῖς προφήταις, ἔξαιρέτως δὲ τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ, ἐν ᾧ τὸ πάθος ἡμῖν δεδήλωται καὶ ἡ ἀνάστασις τετελείωται. τοὺς δὲ μερισμοὺς φεύγετε ὡς ἀρχὴν κακῶν.

VIII

1. Πάντες τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ἀκολουθεῖτε, ὡς Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς τῷ πατρί, καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ ὡς τοῖς ἀποστόλοις. τοὺς δὲ διακόνους ἐντρέψετε ὡς θεοῦ ἐντολήν. μηδεὶς χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου τι πρασσέτω τῶν ἀνηκόντων εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. ἐκείνη βεβαία εὐχαριστία ἡγείσθω, ἡ ὑπὸ ἐπίσκοπον οὔσα ἢ ᾧ ἂν αὐτὸς ἐπιτρέψῃ. 2. ὅπου ἂν φανῇ ὁ ἐπίσκοπος, ἐκεῖ τὸ πλήθος ἦτω,¹ ὡσπερ ὅπου ἂν ᾗ Ἰησοῦς Χριστός,² ἐκεῖ ἡ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία. οὐκ ἐξόν ἐστιν χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου οὔτε βαπτίζειν οὔτε ἀγάπην ποιεῖν· ἀλλ' ὁ ἂν ἐκεῖνος δοκιμάσῃ, τοῦτο καὶ τῷ θεῷ εὐάρεστον, ἵνα ἀσφαλὲς ᾗ καὶ βέβαιον πᾶν ὃ πράσσετε.³

IX

1. Εὐλογόν ἐστιν λοιπὸν ἀνανήψαι ἡμᾶς,⁴ ὡς ἔτι καιρὸν ἔχομεν εἰς θεὸν μετανοεῖν. καλῶς ἔχει, θεὸν καὶ ἐπίσκοπον εἰδέναι. ὁ τιμῶν ἐπίσκοπον ὑπὸ θεοῦ τετίμηται· ὁ λάθρα ἐπισκόπου τι πράσσει

¹ ἦτω B, ἔστω Gg.

² Ἰησ. Χρ. BA, Χρ. Ἰησ. GL.

³ πράσσετε BSA(g), πράσσεται GL.

⁴ ἡμᾶς Bg(SA) καὶ GL, "it is reasonable to return to soberness, and . . . to repent."

IGNATIUS TO THE SMYRNAEANS, VII. 2-IX. 1

Gospel, in which the Passion has been revealed to us and the Resurrection has been accomplished. But flee from divisions as the beginning of evils.

VIII

1. SEE that you all follow the bishop, as Jesus Christ follows the Father, and the presbytery as if it were the Apostles. And reverence the deacons as the command of God. Let no one do any of the things appertaining to the Church without the bishop. Let that be considered a valid Eucharist which is celebrated by the bishop, or by one whom he appoints. 2. Wherever the bishop appears let the congregation be present; just as wherever Jesus Christ is, there is the Catholic Church. It is not lawful either to baptise or to hold an "agapé"¹ without the bishop; but whatever he approve, this is also pleasing to God, that everything which you do may be secure and valid.

Submission
to the
Bishop and
the
Presbyters

IX

1. MOREOVER it is reasonable for us to return to soberness, while we still have time to repent towards God. It is good to know God and the bishop. He who honours the bishop has been honoured by God; he who does anything without the knowledge of the

Honour
due to the
Bishop

¹ Agapé means "love": the name was given to some kind of religious meal. The context here suggests that it is a synonym for the Eucharist, but the point is doubted by some scholars. In the A.V. of Jud. 12 it is translated "Love feasts."

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τῷ διαβόλῳ λατρεύει. 2. πάντα οὖν ὑμῖν ἐν χάριτι περισσευέτω ἄξιοι γάρ ἐστε. κατὰ πάντα με ἀνεπαύσατε, καὶ ὑμᾶς Ἰησοῦς Χριστός. ἀπόντα με καὶ πάροντα ἠγαπήσατε. ἀμοιβή¹ ὑμῖν ὁ θεός, δι' ὃν πάντα ὑπομένοντες αὐτοῦ τεύξεσθε.

X

1. Φίλωνα καὶ Ῥέον² Ἀγαθόπου, οἱ ἐπηκολούθησάν μοι εἰς λόγον θεοῦ, καλῶς ἐποιήσατε ὑποδεξάμενοι ὡς διακόνους θεοῦ³ οἱ καὶ εὐχαριστοῦσιν τῷ κυρίῳ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, ὅτι αὐτοὺς ἀνεπαύσατε κατὰ πάντα τρόπον. οὐδὲν ὑμῖν οὐ μὴ ἀπολείται.

II Tim. 1, 16

2. ἀντίψυχον ὑμῶν τὸ πνεῦμά μου καὶ τὰ δεσμά μου, ἃ οὐχ ὑπερηφανήσατε οὐδὲ ἐπησχύνθητε. οὐδὲ ὑμᾶς ἐπαισχυνθήσεται ἡ τελεία ἐλπίς,⁴ Ἰησοῦς Χριστός.

XI

1. Ἡ προσευχὴ ὑμῶν ἀπῆλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τὴν ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ τῆς Συρίας, ὅθεν δεδεδεμένος θεοπρεπεστάτοις δεσμοῖς πάντας ἀσπάζομαι, οὐκ ὦν ἄξιος ἐκεῖθεν εἶναι, ἔσχατος αὐτῶν ὦν κατὰ θέλημα δὲ κατηξιώθην, οὐκ ἐκ συνειδότος ἀλλ' ἐκ χάριτος θεοῦ ἦν εὐχομαι τελείαν μοι

¹ ἀμοιβή B, ἀμοιβει G, ἀμείψεται g(A), retribuat (= ἀμείβοι?) L.

² B has Γάϊον and it is possible that this, also found in g, is right, but Ῥέον is transcriptionally more probable.

³ θεοῦ BA, Χριστοῦ θεοῦ G(L).

⁴ ἐλπίς BAg, πίστις GI.

IGNATIUS TO THE SMYRNAEANS, IX. I-XI. I

bishop is serving the devil. 2. Let all things then abound to you in grace, for you are worthy. In all respects you have refreshed me, and may Jesus Christ give refreshment to you. You have loved me in my absence, and in my presence. God is your reward, and if for his sake you endure all things, you shall attain to him.

X

1. You did well to receive as deacons of God, Philo and Rheus Agathopous, who followed me in the cause of God; and they also give thanks to the Lord for your sake that you refreshed them in every way. Assuredly shall nothing be lost for you. 2. May my spirit be for your life, and my bonds, which you treated neither with haughtiness nor shame. And he who is perfect hope, Jesus Christ, shall not be ashamed of you.

XI

1. YOUR prayer reached the Church which is in Antioch in Syria, and I greet all men as one who comes thence in bonds which are most seemly in God's sight, though I am not worthy to be from thence, for I am the least of them; but by the will of God I have been thought worthy, not that I am conscious of deserts,¹ but by the grace of God, and

¹ Or, possibly, "by my own complicity"

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δοθῆναι, ἵνα ἐν τῇ προσευχῇ ὑμῶν θεοῦ ἐπιτύχω. 2. ἵνα οὖν ὑμῶν τέλειον γένηται τὸ ἔργον καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς καὶ ἐν οὐρανῷ, πρέπει εἰς τιμὴν θεοῦ χειροτονῆσαι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ὑμῶν θεοπρεσβεύτην, εἰς τὸ γενόμενον ἐν Συρίᾳ¹ συγχαρῆναι αὐτοῖς, ὅτι εἰρηνεύουσιν καὶ ἀπέλαβον τὸ ἴδιον μέγεθος καὶ ἀπεκατεστάθη αὐτοῖς τὸ ἴδιον σωματεῖον. 3. ἐφάνη μοι οὖν θεοῦ² ἄξιον πρᾶγμα, πέμψαι τινὰ τῶν ὑμετέρων μετ' ἐπιστολῆς, ἵνα συνδοξάσῃ τὴν κατὰ θεὸν αὐτοῖς γενομένην εὐδίαν, καὶ ὅτι λιμένος ἤδη ἐτύγγαλον³ τῇ προσευχῇ ὑμῶν. τέλειοι ὄντες τέλεια καὶ φρονεῖτε. θέλουσιν γὰρ ὑμῖν εὖ πράσσειν θεὸς ἔτοιμος εἰς τὸ παρέχειν.⁴

Phil. 8, 16

XII

1. Ἀσπάζεταιται ὑμᾶς ἡ ἀγάπη τῶν ἀδελφῶν τῶν ἐν Τρωάδι, ὅθεν καὶ γράφω ὑμῖν διὰ Βούρρου,⁵ ὃν ἀπεστείλατε μετ' ἐμοῦ ἅμα Ἐφεσίοις, τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ὑμῶν, ὃς κατὰ πάντα με ἀνέπαυσεν. καὶ ὄφελον πάντες αὐτὸν ἐμιμοῦντο, ὄντα ἐξεμπλᾶριον θεοῦ διακονίας. ἀμείψεται αὐτὸν ἡ χάρις κατὰ πάντα. 2. ἀσπάζομαι τὸν ἀξιόθεον ἐπίσκοπον καὶ θεοπρεπῆς πρεσβυτέριον καὶ τοὺς συνδούλους μου διακόνους καὶ τοὺς κατ' ἄνδρα καὶ κοινῇ πάντας ἐν ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τῇ σαρκί

¹ ἐν Συρίᾳ B(A)g, ἕως Συρίας GL. ² θεοῦ BLA, om. Gg.

³ ἔτυλλον B. ⁴ παρέχειν B, παρασχεῖν Gg.

⁵ Βόρρου B; the spelling of this varies considerably both here and in Eph. ii, 1, and Philad. xi, 2. It is possible that Βόρρος, which has some support in L is really right.

INGNATIUS TO THE SMYRNAEANS, XI. 1-XII. 2

I pray that this may be given to me to the end, and that by your prayers I may attain to God. 2. In order then that your work may be perfect both on earth and in heaven, your Church ought to appoint for the honour of God a delegate of God to go to Syria, and congratulate them that they have gained peace, and have recovered their proper greatness, and that their proper constitution has been restored. 3. It appeared to me therefore a deed worthy of God for you to send one of your number with a letter to join in extolling the tranquillity which they have obtained from God, and that through your prayers they were now gaining a haven. As you are perfect, so also may your counsel be perfect. For if you desire to do well God is ready to help you.

XII

1. THE love of the brethren who are at Troas Greetings from Troas salutes you, whence I am writing to you by Burrhus, whom you together with the Ephesians your brothers sent with me, and he has in every way refreshed me. Would that all imitated him, for he is a pattern of the ministry of God. In all things grace shall reward him. 2. I salute the godly bishop, and the revered presbytery, and the deacons my fellow-servants, and you all, individually and together, in the name of Jesus Christ, and in his flesh and blood,

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αὐτοῦ καὶ τῷ αἵματι, πάθει τε καὶ ἀναστάσει
σαρκικῇ τε καὶ πνευματικῇ, ἐν ἐνότητι θεοῦ καὶ
ὑμῶν. χάρις ὑμῖν, ἔλεος, εἰρήνη, ὑπομονὴ διὰ
παντός.

XIII

1. Ἀσπάζομαι τοὺς οἴκους τῶν ἀδελφῶν μου σὺν
γυναιξὶ καὶ τέκνοις καὶ τὰς παρθένους τὰς λεγο-
μένας χήρας. ἔρρωσθέ μοι ἐν δυνάμει πατρός.¹
ἀσπάζεταιται ὑμᾶς Φίλων σὺν ἐμοὶ ὦν. 2. ἀσπάζο-
μαι τὸν οἶκον Ταουίας,² ἣν εὐχομαι ἐδρᾶσθαι
πίστει καὶ ἀγάπῃ σαρκικῇ τε καὶ πνευματικῇ.
ἀσπάζομαι Ἄλκην, τὸ ποθητὸν μοι ὄνομα, καὶ
Δάφνον τὸν ἀσύγκριτον καὶ Εὐτεκνον καὶ πάντας
κατ' ὄνομα. ἔρρωσθε ἐν χάριτι θεοῦ.

ΠΡΟΣ ΠΟΛΥΚΑΡΠΟΝ ΙΓΝΑΤΙΟΣ.

Ἰγνάτιος, ὁ καὶ Θεοφόρος, Πολυκάρπῳ ἐπι-
σκόπῳ ἐκκλησίας Σμυρναίων, μᾶλλον ἐπι-
σκοπημένῳ ὑπὸ θεοῦ πατρὸς καὶ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ
Χριστοῦ, πλείστα χαίρειν.

¹ πατρός LA, πνεύματος G(g) "spirit." The difference in
MSS would be between *πρs* and *πνs*.

² Ταουίας GL, Γαουίας Ag.

IGNATIUS TO POLYCARP

by his Passion and Resurrection both of flesh and spirit, in union with God and with you. Grace be to you, mercy, peace and endurance for ever.

XIII

1. I SALUTE the families of my brethren with their wives and children, and the maidens who are called widows. Farewell in the power of the Father. Philo who is with me greets you. 2. I salute the house of Tavia, and pray that she be confirmed in faith and love, both of the flesh and spirit. I salute Alce, a name most dear to me, and the incomparable Daphnus, and Eutecnus,¹ and all others by their several names. Farewell in the grace of God.

VII.—IGNATIUS TO POLYCARP.

Ignatius, who is also called Theophorus, to Polycarp, who is bishop of the Church of the Smyrnaeans, or rather has for his bishop God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ, abundant greeting.

¹ It is not impossible that *εὐτεκνον* is an adjective meaning "with good children." and referring to Daphnus. Zahn takes this view.

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I

1. Ἀποδεχόμενός σου τὴν ἐν θεῷ γνώμην ἠδρασ-
μένην ὡς ἐπὶ πέτραν ἀκίνητον, ὑπερδοξάζω, κατα-
ξιωθεὶς τοῦ προσώπου σου τοῦ ἀμώμου, οὐ
ὀναίμην ἐν θεῷ. 2. παρακαλῶ σε ἐν χάριτι ἢ
ἐνδέδυσαι, προσθεῖναι τῷ δρόμῳ σου καὶ πάντας
παρακαλεῖν, ἵνα σώζωνται. ἐκδίκει σου τὸν
τόπον ἐν πάσῃ ἐπιμελείᾳ σαρκικῇ τε καὶ πνευμα-
τικῇ τῆς ἐνώσεως φρόντιζε, ἥς οὐδὲν ἄμεινον.
πάντας βάσταζε, ὡς καὶ σὲ ὁ κύριος πάντων
ἀνέχου ἐν ἀγάπῃ, ὥσπερ καὶ ποιεῖς. 3. προσευ-
χαῖς σχόλαζε ἀδιαλείπτως αὐτοῦ σύνεσιν
πλείονα ἥς ἔχεις· γρηγόρει ἀκοίμητον πνεῦμα
κεκτημένος. τοῖς κατ' ἄνδρα κατὰ ὁμοίθειαν
θεοῦ λάλει πάντων τὰς νόσους βάσταζε ὡς
τέλειος ἀθλητής. ὅπου πλείων κόπος, πολὺ
κέρδος.

Eph. 4, 2

Mt. 8, 17

II

1. Καλοὺς μαθητὰς εἶναι φιλής, χάρις σοι οὐκ
ἔστιν· μᾶλλον τοὺς λοιμοτέρους ἐν πραότητι
ὑπότασσε. οὐ πᾶν τραῦμα τῇ αὐτῇ ἐμπλάστρῳ
θεραπεύεται. τοὺς παροξυσμοὺς ἐμβροχαῖς παῦε.
2. φρόνιμος γίνου ὡς ὁ¹ ὄφεις ἐν ἅσασιν καὶ ἀκέραιος
εἰς αἰεὶ ὡς ἡ περιστέρα. διὰ τοῦτο σαρκικὸς εἶ
καὶ πνευματικός, ἵνα τὰ φαινόμενά σου εἰς πρόσ-

Mt. 10, 16

¹ ὁ om. G, but the parallelism with ἡ περιστέρα shows that this is only an accident.

IGNATIUS TO POLYCARP, 1. 1-II. 2

I

1. WELCOMING your godly mind which is fixed as if on immovable rock, I glory exceedingly that it was granted me to see your blameless face wherein I would fain have pleasure in God. 2. I exhort you to press forward on your course, in the grace wherewith you are endued, and to exhort all men to gain salvation. Vindicate your office with all diligence, both of the flesh and spirit. Care for unity, for there is nothing better. Help all men, as the Lord also helps you; suffer all men in love, as you indeed do. 3. Be diligent with unceasing prayer. Entreat for wisdom greater than you have, be watchful and keep the spirit from slumbering. Speak to each individually after the manner of God. "Bear the sicknesses" of all as a perfect athlete.¹ Where the toil is greatest, is the gain great.

Salutation
and exhortation to
diligence

II

1. If you love good disciples, it is no credit to you; rather bring to subjection by your gentleness the more troublesome. Not all wounds are healed by the same plaster. Relieve convulsions by fomentations. 2. "Be prudent as the serpent" in all things "and pure as the dove" for ever. For this reason you consist of flesh and spirit, that you may deal tenderly

The need
of caring
for the
weaker
brethren

¹ No other translation is possible: "athlete" was, both then and later, a favourite name for Christians who strove to excel in virtue, especially in ascetic practices.

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ωπον κολακεύης· τὰ δὲ ἀόρατα αἶτει ἵνα σοι φανερωθῆ, ὅπως μηδενὸς λείπη καὶ παντὸς χαρίσματος περισσεύης. 3. ὁ καιρὸς ἀπαιτεῖ σε, ὡς κυβερνήται ἀνέμους καὶ ὡς χειμαζόμενος λιμένα, εἰς τὸ θεοῦ ἐπιτυχεῖν. νῆφε, ὡς θεοῦ ἀθλητῆς· τὸ θέμα ἀφθαρσία καὶ ζωὴ αἰώνιος, περὶ ἧς καὶ σὺ πέπεισαι. κατὰ πάντα σου ἀντίψυχον ἐγὼ καὶ τὰ δεσμά μου, ἃ ἠγάπησας.

III

1. Οἱ δοκοῦντες ἀξιόπιστοι εἶναι καὶ ἑτεροδιδασκαλοῦντες μὴ σε καταπλησθέντων. στήθι ἐδραῖος ὡς ἄκμων τυπτόμενος. μεγάλου ἐστὶν ἀθλητοῦ τὸ δέρεσθαι καὶ νικᾶν. μάλιστα δὲ ἕνεκεν θεοῦ πάντα ὑπομένειν ἡμᾶς δεῖ, ἵνα καὶ αὐτὸς ἡμᾶς ὑπομείνη. 2. πλέου σπουδαῖος γίνου οὐ εἶ. τοὺς καιροὺς καταμάνθανε. τὸν ὑπὲρ καιρὸν προσδόκα, τὸν ἄχρονον, τὸν ἀόρατον, τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς ὁρατόν, τὸν ἀψηλάφητον, τὸν ἀπαθῆ, τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς παθητόν, τὸν κατὰ πάντα τρόπον δι' ἡμᾶς ὑπομείναντα.

IV

1. Χῆραι μὴ ἀμελείσθωσαν μετὰ τὸν κύριον σὺ αὐτῶν φροντιστῆς ἔσο. μηδὲν ἄνευ γνώμης

IGNATIUS TO POLYCARP, II. 2-IV. 1

with the things which appear visibly; but pray that the invisible things may be revealed to you, that you may lack nothing and abound in every gift. 3. The time calls on you to attain unto God, just as pilots require wind, and the storm-tossed sailor seeks a harbour.¹ Be sober as God's athlete. The prize² is immortality and eternal life, of which you have been persuaded. In all things I am devoted to you,—I and my bonds, which you loved.

III

1. LET not those that appear to be plausible, but teach strange doctrine, overthrow you. Stand firm as an anvil which is smitten. The task of great athletes is to suffer punishment and yet conquer. But especially must we endure all things for the sake of God, that he also may endure us. 2. Be more diligent than you are. Mark the seasons. Wait for him who is above seasons, timeless, invisible, who for our sakes became visible, who cannot be touched, who cannot suffer, who for our sakes accepted suffering, who in every way endured for our sakes.

IV

1. LET not the widows be neglected. Be yourself their protector after the Lord. Let nothing be done

His duty to members of the church

¹ The general meaning of this passage is fairly clear, but the details are hopelessly obscure. Possibly something has dropped out of the text.

² *θέμα* means a "money-prize," which was given in some of the Greek games instead of the *στέφανος* or crown.

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σου γινέσθω μηδὲ σὺ ἄνευ θεοῦ τι πράσσει, ὅπερ οὐδὲ πράσσεις· εὐστάθει. 2. πυκνότερον συναγωγαὶ γινέσθωσαν· ἐξ ὀνόματος πάντας ζήτει. 3. δούλους καὶ δούλας μὴ ὑπερηφάνει· ἀλλὰ μηδὲ αὐτοὶ φυσιοῦσθωσαν, ἀλλ' εἰς δόξαν θεοῦ πλέον δουλενέτωσαν, ἵνα κρείττονος ἐλευθερίας ἀπὸ θεοῦ τύχωσιν. μὴ ἐράτωσαν ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ ἐλευθεροῦσθαι, ἵνα μὴ δοῦλοι εὐρεθῶσιν ἐπιθυμίας.

I Tim. 6, 2

V

1. Τὰς κακοτεχνίας φεύγε, μᾶλλον δὲ περὶ τούτων ὁμιλίαν ποιοῦ. ταῖς ἀδελφαῖς μου προσλάλει, ἀγαπᾶν τὸν κύριον καὶ τοῖς συμβίοις ἀρκεῖσθαι σαρκὶ καὶ πνεύματι. ὁμοίως καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς μου παράγγελλε ἐν ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἀγαπᾶν τὰς συμβίους ὡς ὁ κύριος τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. 2. εἴ τις δύναται ἐν ἀγνείᾳ μένειν εἰς τιμὴν τῆς σαρκὸς τοῦ κυρίου, ἐν ἀκαυχησίᾳ μενέτω. εἴαν καυχῆσθαι, ἀπώλετο, καὶ εἴαν γνωσθῆ πλέον τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, ἔφθαρται. πρέπει δὲ τοῖς γαμοῦσι καὶ ταῖς γαμουμέναις μετὰ γνώμης τοῦ ἐπισκόπου τὴν ἔνωσιν ποιεῖσθαι, ἵνα ὁ γάμος ᾗ κατὰ κύριον καὶ μὴ κατ' ἐπιθυμίαν. πάντα εἰς τιμὴν θεοῦ γινέσθω.

Eph. 5 23, 29

VI

1. Τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ προσέχετε, ἵνα καὶ ὁ θεὸς ὑμῖν. ἀντίψυχον ἐγὼ τῶν ὑποτασσομένων τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, πρεσβυτέροις, διακόνοις· καὶ μετ'

IGNATIUS TO POLYCARP, IV. 1-VI. 1

without your approval, and do nothing yourself without God, as indeed you do nothing; stand fast. 2. Let the meetings be more numerous. Seek all by their name. 3. Do not be haughty to slaves, either men or women; yet do not let them be puffed up, but let them rather endure slavery to the glory of God, that they may obtain a better freedom from God. Let them not desire to be set free at the Church's expense, that they be not found the slaves of lust.

V

1. FLEE from evil arts, but rather preach against them. Speak to my sisters that they love the Lord, and be content with their husbands in flesh and in spirit. In the same way enjoin on my brothers in the name of Jesus Christ "to love their wives as the Lord loved the Church." 2. If any man can remain in continence to the honour of the flesh of the Lord let him do so without boasting. If he boast he is lost, and if it be made known except to the bishop, he is polluted. But it is right for men and women who marry to be united with the consent of the bishop, that the marriage be according to the Lord and not according to lust. Let all things be done to the honour of God.

The need of purity and of abstinence from boasting

VI

1. Give heed to the bishop, that God may also give heed to you. I am devoted to those who are subject to the bishop, presbyters, and deacons; and may it be

Advice to the community

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

αὐτῶν μοι τὸ μέρος γένοιτο σχεῖν ἐν θεῷ. συγκοπιᾶτε ἀλλήλοις, συναθλείτε, συντρέχετε, συμπάσχετε, συγκοιμάσθε, συνεγείρεσθε ὡς θεοῦ οἰκονόμοι καὶ πάρεδροι καὶ ὑπηρέται. 2. ἀρέσκετε ἢ στρατεύεσθε, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τὰ ὄψωνια κομίζεσθε· μὴ τις ὑμῶν δεσέρτωρ εὔρεθῆ. τὸ βύπτισμα ὑμῶν μενέτω ὡς ὄπλα, ἡ πίστις ὡς περικεφαλαία, ἡ ἀγάπη ὡς δόρυ, ἡ ὑπομονὴ ὡς πανοπλία. τὰ δεπόσιτα ὑμῶν τὰ ἔργα ὑμῶν, ἵνα τὰ ἄκεπτα¹ ὑμῶν ἄξια κομίσησθε. μακροθυμήσατε οὖν μετ' ἀλλήλων ἐν πραότητι, ὡς ὁ θεὸς μεθ' ὑμῶν. ὀναίμην ὑμῶν διὰ παντός.

VII

1. Ἐπειδὴ ἡ ἐκκλησία ἡ ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ τῆς Συρίας εἰρηνεύει, ὡς ἐδηλώθη μοι, διὰ τὴν προσευχὴν ὑμῶν,² κἀγὼ εὐθυμότερος ἐγενόμην ἐν ἀμεριμνίᾳ θεοῦ, ἕάνπερ διὰ τοῦ παθεῖν θεοῦ ἐπιτύχω, εἰς τὸ εὔρεθῆναί με ἐν τῇ ἀναστάσει³ ὑμῶν μαθητήν. 2. πρέπει, Πολύκαρπε θεομακαριστότατε, συμβούλιον ἀγαγεῖν θεοπρεπέστατον καὶ χειροτονῆσαί τινα, ὃν ἀγαπητὸν λίαν ἔχετε καὶ ἄοκνον, ὃς δυνησεται θεοδρόμος καλεῖσθαι· τοῦτον καταξιῶσαι, ἵνα πορευθεῖς εἰς Συρίαν δοξάσῃ ὑμῶν τὴν ἄοκνον ἀγάπην εἰς δόξαν θεοῦ. 3. Χριστιανὸς

¹ The use of the Latin words is remarkable: δεσέρτωρ = *desertor*, δεπόσιτα = *deposita*, and ἄκεπτα = *accepta*.

² διὰ τὴν προσευχὴν G, διὰ τῆς προσευχῆς Lg.

³ ἀναστάσει GL, αἰτήσει "through your intercession" gA.

IGNATIUS TO POLYCARP, VI. I—VII. 3

mine to have my lot with them in God. Labour with one another, struggle together, run together, suffer together, rest together, rise up together as God's stewards and assessors and servants. 2. Be pleasing to him in whose ranks you serve, from whom you receive your pay,—let none of you be found a deserter. Let your baptism remain as your arms, your faith as a helmet, your love as a spear, your endurance as your panoply, let your works be your deposits that you may receive the back-pay¹ due to you. Be therefore long-suffering with one another in gentleness, as God is with you. May I have joy in you always.

VII

1. SINCE the Church which is in Antioch has peace The Church in Antioch through your prayers, as it has been reported to me, I was myself the more encouraged in the freedom from care given by God, if I may but attain to God through my sufferings, that I may be found your disciple at the resurrection.² 2. You ought, O Polycarp, most blessed of God, to summon a godly council, and elect someone who is very dear to you and is zealous, who can be called God's courier; appoint him to go to Syria to glorify your zealous love to the glory of God. 3. A Christian has no power over himself, but

¹ It was the custom in the Roman army to pay to the soldiers only the half of any gratuities allowed them. The other half was "deposited" in a regimental savings bank, and was paid out to each soldier, when, and if, he was honourably discharged from the service.

² Or perhaps "a disciple at your resurrection."

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

ἑαυτοῦ ἐξουσίαν οὐκ ἔχει, ἀλλὰ θεῷ σχολάζει. τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον θεοῦ ἐστὶν καὶ ὑμῶν, ὅταν αὐτὸ ἀπαρτίσητε. πιστεύω γὰρ τῇ χάριτι, ὅτι ἔτοιμοί ἐστε εἰς εὐποίταν θεῷ ἀνήκουσαν. εἰδὼς ὑμῶν τὸ σύντονον τῆς ἀληθείας, δι' ὀλίγων ὑμᾶς γραμμάτων παρεκάλεσα.

VIII

1. Ἐπεὶ¹ πάσαις ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις οὐκ ἠδυνήθη γράφαι διὰ τὸ ἐξαίφνης πλεῖν με ἀπὸ Τρωάδος εἰς Νεάπολιν, ὡς τὸ θέλημα προστάσσει, γράφεις ταῖς ἔμπροσθεν ἐκκλησίαις, ὡς θεοῦ γνώμη κεκτημένος, εἰς τὸ καὶ αὐτοὺς τὸ αὐτὸ ποιῆσαι, (οἱ μὲν δυνάμενοι πεζοὺς πέμψαι, οἱ δὲ ἐπιστολὰς διὰ τῶν ὑπὸ σου πεμπομένων, ἵνα δοξασθῆτε αἰωνίῳ ἔργῳ,)² ὡς ἄξιός ὢν. 2. ἀσπάζομαι πάντας ἐξ ὀνόματος καὶ τὴν τοῦ Ἐπιτρόπου σὺν ὄλῳ τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτῆς καὶ τῶν τέκνων. ἀσπάζομαι Ἄτταλον τὸν ἀγαπητόν μου. ἀσπάζομαι τὸν μέλλοντα καταξιούσθαι τοῦ εἰς Συρίαν πορεύεσθαι. ἔσται ἡ χάρις μετ' αὐτοῦ διὰ παντὸς καὶ τοῦ πέμποντος αὐτὸν Πολυκάρπου. 3. ἐρρῶσθαι ὑμᾶς διὰ παντὸς ἐν θεῷ ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ εὐχομαι, ἐν ᾧ διαμείνητε ἐν ἐνότητι θεοῦ καὶ ἐπισκοπῇ. ἀσπάζομαι Ἀλκην, τὸ ποθητόν μοι ὄνομα. ἔρρωσθε ἐν κυρίῳ.

¹ ἐπεὶ GA, ἐπει ὀν Lg.

² The combination of singular and plural is very strange. L makes all singular, A all plural. The punctuation given is in the main Lightfoot's, but even so the sentence is unsatisfactory.

IGNATIUS TO POLYCARP, VII. 3-VIII. 3

gives his time to God. This is the work of God and of yourselves, when you complete it. For I believe in the grace of God, that you are ready to do the good deeds which are proper for God. I exhort you by no more than these few lines, for I recognise your fervour for the truth.

VIII

1. SINCE I could not write to all the Churches because of my sudden sailing from Troas to Neapolis¹ as the will of God enjoins, you shall write as one possessing the mind of God to the Churches on the road in front of me, that they also shall treat me in the same way (let those who can send messengers, and the others send letters through those whom you send, that you² may be glorified by a memorable deed), as is worthy of you.

Request for Polycarp to write to other Churches

2. I greet all by name, and the wife of the Procurator³ with the whole house of herself and her children. I greet my beloved Attalus. I greet him who shall be appointed to go to Syria. Grace will be with him through all, and with Polycarp, who sends him. 3. I bid you farewell always in our God, Jesus Christ; may you remain in him in the unity and care of God. I greet Alce, a name very dear to me. Farewell in the Lord.

Final greetings

¹ The modern Cavalla, on the coast of Macedonia, between Constantinople and Salonica; the Roman road comes down to the sea there, and is still in fair preservation.

² Modern English obscures the fact that this "you" is plural. The others are singular.

³ Or, perhaps, "of Epitropus."

THE EPISTLE OF POLYCARP TO
THE PHILIPPIANS

THE EPISTLE OF POLYCARP TO THE PHILIPPIANS.

POLYCARP was the Bishop of Smyrna in the first half of the second century, and was martyred, in all probability, on February 23rd, 155 A.D., at the age of eighty-six. He had been a disciple of John, and opinions differ as to whether this John was the son of Zebedee, or John the Presbyter.

According to Irenaeus¹ Polycarp wrote several epistles, but only one is extant. This is the epistle sent to the Philippians in connection with Ignatius.

The object of the epistle is apparently partly to warn the Philippians against certain disorders in the Church at Philippi, and especially against apostasy; but it appears to have been immediately called for by the desire of the Philippians to make a collection of the letters of Ignatius. They had written to Polycarp to help him in this task, and the letter to the Philippians is, as we should say, a "covering letter" for the copies which Polycarp sends of all the Ignatian epistles to which he had access. It is interesting to notice that the one epistle which neither Polycarp nor the Philippians could easily obtain would be that to the Romans, and that it is

¹ Adv. Haer. v. 33. 4.

POLYCARP TO THE PHILIPPIANS

this letter which in the Ignatian MSS. seems to have had a different textual history from that of the other six.

The epistle is preserved in eight defective Greek MSS., representing a single archetype, in two long quotations in Eusebius, and in a Latin version contained in the Latin version of the *Corpus Ignatianum* (see p. 171). The reconstructed archetype of the Greek MSS. is quoted as G, that of the Latin MSS, as L, and Eusebius as Eus. A full collation of the individual Greek and Latin MSS. is given by Lightfoot.

ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΠΟΛΥΚΑΡΠΟΥ

ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ ΣΜΥΡΝΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΙΕΡΟΜΑΡΤΥΡΟΥ

ΠΡΟΣ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΗΣΙΟΥΣ ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ

Πολύκαρπος καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ πρεσβύτεροι
τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ τῇ παροικούσῃ
Φιλίππους· ἔλεος ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη παρὰ
θεοῦ παντοκράτορος καὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ
τοῦ σωτήρος ἡμῶν πληθυνθείη.

I

1. Συνεχάρην ὑμῖν μεγάλως ἐν τῷ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν
Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ, δεξαμένοις τὰ μιμήματα τῆς
ἀληθοῦς ἀγάπης καὶ προπέμψασιν, ὡς ἐπέβαλεν
ὑμῖν, τοὺς ἐνειλημένους τοῖς ἁγιοπρεπέσιν δεσμοῖς,
ἅτινά ἐστιν διαδήματα τῶν ἀληθῶς ὑπὸ θεοῦ καὶ
τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν ἐκλελεγμένων· 2. καὶ ὅτι ἡ
βεβαία τῆς πίστεως ὑμῶν ρίζα, ἐξ ἀρχαίων
καταγγελλομένη χρόνων, μέχρι νῦν διαμένει καὶ
καρποφορεῖ εἰς τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν,
ὃς ὑπέμεινεν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν ἕως θανάτου
καταντήσαι, ὃν ἤγειρεν ὁ θεός, λύσας τὰς ὠδύνας
τοῦ ἄδου· 3. εἰς ὃν οὐκ ἰδόντες πιστεύετε χαρᾷ

Acts. 2, 24

I Pet. 1, 8

THE
EPISTLE TO THE PHILIPPIANS
OF SAINT POLYCARP
BISHOP OF SMYRNA AND HOLY MARTYR

POLYCARP and the Elders with him to the Church Greeting
of God sojourning in Philippi; mercy and peace
from God Almighty and Jesus Christ our
Saviour be multiplied to you.

I

1. I REJOICE greatly with you in our Lord Jesus The hos-
Christ that you have followed the pattern of true pitality of
love, and have helped on their way, as opportunity the Philip-
was given you, those who were bound in chains, pians
which become the saints, and are the diadems
of those who have been truly chosen by God and
our Lord. 2. I rejoice also that your firmly Their faith
rooted faith, which was famous in past years, still
flourishes and bears fruit unto our Lord Jesus
Christ, who endured for our sins, even to the
suffering of death, "whom God raised up, having
loosed the pangs of Hades, 3. in whom, though you
did not see him, you believed in unspeakable and

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Eph. 2, 5. 8. 9 ἀνεκλαλήτω καὶ δεδοξασμένη, εἰς ἣν πολλοὶ ἐπιθυμοῦσιν εἰσελθεῖν, εἰδότες, ὅτι χάριτί ἐστε σεσωσμένοι, οὐκ ἐξ ἔργων, ἀλλὰ θελήματι θεοῦ διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

II

1. Διὸ ἀναζωσάμενοι τὰς ὀσφύας ὑμῶν δουλεύσατε τῷ θεῷ ἐν φόβῳ καὶ ἀληθείᾳ, ἀπολιπόντες τὴν κενὴν ματαιολογίαν καὶ τὴν τῶν πολλῶν πλάνην, πιστεύσαντες εἰς τὸν ἐγείραντα τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν καὶ δόντα αὐτῷ δόξαν καὶ θρόνον ἐκ δεξιῶν αὐτοῦ· ᾧ ὑπετάγη τὰ πάντα ἐπουράνια καὶ ἐπίγεια, ᾧ πᾶσα πνοὴ λατρεύει, ὃς ἔρχεται κριτῆς ζώντων καὶ νεκρῶν, οὗ τὸ αἷμα ἐκζητήσῃ ὁ θεὸς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀπειθούντων αὐτῷ. 2. ὁ δὲ ἐγείρας αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐγερεῖ, ἐὰν ποιῶμεν αὐτοῦ τὸ θέλημα καὶ πορευόμεθα ἐν ταῖς ἐντολαῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀγαπῶμεν ἃ ἠγάπησεν, ἀπεχόμενοι πάσης ἀδικίας, πλεονεξίας, φιλαργυρίας, καταλαλιᾶς, ψευδομαρτυρίας· μὴ ἀποδιδόντες κακὸν ἀντὶ κακοῦ ἢ λοιδορίαν ἀντὶ λοιδορίας ἢ γρόνθον ἀντὶ γρόνθου ἢ κατάραν ἀντὶ κατάρας· 3. μνημονεύοντες δὲ ὧν εἶπεν ὁ κύριος διδάσκων· Μὴ κρίνετε, ἵνα μὴ κριθήτε· ἀφίετε, καὶ ἀφεθήσεται ὑμῖν· ἐλεᾶτε, ἵνα ἐλεηθῆτε· ᾧ μέτρω μετρεῖτε, ἀντιμετρηθήσεται ὑμῖν· καὶ ὅτι μακάριοι οἱ πτωχοὶ καὶ οἱ διωκόμενοι ἕνεκεν δικαιοσύνης, ὅτι αὐτῶν ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ.

POLYCARP TO THE PHILIPPIANS, I. 3-II. 3

glorified joy,"—into which joy many desire to come, knowing that "by grace ye are saved, not by works but by the will of God through Jesus Christ.

II

1. "WHEREFORE girding up your loins serve God in fear" and truth, putting aside empty vanity and vulgar error, "believing on him who raised up our Lord Jesus Christ from the dead and gave him glory," and a throne on his right hand, "to whom are subject all things in heaven and earth," whom all breath serves, who is coming as "the Judge of the living and of the dead," whose blood God will require from them who disobey him. 2. Now "he who raised him" from the dead "will also raise us up" if we do his will, and walk in his commandments and love the things which he loved, refraining from all unrighteousness, covetousness, love of money, evil speaking, false witness, "rendering not evil for evil, or railing for railing," or blow for blow, or curse for curse, 3. but remembering what the Lord taught when he said, "Judge not that ye be not judged, forgive and it shall be forgiven unto you, be merciful that ye may obtain mercy, with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again," and, "Blessed are the poor, and they who are persecuted for righteousness' sake, for theirs is the Kingdom of God,"

Exhortation to virtue

The hope of resurrection

The Lord's teaching

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

III

1. Ταῦτα, ἀδελφοί, οὐκ ἑμαυτῷ ἐπιτρέψας γράφω ὑμῖν περὶ τῆς δικαιοσύνης, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ὑμεῖς προεπεκαλέσασθέ με. 2. οὔτε γὰρ ἐγὼ οὔτε ἄλλος ὅμοιος ἐμοὶ δύναται κατακολουθῆσαι τῇ σοφίᾳ τοῦ μακαρίου καὶ ἐνδόξου Παύλου, ὃς γενόμενος ἐν ὑμῖν κατὰ πρόσωπον τῶν τότε ἀνθρώπων ἐδίδαξεν ἀκριβῶς καὶ βεβαίως τὸν περὶ ἀληθείας λόγον, ὃς καὶ ἀπὸν ὑμῖν ἔγραψεν ἐπιστολάς, εἰς ἃς ἐὰν ἐγκύπτητε, δυνηθήσεσθε οἰκοδομεῖσθαι εἰς τὴν δοθείσαν ὑμῖν πίστιν. 3. ἣτις ἐστὶν μήτηρ πάντων ἡμῶν, ἐπακολουθούσης τῆς ἐλπίδος, προαγούσης τῆς ἀγάπης τῆς εἰς θεὸν καὶ Χριστὸν καὶ εἰς τὸν πλησίον. ἐὰν γὰρ τις τούτων ἐντὸς ἡ, πεπλήρωκεν ἐντολὴν δικαιοσύνης· ὁ γὰρ ἔχων ἀγάπην μακρὰν ἐστὶν πάσης ἀμαρτίας.

IV

1. Ἀρχὴ δὲ πάντων χαλεπῶν φιλαργυρία. εἰδότες οὖν ὅτι οὐδὲν εἰσηνέγκαμεν εἰς τὸν κόσμον, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἐξενεγκεῖν τι ἔχομεν, ὀπλισώμεθα τοῖς ὀπλοῖς τῆς δικαιοσύνης καὶ διδάξωμεν ἑαυτοὺς πρῶτον πορεύεσθαι ἐν τῇ ἐντολῇ τοῦ κυρίου. 2. ἔπειτα καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ἡμῶν¹ ἐν τῇ δοθείσῃ αὐταῖς πίστει καὶ ἀγάπῃ καὶ ἀγνείᾳ στεργούσας

I Tim. 6, 10

I Tim. 6, 7;

cf. Job. 1, 21

II Cor. 6, 7

¹ The MSS read ὑμῶν "your," but the confusion between ὑμῶν and ἡμῶν is so common that "our" may safely be restored.

III

1. THESE things, brethren, I write to you concerning righteousness, not at my own instance, but because you first invited me. 2. For neither am I, nor is any other like me, able to follow the wisdom of the blessed and glorious Paul, who when he was among you in the presence of the men of that time taught accurately and stedtastly the word of truth, and also when he was absent wrote letters to you, from the study of which you will be able to build yourselves up into the faith given you; 3. "which is the mother of us all" when faith follows, and love of God and Christ and neighbour goes before. For if one be in this company he has fulfilled the command of righteousness, for he who has love is far from all sin.

Polycarp's reason for writing: the invitation of the Philippians

IV

1. "But the beginning of all evils is the love of money." Knowing therefore that "we brought nothing into the world and we can take nothing out of it," let us arm ourselves with the armour of righteousness, and let us first of all teach ourselves to walk in the commandment of the Lord; 2. next teach our wives to remain in the faith given to them, and in love and purity, tenderly loving their

Exhortations to virtue

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

τοὺς ἑαυτῶν ἄνδρας ἐν πάσῃ ἀληθείᾳ καὶ ἀγαπώσας πάντας ἐξ ἴσου ἐν πάσῃ ἐγκρατεία, καὶ τὰ τέκνα παιδεύειν τὴν παιδείαν τοῦ φόβου τοῦ θεοῦ·
 3. τὰς χήρας σωφρονούσας περὶ τὴν τοῦ κυρίου
 πίστιν, ἐντυγχανούσας ἀδιαλείπτως περὶ πάντων, μακρὰν οὔσας πάσης διαβολῆς, καταλαλιᾶς, ψευδομαρτυρίας, φιλαργυρίας καὶ παντὸς κακοῦ, γινωσκούσας ὅτι εἰσὶ θυσιαστήριον θεοῦ καὶ ὅτι πάντα μωμοσκοπεῖται, καὶ λέληθεν αὐτὸν οὐδὲν οὔτε λογισμῶν οὔτε ἐννοιῶν οὔτε τι τῶν κρυπτῶν τῆς καρδίας.

I Tim. 5, 5'

I Cor. 14, 25

V

Gal. 6, 7

1. Εἰδότες, οὖν, ὅτι θεὸς οὐ μυκτηρίζεται, ὀφείλομεν ἀξίως τῆς ἐντολῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ δόξης περιπατεῖν. 2. ὁμοίως διάκονοι ἄμεμπτοι κατενώπιον αὐτοῦ τῆς δικαιοσύνης ὡς θεοῦ καὶ Χριστοῦ διάκονοι καὶ οὐκ ἀνθρώπων· μὴ διάβολοι, μὴ δίλογοι, ἀφιλάργυροι, ἐγκρατεῖς περὶ πάντα, εὐσπλαγχοι, ἐπιμελεῖς, πορευόμενοι κατὰ τὴν ἀλήθειαν τοῦ κυρίου, ὃς ἐγένετο διάκονος πάντων· ᾧ ἂν εὐαρεστήσωμεν ἐν τῷ νῦν αἰῶνι, ἀποληψόμεθα καὶ τὸν μέλλοντα, καθὼς ὑπέσχετο ἡμῖν ἐγείραι ἡμᾶς ἐκ νεκρῶν, καὶ ὅτι ἂν πολιτευσόμεθα ἀξίως αὐτοῦ, καὶ συμβασιλεύσομεν αὐτῷ, εἶγε πιστεύομεν. 3. ὁμοίως καὶ νεώτεροι ἄμεμπτοι ἐν πάσιν, πρὸ παντὸς προνοοῦντες ἀγνείας καὶ χαλιναγωγοῦντες ἑαυτοὺς ἀπὸ παντὸς κακοῦ. καλὸν γὰρ τὸ ἀνακόπτεσθαι ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ, ὅτι πᾶσα ἐπιθυμία κατὰ τοῦ πνεύματος στρατεύεται, καὶ οὔτε πόρνοι οὔτε

I Tim. 8, 8

Joh. 5, 21

II Tim 2, 12;
 cf. Rom. 8, 17

I Pet. 2, 11;
 cf. Gal. 5, 17
 I Cor. 6, 9, 10

POLYCARP TO THE PHILIPPIANS, IV. 2-V. 3

husbands in all truth, and loving all others equally in all chastity, and to educate their children in the fear of God. 3. Let us teach the widows to be discreet in the faith of the Lord, praying ceaselessly for all men, being far from all slander, evil speaking, false witness, love of money, and all evil, knowing that they are an altar of God, and that all offerings are tested, and that nothing escapes him of reasonings or thoughts, or of "the secret things of the heart."

V

1. KNOWING then that "God is not mocked" we ought to walk worthily of his commandment and glory. 2. Likewise must the deacons be blameless before his righteousness, as the servants of God and Christ and not of man, not slanderers, not double-tongued, not lovers of money, temperate in all things, compassionate, careful, walking according to the truth of the Lord, who was the "servant of all." For if we please him in this present world we shall receive from him that which is to come; even as he promised us to raise us from the dead, and that if we are worthy citizens of his community, "we shall also reign with him," if we have but faith. 3. Likewise also let the younger men be blameless in all things; caring above all for purity, and curbing themselves from all evil; for it is good to be cut off from the lust of the things in the world, because "every lust warreth against the Spirit, and neither fornicators nor the effeminate nor sodomites shall

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μαλακοὶ οὔτε ἀρσενοκοῖται βασιλείαν θεοῦ κληρονομήσουσιν, οὔτε οἱ ποιοῦντες τὰ ἄτοπα. διὸ δέον ἀπέχεσθαι ἀπὸ πάντων τούτων, ὑποτασσομένους τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις καὶ διακόνοις ὡς θεῷ καὶ Χριστῷ· τὰς παρθένας ἐν ἀμώμῳ καὶ ἀγνῇ συνειδήσει περιπατεῖν.

VI

1. Καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι δὲ εὐσπλαγχοι, εἰς πάντας ἐλεήμονες, ἐπιστρέφοντες τὰ ἀποπεπλανημένα, ἐπισκεπτόμενοι πάντας ἀσθενεῖς, μὴ ἀμελοῦντες χήρας ἢ ὀρφανοῦ ἢ πένητος. ἀλλὰ προουδύντες αἰὲ τοῦ καλοῦ ἐνώπιον θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπων, ἀπεχόμενοι πάσης ὀργῆς, προσωποληψίας, κρίσεως ἀδίκου, μακρὰν ὄντες πάσης φιλαργυρίας, μὴ ταχέως πιστεύοντες κατὰ τινος, μὴ ἀπότομοι ἐν κρίσει, εἰδότες ὅτι πάντες ὀφείλεται ἐσμεν ἁμαρτίας. 2. εἰ οὖν δεόμεθα τοῦ κυρίου, ἵνα ἡμῖν ἀφῆ, ὀφείλομεν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφιέναι· ἀπέναντι γὰρ τῶν τοῦ κυρίου καὶ θεοῦ ἐσμεν ὀφθαλμῶν, καὶ πάντας δεῖ παραστήναι τῷ βήματι τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ ἕκαστον ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ λόγον δοῦναι. 3. οὕτως οὖν δουλεύσωμεν αὐτῷ μετὰ φόβου καὶ πάσης εὐλαβείας, καθὼς αὐτὸς ἐνετείλατο καὶ οἱ εὐαγγελιστάμενοι ἡμᾶς ἀπόστολοι καὶ οἱ προφῆται, οἱ προκηρύξαντες τὴν ἔλευσιν τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν· ζηλωταὶ περὶ τὸ καλόν, ἀπεχόμενοι τῶν σκανδάλων καὶ τῶν ψευδαδέλφων καὶ τῶν ἐν ὑποκρίσει φερόντων τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ κυρίου, οἷτινες ἀποπλανῶσι κενοὺς ἀνθρώπους.

Prov. 8, 4
(II Cor. 8, 21;
Rom. 12, 17)

Rom. 14, 10.
12
cf. II Cor. 5
10

Ps. 2, 11;
Heb. 12, 28

POLYCARP TO THE PHILIPPIANS, v. 3-VI. 3

inherit the Kingdom of God," nor they who do iniquitous things. Wherefore it is necessary to refrain from all these things, and to be subject to the presbyters and deacons as to God and Christ. The virgins must walk with a blameless and pure conscience.

VI

1. AND let the presbyters also be compassionate, merciful to all, bringing back those that have wandered, caring for all the weak, neglecting neither widow, nor orphan nor poor, but "ever providing for that which is good before God and man," refraining from all wrath, respect of persons, unjust judgment, being far from all love of money, not quickly believing evil of any, not hasty in judgment, knowing that "we all owe the debt of sin."¹ 2. If then we pray the Lord to forgive us, we also ought to forgive, for we stand before the eyes of the Lord and of God, and "we must all appear before the judgment seat of Christ, and each must give an account of himself." 3. So then "let us serve him with fear and all reverence," as he himself commanded us, and as did the Apostles, who brought us the Gospel, and the Propiets who foretold the coming of our Lord. Let us be zealous for good, refraining from offence, and from the false brethren, and from those who bear the name of the Lord in hypocrisy, who deceive empty-minded men.

The duties
of the
presbyters

Forgiveness

The service
of God

¹ The introductory formula "knowing that" renders it probable that these words are a quotation, but the source is unknown.

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

VII

I Joh. 4, 2, 3;
II Joh. 7

1. Πᾶς γὰρ ὃς ἂν μὴ ὁμολογῇ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐν σαρκὶ ἐληλυθέναι, ἀντιχριστός ἐστιν· καὶ ὃς ἂν μὴ ὁμολογῇ τὸ μαρτύριον τοῦ σταυροῦ, ἐκ τοῦ διαβόλου ἐστίν· καὶ ὃς ἂν μεθοδεύῃ τὰ λόγια τοῦ κυρίου πρὸς τὰς ἰδίας ἐπιθυμίας καὶ λέγῃ μῆτε ἀνάστασις μῆτε κρίσις, οὗτος πρωτότοκος ἐστὶ τοῦ σατανᾶ. 2. διὸ ἀπολιπόντες τὴν ματαιότητα τῶν πολλῶν καὶ τὰς ψευδοδιδασκαλίας ἐπὶ τὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἡμῖν παραδοθέντα λόγον ἐπιστρέψωμεν, νήφοντες πρὸς τὰς εὐχὰς καὶ προσκαρτεροῦντες ἡστεταίαις, δεήσεσιν αἰτούμενοι τὸν παντεπόπτην θεὸν μὴ εἰσενεγκεῖν ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμόν, καθὼς εἶπεν ὁ κύριος· Τὸ μὲν πνεῦμα πρόθυμον, ἡ δὲ σὰρξ ἄσθενής.

I Pet. 4, 7

Mt. 6, 18

Mt. 26, 41;
Mk. 14, 38

VIII

I Tim. 1, 1

I Pet. 2, 24

I Pet. 2, 22

1. Ἀδιαλείπτως οὖν προσκαρτερώμεν τῇ ἐλπίδι ἡμῶν καὶ τῷ ἀραβῶνι τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἡμῶν, ὃς ἐστὶ Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς, ὃς ἀνήνεγκεν ἡμῶν τὰς ἁμαρτίας τῷ ἰδίῳ σώματι ἐπὶ τὸ ξύλον, ὃς ἁμαρτίαν οὐκ ἐποίησεν, οὐδὲ εὐρέθη δόλος ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ· ἀλλὰ δι' ἡμᾶς, ἵνα ζήσωμεν ἐν αὐτῷ, πάντα ὑπέμεινεν. 2. μιμηταὶ οὖν γενώμεθα τῆς ὑπομονῆς αὐτοῦ, καὶ εἰάν πάσχωμεν διὰ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ, δοξάζωμεν αὐτόν. τοῦτον γὰρ ἡμῖν τὸν ὑπογραμμὸν ἔθηκε δι' ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ ἡμεῖς τοῦτο ἐπιστεύσαμεν.

VII

1. "FOR everyone who does not confess that Jesus Christ has come in the flesh is an anti-Christ"; and whosoever does not confess the testimony of the Cross is of the devil: and whosoever perverts the oracles of the Lord for his own lusts, and says that there is neither resurrection nor judgment,—this man is the first-born of Satan.¹ 2. Wherefore, leaving the foolishness of the crowd, and their false teaching, let us turn back to the word which was delivered to us in the beginning, "watching unto prayer" and persevering in fasting, beseeching the all-seeing God in our supplications "to lead us not into temptation," even as the Lord said, "The spirit is willing, but the flesh is weak."

Warning
against
heresy

VIII

1. LET us then persevere unceasingly in our hope, and in the pledge of our righteousness, that is in Christ Jesus, "who bare our sins in his own body on the tree, who did no sin, neither was guile found in his mouth," but for our sakes, that we might live in him, he endured all things. 2. Let us then be imitators of his endurance, and if we suffer for his name's sake let us glorify him. For this is the example which he gave us in himself, and this is what we have believed.

Persever-
ance

¹ This phrase, according to Irenaeus (*Adv. Haer.* iii. 3, 4.) was applied, presumably later, by Polycarp to Marcion.

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

IX

1. Παρακαλῶ οὖν πάντας ὑμᾶς, πειθαρχεῖν τῷ λόγῳ τῆς δικαιοσύνης¹ καὶ ἀσκεῖν πᾶσαν ὑπομονήν, ἣν καὶ εἶδατε κατ' ὀφθαλμούς οὐ μόνον ἐν τοῖς μακαρίοις Ἰγνατίῳ καὶ Ζωσίμῳ καὶ Ῥούφῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις τοῖς ἐξ ὑμῶν καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ Παύλῳ καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἀποστόλοις· 2. πεπεισμένους ὅτι οὗτοι πάντες οὐκ εἰς κενὸν ἔδραμον, ἀλλ' ἐν πίστει καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ, καὶ ὅτι εἰς τὸν ὀφειλόμενον αὐτοῖς τόπον εἰσὶ παρὰ τῷ κυρίῳ, ᾧ καὶ συνέπαθον. οὐ γὰρ τὸν νῦν ἠγάπησαν αἰῶνα, ἀλλὰ τὸν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀποθανόντα καὶ δι' ἡμᾶς² ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀναστάντα.

X

Col. 1, 28; I Cor. 15, 58; I Pet. 3, 8 (2, 17); Joh. 13, 34; Rom. 13, 8 etc. 1. In his ergo state et domini exemplar sequimini, firmi in fide et immutabiles, fraternitatis amatores, diligentes invicem, in veritate sociati, mansuetudine domini alterutri praestolantes, nullum despicientes.

Tob. 4, 10; I Pet. 5, 5; Eph. 5, 21 2. Cum possitis benefacere, nolite differre, quia eleēmosyna de morte liberat. Omnes vobis invicem subiecti estote, conversationem vestram irreprehensibilem habentes in gentibus, ut ex bonis operibus vestris et vos laudem accipiatis et dominus in vobis

¹ τῷ λόγῳ τῆς δικαιοσύνης GL, om. Eus.

² Here G breaks off, but the rest of the sentence is given by L Eus.

POLYCARP TO THE PHILIPPIANS, ix. 1-x. 3

IX

1. Now I beseech you all to obey the word of righteousness, and to endure with all the endurance which you also saw before your eyes, not only in the blessed Ignatius, and Zosimus, and Rufus, but also in others among yourselves, and in Paul himself, and in the other Apostles; 2. being persuaded that all of these "ran not in vain," but in faith and righteousness, and that they are with the Lord in the "place which is their due," with whom they also suffered. For they did not "love this present world" but him who died on our behalf, and was raised by God for our sakes.

The
examples
of the
martyrs

X

1. STAND fast therefore in these things and follow the example of the Lord, "firm and unchangeable in faith, loving the brotherhood, affectionate to one another," joined together in the truth, forestalling one another in the gentleness of the Lord, despising no man. 2. When you can do good defer it not, "for almsgiving sets free from death; be ye all subject one to the other, having your conversation blameless among the Gentiles," that you may receive praise "for your good works" and that the Lord be not blasphemed in you. 3. "But woe to him

Perseverance in
philanthropy and
good works.

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

Is. 52.

non blasphemetur. 3. Vae autem, per quem nomen domini blasphematur. Sobrietatem ergo docete omnes, in qua et vos conversamini.

XI

1. Nimis contristatus sum pro Valente, qui presbyter factus est aliquando apud vos, quod sic ignoret is locum qui datus est ei. Moneo itaque ut abstineatis vos ab avaritia et sitis casti¹ veraces. Abstinetes vos ab omni malo. 2. Qui² autem non potest se in his gubernare, quomodo alii pronuntiat hoc? Si quis non se abstinerit ab avaritia, ab idololatria coinquinabitur et tamquam inter gentes iudicabitur, qui ignorant iudicium domini. Aut nescimus, quia sancti mundum iudicabunt? sicut Paulus docet. 3. Ego autem nihil tale sensi in vobis vel audivi, in quibus laboravit beatus Paulus, qui estis in principio epistolae eius. De vobis etenim gloriatur in omnibus ecclesiis, quae dominum² solae tunc cognoverant; nos autem nondum cognoveramus. 4. Valde ergo, fratres, contristor pro illo et pro coniuge eius, quibus det dominus paenitentiam veram. Sobrii ergo estote et vos in hoc; et non sicut inimicos tales existimetis, sed sicut passibilia membra et errantia eos revocate, ut omnium vestrum corpus salvetis. Hoc enim agentes vos ipsos aedificatis.

Eph. 5, 5;

Col. 3, 5

Jer. 5, 4

I Cor. 6, 2

1 Cor. 4, 2.

Cf. Phil.

4, 15

II Thess. 1, 4

II Tim. 2, 25

II Thess. 3,

15

¹ An *et* after *casti* would be natural, but it is only found in two of the MSS of L.

² Some MSS. of L read *deum* instead of *dominum*.

POLYCARP TO THE PHILIPPIANS, x. 3-XI. 4

through whom the name of the Lord is blasphemed." Therefore teach sobriety to all and show it forth in your own lives.

XI

1. I AM deeply sorry for Valens, who was once ^{Valens} made a presbyter among you, that he so little understands the place which was given to him. I advise, therefore, that you keep from avarice, and be pure and truthful. Keep yourselves from all evil. 2. For ^{Against avarice} how may he who cannot attain self-control in these matters enjoy it on another? If any man does not abstain from avarice he will be defiled by idolatry, and shall be judged as if he were among the Gentiles who "know not the judgment of God." Or do we "not know that the saints shall judge the world?" as Paul teaches. 3. But I have neither perceived nor heard any such thing among you, among whom the blessed Paul laboured, who are praised in the beginning of his Epistle.¹ For concerning you he boasts in all the Churches who then alone had known the Lord, for we had not yet known him. 4. There- ^{The treatment of Valens} fore, brethren, I am deeply sorry for him [*i.e.* Valens] and for his wife, and "may the Lord grant them true repentance." Therefore be yourselves also moderate in this matter, and "do not regard such men as enemies," but call them back as fallible and straying members, that you may make whole the body of you all. For in doing this you edify yourselves.

¹ The Greek was perhaps *τοῖς ὄσιν ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐπιστολαῖς αὐτοῦ*, and ought to be rendered "who were his epistles in the beginning," with a reference to II Cor. 3, 2.

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

XII

1. Confido enim vos bene exercitatos esse in sacris literis et nihil vos latet; mihi autem non est concessum. Modo, ut his scripturis dictum est, irascimini et nolite peccare, et sol non occidat super iracundiam vestram. Beatus, qui meminerit; quod ego credo esse in vobis. 2. Deus autem et pater domini nostri Iesu Christi, et ipse sempiternus pontifex, dei filius Iesus Christus, aedificet vos in fide et veritate et in omni mansuetudine et sine iracundia et in patientia et in longanimitate et tolerantia et castitate; et det vobis sortem et partem inter sanctos suos et nobis vobiscum et omnibus, qui sunt sub caelo, qui credituri sunt in dominum nostrum et deum¹ Iesum Christum et in ipsius patrem, qui resuscitavit eum a mortuis. 3. Pro omnibus sanctis orate. Orate etiam pro regibus et potestatibus et principibus atque pro persequentibus et odientibus vos et pro inimicis crucis, ut fructus vester manifestus sit in omnibus, ut sitis in illo perfecti.

Ps. 4, 5;
Eph. 4, 26

Heb. 6, 20;
7, 8

Sgm. Philadelp.

Gal. 1, 1

I Tim. 2, 1.²

Mt. 5, 44;
Luke 6, 27

Phil. 3, 18

Joh. 15, 16;
I Tim. 4, 15

James 1, 4

XIII

1. Ἐγράψατέ² μοι καὶ ὑμεῖς καὶ Ἰγνάτιος, ἵν' εἰάν τις ἀπέρχηται εἰς Συρίαν, καὶ τὰ παρ' ὑμῶν

¹ *Et deum* is omitted by some of the MSS of L.

² The Greek is here again available from the quotation in Eusebius.

XII

1. FOR I am confident that you are well versed in the Scriptures,¹ and from you nothing is hid; but to me this is not granted. Only, as it is said in these Scriptures, "Be ye angry and sin not," and "Let not the sun go down upon your wrath." Blessed is the man who remembers this, and I believe that it is so with you. The need of forgiveness

2. Now may God and the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the "eternal Priest" himself, Prayer for blessing Jesus Christ, the Son of God, build you up in faith and truth, and in all gentleness, and without wrath, and in patience, and in longsuffering, and endurance, and purity, and may he give you lot and part with his saints, and to us with you, and to all under heaven who shall believe in our Lord and God Jesus Christ and in his "Father who raised him from the dead."

3. "Pray for all the saints. Pray also for the Emperors,"² and for potentates, and princes, and for "those who persecute you and hate you," and for "the enemies of the Cross" that "your fruit may be manifest among all men, that you may be perfected" in him.

XIII

1. BOTH you and Ignatius wrote to me that if anyone was going to Syria he should also take your

¹ Probably this ought to be regarded as a quotation from the letter of the Philippians to Polycarp.

² *Pro regibus* is no doubt a translation of *ὑπὲρ βασιλέων* and *βασιλεύς* is regularly used as the title of the Emperor.

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

ἀποκομίση γράμματα· ὅπερ ποιήσω, ἐὰν λάβω καιρὸν εὐθετον, εἴτε ἐγὼ, εἴτε ὃν πέμπω¹ πρεσβεύσοντα καὶ περὶ ὑμῶν. 2. τὰς ἐπιστολάς Ἰγνατίου τὰς πεμφθείσας ἡμῖν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἄλλας, ὅσας εἴχομεν παρ' ἡμῖν, ἐπέμψαμεν ὑμῖν, καθὼς ἐνετείλασθε· αἵτινες ὑποτεταγμένοι εἰσὶν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ ταύτῃ, ἐξ ὧν μεγάλα ὠφεληθῆναι δυνήσεσθε. περιέχουσι γὰρ πίστιν καὶ ὑπομονὴν καὶ πᾶσαν οἰκοδομὴν τὴν εἰς τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν ἀνήκουσαν. Et de ipso Ignatio et de his, qui cum eo sunt, quod certius agnoveritis, significate.

XIV

Haec vobis scripsi per Crescentem, quem in praesenti commendavi vobis et nunc commendo. Conversatus est enim nobiscum inculpabiliter; credo quia et vobiscum similiter. Sororem autem eius habebitis commendatam, cum venerit ad vos. Incolumes estote in domino Iesu Christo in gratia cum omnibus vestris. Amen.

¹ πέμπω Eus. *miserō* (=πέμψω) L.

POLYCARP TO THE PHILIPPIANS, XIII. 1-XIV. 1

letters. I will do this if I have a convenient opportunity, either myself or the man whom I am sending as a representative for you and me. 2. We send you, as you asked, the letters of Ignatius, which were sent to us by him, and others which we had by us. These are subjoined to this letter, and you will be able to benefit greatly from them. For they contain faith, patience, and all the edification which pertains to our Lord. Let us know anything further which you have heard about Ignatius himself and those who are with him.

Ignatius
and the
Church in
Syria

XIV

1. I HAVE written this to you by Crescens, whom I commended to you when I was present, and now commend again. For he has behaved blamelessly among us, and I believe that he will do the same with you. His sister shall be commended to you when she comes to you. Farewell in the Lord Jesus Christ in grace, with all who are yours. Amen.

Final
greetings

THE DIDACHE, OR TEACHING OF
THE TWELVE APOSTLES

THE DIDACHE, OR TEACHING OF THE TWELVE APOSTLES

THE Didache, or Teaching of the Twelve Apostles, is one of the most important discoveries of the second half of the nineteenth century. There are several references in early Christian literature to a book with this or a similar title, and by applying the methods of comparative criticism to documents which had probably made use of it, especially the "Apostolic Constitutions" and the "Church Ordinances," a rough reconstruction of some of its features had been obtained; but it was not known to be extant until Bryennios in 1875 discovered it in the Patriarchal library of Jerusalem at Constantinople, in the manuscript which also contains I and II Clement and is quoted for them as C.

This is the document of which a text and translation is given in the following pages. But the question still remains open how far it truly represents the original "Teaching." Since Bryennios' discovery two copies of a Latin version either of a part of our Didache, or of a cognate document have been discovered, and it would now be possible to use

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

at least four authorities for the text of the original "Teaching." These are:—

- (1) Bryennios' Didache = C.
- (2) The Latin version.
- (3) The "Church Ordinances" (usually quoted as KO).
- (4) The "Apostolic Constitutions," bk. vii.

All these authorities¹ have to be considered in any attempt to reconstruct the original "Teaching." Their mutual relations are not clear; it is possible that Bryennios' Didache, and the Apostolic Constitutions represent a second recension of the "Teaching" and that the Latin version, KO, and the reconstructed "fifth source" represent, though not in relatively so pure a form, the first recension.

The question may be best studied in Funk's edition of the Didache, and in Harnack's *Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur*.

Besides this there is a further question: it is clear that the Didache or "Teaching" was itself a composite document, and the first part is always known as "The Two Ways." A moment's comparison shows that this part is closely connected with the last chapters of the Epistle of Barnabas. The problem therefore arises whether Barnabas used the Didache (or the original "Teaching"), or the Didache used Barnabas, or both used a common source. The matter is not clear, but probably the majority of scholars incline to the last view, and many think that the common source,—the original "Two Ways"

¹ Harnack, probably rightly, suggests others as well. See his *Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur*, pp. 86 ff.

THE DIDACHE

—was a Jewish pre-Christian document, used for catechetical purposes, perhaps especially among Proselytes.

The chronology of this complex document is very obscure. The original "Two Ways" may be early first century or even earlier. The original "Teaching" is probably early second century, or possibly earlier, and the second recension of the "Teaching," represented by C, can scarcely be later than the second century, though it is possible that a few phrases in C may represent textual accretions.

As it stands the Didache may be described as a manual of Church instruction. The first part, "The Two Ways," is a statement of the principles of Christian conduct, which is to be taught to catechumens before their baptism (chaps. i-vi); then follows a series of instructions as to the practice of Christian worship, Baptism, Fasting, the Eucharist, the discrimination and treatment of Apostles¹ and Prophets, the Worship on Sunday, Bishops and Deacons (chaps. vii-xv); finally a short statement of the eschatological hope is appended for the warning and encouragement of Christians.

The text given in the following pages is that of C (published in photographic facsimile by Dr. Rendel Harris). The very few necessary corrections (except obvious mistakes) have been noted at the foot of the page.

¹ It should be noted that "Apostle" in the Didache does not mean a member of "the Twelve," but is merely an inspired teacher who is engaged in preaching, especially to those as yet unconverted,—very much what is now called a Missionary.

ΔΙΔΑΧΗ ΤΩΝ ΔΩΔΕΚΑ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΩΝ

Διδαχή κυρίου διὰ τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων
τοῖς ἔθνεσιν.

I

1. Ὅδοι δύο εἰσὶ, μία τῆς ζωῆς καὶ μία τοῦ
θανάτου, διαφορὰ δὲ πολλή μεταξὺ τῶν δύο ὁδῶν.

Mt. 22,

37-39;

Mk. 12,

30-31;

Lev. 19, 18

2. Ἡ μὲν οὖν ὁδὸς τῆς ζωῆς ἐστὶν αὕτη· πρῶτον
ἀγαπήσεις τὸν θεὸν τὸν ποιήσαντά σε, δεύτερον
τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτὸν· πάντα δὲ ὅσα ἐὰν
θελήσης μὴ γίνεσθαι σοι, καὶ σὺ ἄλλω μὴ ποίει.

Mt. 7, 12;

Luke 6, 31

Mt. 5, 44, 46.

47;

Luke 6, 32-33

3. Τούτων δὲ τῶν λόγων ἡ διδαχὴ ἐστὶν αὕτη·
εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς καταρωμένους ὑμῖν καὶ προσεύ-
χεσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὑμῶν, νηστεύετε δὲ ὑπὲρ
τῶν διωκόντων ὑμᾶς· ποία γὰρ χάρις, ἐὰν ἀγαπᾶτε
τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας ὑμᾶς; οὐχὶ καὶ τὰ ἔθνη τὸ αὐτὸ
ποιοῦσιν; ὑμεῖς δὲ ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς μισοῦντας
ὑμᾶς, καὶ οὐχ ἔξετε ἐχθρόν. 4. ἀπέχου τῶν
σαρκικῶν καὶ σωματικῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν· ἐὰν τίς

I Pet. 2, 11;

cf. Tit. 2, 12

THE DIDACHE, OR TEACHING OF THE TWELVE APOSTLES

The Lord's teaching to the heathen by the Twelve
Apostles.

I

1. THERE are two Ways, one of Life and one of Death, and there is a great difference between the two Ways. ^{The two Ways}

2. The Way of Life is this: "First, thou shalt love the God who made thee, secondly, thy neighbour as thyself; and whatsoever thou wouldst not have done to thyself, do not thou to another." ^{The Way of Life} ¹

3. Now, the teaching of these words is this: ^{The explanation} "Bless those that curse you, and pray for your enemies, and fast for those that persecute you. For what credit is it to you if you love those that love you? Do not even the heathen do the same?" But, for your part, "love those that hate you," and you will have no enemy. 4. "Abstain from carnal" and bodily "lusts." "If any man smite thee on the

¹ This is the so-called "negative form of the Golden Rule." It is found in some MSS. in the "Apostolic decrees" in Acts xv. 28, and is, in various forms, met with in Jewish and Early Christian literature.

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

- Mt. 5, 39 48 σοι δῶ ῥάπισμα εἰς τὴν δεξιὰν σιαγόνα, στρέψον
 Mt. 5, 41. 40 αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην, καὶ ἔση τέλειος· ἐὰν ἀγγα
ρεύση σέ τις μίλιον ἕν, ὑπαγε μετ' αὐτοῦ δύο· ἐὰν
 Luke 6, 80 ἄρη τις τὸ ἱμάτιόν σου, δὸς αὐτῷ καὶ τὸν χιτῶνα·
 ἐὰν λάβῃ τις ἀπὸ σοῦ τὸ σόν, μὴ ἀπαίτει· οὐδὲ
 Luke 6, 90 γὰρ δύνασαι. 5. παντὶ τῷ αἰτοῦντί σε δίδου καὶ
 μὴ ἀπαίτει· πᾶσι γὰρ θέλει δίδοσθαι ὁ πατὴρ ἐκ
 τῶν ἰδίων χαρισμάτων. μακάριος ὁ διδοὺς κατὰ
 τὴν ἐντολήν·¹ ἀθῶος γὰρ ἐστίν. οὐαὶ τῷ λαμβά-
 νοντι· εἰ μὲν γὰρ χρεῖαν ἔχων λαμβάνει τις, ἀθῶος
 ἔσται· ὁ δὲ μὴ χρεῖαν ἔχων δώσει δίκην, ἵνατί
 ἔλαβε καὶ εἰς τί· ἐν συνοχῇ δὲ γενόμενος ἐξετασ-
 θήσεται περὶ ὧν ἔπραξε, καὶ οὐκ ἐξελεύσεται
 Mt. 5, 26 ἐκεῖθεν, μέχρις οὗ ἀποδοῖ τὸν ἔσχατον κοδράντην.
 6. ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τούτου δὲ εἴρηται· Ἰδρωσάτω ἡ
 ἐλεημοσύνη σου εἰς τὰς χεῖράς σου, μέχρις ἂν
 γνῶς, τίμι δῶς.

II

- Mt. 19, 18 1. Δευτέρα δὲ ἐντολὴ τῆς διδαχῆς· 2. οὐ
 φονεύσεις, οὐ μοιχεύσεις, οὐ παιδοφθορήσεις, οὐ
 πορνεύσεις, οὐ κλέψεις, οὐ μαγεύσεις, οὐ φαρ-
 μακεύσεις, οὐ φονεύσεις τέκνον ἐν φθορᾷ, οὐδὲ

L-3

¹ This passage is found in the 4th mandate of Hermas, and suggests that this part of the Didache is later than Hermas (c. 140 A. D.).

THE DIDACHE, I. 4-II. 2

right cheek, turn to him the other cheek also," and thou wilt be perfect. "If any man impress thee to go with him one mile, go with him two. If any man take thy coat, give him thy shirt also. If any man will take from thee what is thine, refuse it not"—not even if thou canst.¹ 5. Give to everyone Alms-giving that asks thee, and do not refuse, for the Father's will is that we give to all from the gifts we have received. Blessed is he that gives according to the mandate; for he is innocent. Woe to him who receives; for if any man receive alms under pressure of need he is innocent; but he who receives it without need shall be tried as to why he took and for what, and being in prison he shall be examined as to his deeds, and "he shall not come out thence until he pay the last farthing." 6. But concerning this it was also said, "Let thine alms sweat into thine hands until thou knowest to whom thou art giving."

II

1. But the second commandment of the teaching The second part of the teaching is this; 2. "Thou shalt do no murder; thou shalt not commit adultery"; thou shalt not commit sodomy; thou shalt not commit fornication; thou shalt not steal; thou shalt not use magic; thou shalt not use philtres; thou shalt not procure abortion, nor

¹ The Greek is literally "for thou art not even able"; but this makes no sense, and though an emendation is difficult the sense must be something like that given by the translation—unless, indeed, the whole phrase be merely a flippant gloss, which has been erroneously taken into the text.

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Exod. 20, 17 γεννηθὲν ἀποκτενεῖς, οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις τὰ τοῦ
Mt. 5, 33; πλησίον. 3. οὐκ ἐπιιορκήσεις, οὐ ψευδομαρτυρή-
19, 18 σεις, οὐ κακολογήσεις, οὐ μνησικακήσεις. 4. οὐκ
ἔση διγνώμων οὐδὲ δίγλωσσος· παγίς γὰρ
θανάτου ἢ διγλωσσία. 5. οὐκ ἔσται ὁ λόγος σου
ψευδής, οὐ κενός, ἀλλὰ μεμεστωμένος πράξει.
6. οὐκ ἔση πλεονέκτης οὐδὲ ἄρπαξ οὐδὲ ὑποκριτῆς
οὐδὲ κακοήθης οὐδὲ ὑπερήφανος. οὐ λήψῃ βου-
λὴν πονηρὰν κατὰ τοῦ πλησίον σου. 7. οὐ
μισήσεις πάντα ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλὰ οὓς μὲν ἐλέγξεις,
περὶ δὲ ὧν προσεύξῃ, οὓς δὲ ἀγαπήσεις ὑπὲρ τὴν
ψυχὴν σου.

III

1. Τέκνον μου, φεῦγε ἀπὸ παντὸς πονηροῦ καὶ
ἀπὸ παντὸς ὁμοίου αὐτοῦ. 2. μὴ γίνου ὀργίλος,
ὁδηγεῖ γὰρ ἡ ὀργὴ πρὸς τὸν φόνον, μηδὲ ζηλω-
τῆς μηδὲ ἐριστικὸς μηδὲ θυμικός· ἐκ γὰρ τούτων
ἀπάντων φόνοι γεννῶνται. 3. τέκνον μου, μὴ
γίνου ἐπιθυμητής, ὁδηγεῖ γὰρ ἡ ἐπιθυμία πρὸς
τὴν πορνείαν, μηδὲ αἰσχρολόγος μηδὲ ὑψηλόφ-
θαλμος· ἐκ γὰρ τούτων ἀπάντων μοιχείαι γεν-
νῶνται. 4. τέκνον μου, μὴ γίνου οἰωνοσκοπός,
ἐπειδὴ ὁδηγεῖ εἰς τὴν εἰδωλολατρίαν, μηδὲ ἐπαι-
δὸς μηδὲ μαθηματικός μηδὲ περικαθαίρων, μηδὲ
θέλε αὐτὰ βλέπειν· ἐκ γὰρ τούτων ἀπάντων εἰδωλο-
λατρία γεννᾶται. 5. τέκνον μου, μὴ γίνου ψεύστης,
ἐπειδὴ ὁδηγεῖ τὸ ψεῦσμα εἰς τὴν κλοπὴν, μηδὲ
φιλάργυρος μηδὲ κενόδοξος· ἐκ γὰρ τούτων ἀπάν-

THE DIDACHE, II. 2-III. 5

commit infanticide; "thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's goods"; 3. thou shalt not commit perjury, "thou shalt not bear false witness"; thou shalt not speak evil; thou shalt not bear malice. 4. Thou shalt not be double-minded nor double-tongued, for to be double-tongued is the snare of death. 5. Thy speech shall not be false nor vain; but completed in action. 6. Thou shalt not be covetous nor extortionate, nor a hypocrite, nor malignant, nor proud, thou shalt make no evil plan against thy neighbour. 7. Thou shalt hate no man; but some thou shalt reprove,¹ and for some shalt thou pray, and some thou shalt love more than thine own life.

III

1. My child, flee from every evil man and from all like him. 2. Be not proud, for pride leads to murder, nor jealous, nor contentious, nor passionate, for from all these murders are engendered. 3. My child, be not lustful, for lust leads to fornication, nor a speaker of base words, nor a lifter up of the eyes, for from all these is adultery engendered. 4. My child, regard not omens, for this leads to idolatry; neither be an enchanter, nor an astrologer, nor a magician, neither wish to see these things, for from them all is idolatry engendered. 5. My child, be not a liar, for lying leads to theft, nor a lover of money, nor vain-glorious, for from all these things

Further
advice
to the
catechumen

¹ On the ground of a comparison with Jude 22 f. etc., some think that "and some thou shalt pity" ought to be added.

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

των κλοπαῖ γεννῶνται. 6. τέκνον μου, μὴ γίνου γόγγυσος, ἐπειδὴ ὀδηγεῖ εἰς τὴν βλασφημίαν, μηδὲ αὐθάδης μηδὲ ποιηρόφρων· ἐκ γὰρ τούτων ἀπάντων βλασφημίαι γεννῶνται. 7. ἴσθι δὲ πραῦς, ἐπεὶ οἱ πραεῖς κληρονομήσουσι τὴν γῆν. 8. γίνου μακρόθυμος καὶ ἐλεήμων καὶ ἄκακος καὶ ἡσύχιος καὶ ἀγαθὸς καὶ τρέμων τοὺς λόγους διὰ παντός, οὓς ἤκουσας. 9. οὐχ ὑψώσεις σεαυτὸν οὐδὲ δώσεις τῇ ψυχῇ σου θράσος. οὐ κολληθήσεται ἡ ψυχὴ σου μετὰ ὑψηλῶν, ἀλλὰ μετὰ δικαίων καὶ ταπεινῶν ἀναστραφήσῃ. 10. τὰ συμβαίοντά σοι ἐνεργήματα ὡς ἀγαθὰ προσδέξῃ, εἰδὼς ὅτι ἄτερ θεοῦ οὐδὲν γίνεται.

Mt. 5, 5;
Ps. 86, 11

IV

1. Τέκνον μου, τοῦ λαλοῦντός σοι τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ μνησθήσῃ νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας, τιμήσεις δὲ αὐτὸν ὡς κύριον· ὅθεν γὰρ ἡ κυριότης λαλεῖται, ἐκεῖ κύριός ἐστιν. 2. ἐκζητήσεις δὲ καθ' ἡμέραν τὰ πρόσωπα τῶν ἀγίων, ἵνα ἐπαναπαῖς τοῖς λόγοις αὐτῶν. 3. οὐ ποθήσεις¹ σχίσμα, εἰρηνεύσεις δὲ μαχομένους· κρινεῖς δικαίως, οὐ λήψῃ πρόσωπον ἐλέγξαι ἐπὶ παραπτώμασιν. 4. οὐ διψυχήσεις, πότερον ἔσται ἢ οὐ.

Deut. 1, 16;
Prov. 31, 9;
cf. Joh. 7, 24

5. Μὴ γίνου πρὸς μὲν τὸ λαβεῖν ἐκτείνων τὰς χεῖρας, πρὸς δὲ τὸ δοῦναι συσπῶν. 6. ἐὰν ἔχῃς

¹ The editors usually emend to ποιήσεις "make."

THE DIDACHE, III. 5-IV. 6

are thefts engendered. 6. My child, be not a grumbler, for this leads to blasphemy, nor stubborn, nor a thinker of evil, for from all these are blasphemies engendered, 7. but be thou "meek, for the meek shall inherit the earth;" 8. be thou long-suffering, and merciful and guileless, and quiet, and good, and ever fearing the words which thou hast heard. 9. Thou shalt not exalt thyself, nor let thy soul be presumptuous. Thy soul shall not consort with the lofty, but thou shalt walk with righteous and humble men. 10. Receive the accidents that befall to thee as good, knowing that nothing happens without God.

IV

1. My child, thou shalt remember, day and night, him who speaks the word of God to thee, and thou shalt honour him as the Lord, for where the Lord's nature is spoken of, there is he present. 2. And thou shalt seek daily the presence of the saints, that thou mayest find rest in their words. 3. Thou shalt not desire a schism, but shalt reconcile those that strive. Thou shalt give righteous judgment; thou shalt favour no man's person in reprovng transgression. 4. Thou shalt not be of two minds whether it shall be or not.

The duty
of the
catechumen
to the
Church

5. Be not one who stretches out his hands to receive, but shuts them when it comes to giving. 6. Of

Against
meanness

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διὰ τῶν χειρῶν σου, δώσεις λύτρωσιν ἁμαρτιῶν σου. 7. οὐ διστάσεις δοῦναι οὐδὲ διδοὺς γογγύσεις· γνώση γάρ, τίς ἐστὶν ὁ τοῦ μισθοῦ καλὸς ἀνταποδότης. 8. οὐκ ἀποστραφήσῃ τὸν ἐνδεόμενον, συγκοινωνήσεις δὲ πάντα τῷ ἀδελφῷ σου καὶ οὐκ ἑρεῖς ἴδια εἶναι· εἰ γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἀθανάτῳ κοινωνοί ἐστε, πόσῳ μᾶλλον ἐν τοῖς θνητοῖς ;

9. Οὐκ ἀρεῖς τὴν χεῖρά σου ἀπὸ τοῦ υἱοῦ σου ἢ ἀπὸ τῆς θυγατρὸς σου, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ νεότητος διδάξεις τὸν φόβον τοῦ θεοῦ. 10. οὐκ ἐπιτάξεις δούλῳ σου ἢ παιδίσκῃ, τοῖς ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτὸν θεὸν ἐλπίζουσιν, ἐν πικρίᾳ σου, μήποτε οὐ μὴ φοβηθῆσονται τὸν ἐπ' ἀμφοτέροις θεόν· οὐ γὰρ ἔρχεται κατὰ πρόσωπον καλέσαι, ἀλλ' ἐφ' οὗς τὸ πνεῦμα ἠτοίμασεν. 11. ὑμεῖς δὲ οἱ δούλοι ὑποταγήσαθε τοῖς κυρίοις ὑμῶν ὡς τύπῳ θεοῦ ἐν αἰσχύνη καὶ φόβῳ.

12. Μισήσεις πᾶσαν ὑπόκρισιν καὶ πᾶν ὃ μὴ ἄρεστον τῷ κυρίῳ. 13. οὐ μὴ ἐγκαταλίπῃς ἐντολὰς κυρίου, φυλάξεις δὲ ἅ παρέλαβες, μήτε προστιθεῖς μήτε ἀφαιρῶν. 14. ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐξομολογήσῃ τὰ παραπτώματά σου, καὶ οὐ προσελεύσῃ ἐπὶ προσευχῇ σου ἐν συνειδήσει πονηρᾷ· αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ ὁδὸς τῆς ζωῆς.

V

Deut. 4, 2
12, 32

Mt. 15, 19

1. Ἡ δὲ τοῦ θανάτου ὁδὸς ἐστὶν αὕτη· πρῶτον πάντων πονηρὰ ἐστὶ καὶ κατάρως μεστή· φόνοι, μοιχεῖαι, ἐπιθυμίαι, πορνεῖαι, κλοπαί, εἰδωλο-

THE DIDACHE, iv. 6-v. 1

whatsoever thou hast gained by thy hands thou shalt give a ransom for thy sins. 7. Thou shalt not hesitate to give, nor shalt thou grumble when thou givest, for thou shalt know who is the good Paymaster of the reward. 8. Thou shalt not turn away the needy, but shalt share everything with thy brother, and shalt not say that it is thine own, for if you are sharers in the imperishable, how much more in the things which perish?

9. Thou shalt not withhold thine hand from thy son or from thy daughter, but thou shalt teach them the fear of God from their youth up. 10. Thou shalt not command in thy bitterness thy slave or thine handmaid, who hope in the same God, lest they cease to fear the God who is over you both; for he comes not to call men with respect of persons, but those whom the Spirit has prepared. 11. But do you who are slaves be subject to your master, as to God's representative, in reverence and fear.

12. Thou shalt hate all hypocrisy, and everything that is not pleasing to the Lord. 13. Thou shalt not forsake the commandments of the Lord, but thou shalt keep what thou didst receive, "adding nothing to it and taking nothing away." 14. In the congregation thou shalt confess thy transgressions, and thou shalt not betake thyself to prayer with an evil conscience. This is the way of life.

V

1. BUT the Way of Death is this: First of all, it is wicked and full of cursing, murders, adulteries, lusts, fornications, thefts, idolatries, witchcrafts, charms,

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- Rom. 1, 29-30
 λατρίαι, μαγεΐαι, φαρμακίαι, ἄρπαγαί, ψευδο-
 μαρτυρίαι, ὑποκρίσεις, διπλοκαρδία, δόλος, ὑπερη-
 φανία, κακία, αὐθάδεια, πλεονεξία, αἰσχρολογία,
 ζηλοτυπία, θρασύτης, ὕψος, ἀλαζονεία. 2. διώκ-
 ται ἀγαθῶν, μισοῦντες ἀλήθειαν, ἀγαπῶντες
 ψεῦδος, οὐ γινώσκοντες μισθὸν δικαιοσύνης, οὐ
 Rom. 12, 9
 κολλῶμενοι ἀγαθῷ οὐδὲ κρίσει δικαία, ἀγρυπ-
 νοῦντες οὐκ εἰς τὸ ἀγαθόν, ἀλλ' εἰς τὸ πονηρόν
 Pa. 4, 2
 ὧν μακρὰν πρᾶπτης καὶ ὑπομονή, μάταια ἀγα-
 Is. 1, 28
 πῶντες, διώκοντες ἀνταπόδομα, οὐκ ἐλεοῦντες
 πτωχόν, οὐ πονοῦντες ἐπὶ καταπονουμένῳ, οὐ
 Wisd. 12, 7
 γινώσκοντες τὸν ποιήσαντα αὐτούς, φονεῖς τέκνων,
 φθορεῖς πλάσματος θεοῦ, ὑποστρεφόμενοι τὸν
 ἐνδεόμενον, καταπονοῦντες τὸν θλιβόμενον, πλου-
 σίων παράκλητοι, πενήτων ἄνομοι κριταί,
 πανθαμάρτητοι· ῥυσθείητε, τέκνα, ἀπὸ τούτων
 ἀπάντων.

VI

- Mt. 24, 4
 1. Ὅρα, μή τις σε πλανήσῃ ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς
 ὁδοῦ τῆς διδαχῆς, ἐπεὶ παρεκτός θεοῦ σε διδάσκει.
 2. εἰ μὲν γὰρ δύνασαι βαστάσαι ὄλον τὸν ζυγὸν
 τοῦ κυρίου, τέλειος ἔσῃ· εἰ δ' οὐ δύνασαι, ὃ δύνη,
 τοῦτο ποίει. 3. περὶ δὲ τῆς βρώσεως, ὃ δύνασαι
 βάστασον· ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ εἰδωλοθύτου λίαν πρόσεχε·
 λατρεία γὰρ ἐστὶ θεῶν νεκρῶν.

VII

c. p. Text. Ant. P. hex. can. 26.

- Mt. 28, 19
 1. Περὶ δὲ τοῦ βαπτίσματος, οὕτω βαπτίσατε·
 ταῦτα πάντα προειπόντες, βαπτίσατε εἰς τὸ

THE DIDACHE, v. 1-VII. 1

robberies, false witness, hypocrisies, a double heart, fraud, pride, malice, stubbornness, covetousness, foul speech, jealousy, impudence, haughtiness, boastfulness. 2. Persecutors of the good, haters of truth, lovers of lies, knowing not the reward of righteousness, not cleaving to the good nor to righteous judgment, spending wakeful nights not for good but for wickedness, from whom meekness and patience is far, lovers of vanity, following after reward, unmerciful to the poor, not working for him who is oppressed with toil, without knowledge of him who made them, murderers of children, corrupters of God's creatures, turning away the needy, oppressing the distressed, advocates of the rich, unjust judges of the poor, altogether sinful; may ye be delivered, my children, from all these.

VI

1. SEE "that no one make thee to err" from this Way of the teaching, for he teaches thee without God. 2. For if thou canst bear the whole yoke of the Lord, thou wilt be perfect, but if thou canst not, do what thou canst. 3. And concerning food, bear what thou canst, but keep strictly from that which is offered to idols, for it is the worship of dead gods.

Final
exhortation

Food, and
'things
offered
to idols.'

VII

1. CONCERNING baptism, baptise thus: Having first rehearsed all these things, "baptise, in the Name of

Baptism

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου
πνεύματος ἐν ὕδατι ζῶντι. 2. εἰ δὲ μὴ ἔχῃς
ὑδωρ ζῶν, εἰς ἄλλο ὑδωρ βάπτισον· εἰ δ' οὐ
δύνασαι ἐν ψυχρῷ, ἐν θερμῷ. 3. εἰ δὲ ἀμφοτέρα
μὴ ἔχῃς, ἔκχεον εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν τρεῖς ὑδωρ εἰς
Mt. 28, 19 ὄνομα πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος.
4. πρὸ δὲ τοῦ βαπτίσματος προνηστευσάτω ὁ
βαπτίζων καὶ ὁ βαπτιζόμενος καὶ εἴ τινες ἄλλοι
δύνανται· κελεύεις δὲ νηστεῦσαι τὸν βαπτιζόμενον
πρὸ μιᾶς ἢ δύο.

VIII

Mt. 6, 16 1. Αἱ δὲ νηστεῖαι ὑμῶν μὴ ἔστωσαν μετὰ τῶν
ὑποκριτῶν. νηστεύουσι γὰρ δευτέρᾳ σαββάτων
καὶ πέμπτῃ· ὑμεῖς δὲ νηστεύσατε τετράδα καὶ
Mt. 6, 5 παρασκευήν. 2. μὴδὲ προσεύχεσθε ὡς οἱ ὑπο-
κριταί, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐκέλευσεν ὁ κύριος ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ
Mt. 6, 9-13 αὐτοῦ, οὕτω προσεύχεσθε· Πάτερ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τῷ
οὐρανῷ, ἁγιασθήτω τὸ ὄνομά σου, ἐλθέτω ἡ
βασιλεία σου, γενηθήτω τὸ θέλημά σου ὡς ἐν
οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς· τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον
δος ἡμῖν σήμερον, καὶ ἄφες ἡμῖν τὴν ὀφειλὴν
ἡμῶν, ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφίεμεν τοῖς ὀφειλέταις ἡμῶν,
καὶ μὴ εἰσενέγκῃς ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμόν, ἀλλὰ
ρύσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ· ὅτι σου ἐστὶν ἡ
δύναμις καὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. 3. τρεῖς τῆς
ἡμέρας οὕτω προσεύχεσθε.

THE DIDACHE, VII. I-VIII. 3

the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit," in running water; 2. but if thou hast no running water, baptise in other water, and if thou canst not in cold, then in warm. 3. But if thou hast neither, pour water three times on the head "in the Name of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit." 4. And before the baptism let the baptiser and him who is to be baptised fast, and any others who are able. And thou shalt bid him who is to be baptised to fast one or two days before.

VIII

1. LET not your fasts be with the hypocrites, for Fasting they fast on Mondays and Thursdays, but do you fast on Wednesdays and Fridays. 2. And do not pray as Prayers the hypocrites, but as the Lord commanded in his Gospel, pray thus: "Our Father, who art in Heaven, hallowed be thy Name, thy Kingdom come, thy will be done, as in Heaven so also upon earth; give us to-day our daily¹ bread, and forgive us our debt as we forgive our debtors, and lead us not into trial, but deliver us from the Evil One, for thine is the power and the glory for ever." 3. Pray thus three times a day.

¹ This is the traditional translation of ἐπιούσιον, but it is by no means certain that it is correct. The word has from the beginning been a puzzle, and its meaning is not clearly known. See further any good commentary on the gospels.

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

IX

1. Περὶ δὲ τῆς εὐχαριστίας, οὕτως εὐχαριστήσατε· 2. πρῶτον περὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου.¹ Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, πάτερ ἡμῶν, ὑπὲρ τῆς ἁγίας ἀμπέλου Δαυεὶδ² τοῦ παιδός σου, ἧς ἐγνώρισας ἡμῖν διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδός σου· σοὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. 3. περὶ δὲ τοῦ κλάσματος· Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, πάτερ ἡμῶν, ὑπὲρ τῆς ζωῆς καὶ γνώσεως, ἧς ἐγνώρισας ἡμῖν διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδός σου· σοὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. 4. ὥσπερ ἦν τοῦτο τὸ² κλάσμα διεσκορπισμένον ἐπάνω τῶν ὀρέων καὶ συναχθὲν ἐγένετο ἓν, οὕτω συναχθήτω σου ἡ ἐκκλησία ἀπὸ τῶν περάτων τῆς γῆς εἰς τὴν σὴν βασιλείαν. ὅτι σοῦ ἐστὶν ἡ δόξα καὶ ἡ δύναμις διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. 5. μηδεὶς δὲ φαγέτω μηδὲ πιέτω ἀπὸ τῆς εὐχαριστίας ὑμῶν, ἀλλ' οἱ βαπτισθέντες εἰς ὄνομα κυρίου· καὶ γὰρ περὶ τούτου εἶρηκεν ὁ κύριος· Μὴ δώτε τὸ ἅγιον τοῖς κυσί.

Mt. 7, 6

X

1. Μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἐμπλησθῆναι οὕτως εὐχαριστήσατε· 2. Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, πάτερ ἅγιε, ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἁγίου ὀνόματός σου, οὗ κατεσκήνωσας ἐν ταῖς

¹ It is noteworthy that this order "first the Cup" is only found elsewhere in the earliest text of Lc. 22, 17 ff. (which omits v. 20) and perhaps in I. Cor. 10, 16.

² τό om. C.

THE DIDACHE, IX. 1-X. 2

IX

1. AND concerning the Eucharist, hold¹ Eucharist The
thus: 2. First concerning the Cup, "We give thanks Eucharist
to thee, our Father, for the Holy Vine of David thy The Cup
child, which, thou didst make known to us through
Jesus thy child; to thee be glory for ever." 3. And
concerning the broken Bread: "We give thee thanks, The Bread
our Father, for the life and knowledge which thou
didst make known to us through Jesus thy child.
To thee be glory for ever. 4. As this broken bread
was scattered upon the mountains, but was brought
together and became one, so let thy Church be
gathered together from the ends of the earth into
thy kingdom, for thine is the glory and the power
through Jesus Christ for ever." 5. But let none eat
or drink of your Eucharist except those who have
been baptised in the Lord's Name. For concerning
this also did the Lord say, "Give not that which is
holy to the dogs."

X

1. BUT after you are satisfied with food, thus give The final
thanks: 2. "We give thanks to thee, O Holy Father, prayer
for thy Holy Name which thou didst make to taber- in the
Eucharist

¹ The translation fails to preserve the play on the words, which might be rendered "concerning the giving of thanks, give thanks thus, etc." But this would obscure the fact that *εὐχαριστία* is here quite clearly "Eucharist" (cf. v. 5).

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

καρδίαις ἡμῶν, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς γνώσεως καὶ πίστεως καὶ ἀθανασίας, ἧς ἐγνώρισας ἡμῖν διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδός σου· σοὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. 3. σύ, δέσποτα παντοκράτορ, ἔκτισας τὰ πάντα ἕνεκεν τοῦ ὀνόματός σου, τροφήν τε καὶ ποτὸν ἔδωκας τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εἰς ἀπόλαυσιν, ἵνα σοι εὐχαριστήσωσιν, ἡμῖν δὲ ἐχαρίσω πνευματικὴν τροφήν καὶ ποτὸν καὶ ζωὴν αἰώνιον διὰ τοῦ παιδός σου.

4. πρὸ πάντων εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, ὅτι δυνατὸς εἶ· σοὶ¹ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. 5. μνήσθητι, κύριε, τῆς ἐκκλησίας σου, τοῦ ῥύσασθαι αὐτὴν ἀπὸ παντὸς πονηροῦ καὶ τελειῶσαι αὐτὴν ἐν τῇ ἀγάπῃ σου, καὶ σύναξον αὐτὴν ἀπὸ τῶν τεσσάρων ἀνέμων, τὴν ἁγιασθεῖσαν, εἰς τὴν σὴν βασιλείαν, ἣν ἠτοίμασας αὐτῇ· ὅτι σοῦ ἐστὶν ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. 6. ἐλθέτω χάρις καὶ παρελθέτω ὁ κόσμος οὗτος. Ὡσαννά τῷ θεῷ

Wisd. 1, 14;
Ecclus. 18, 1;
24, 8;
Rev. 4, 11

Mt. 24, 81 Δαυεὶδ. εἴ τις ἅγιός ἐστιν, ἐρχέσθω· εἴ τις οὐκ ἔστι, μετανοεῖτω· μαρὰν ἀθά· ἀμήν. 7. τοῖς δὲ προφήταις ἐπιτρέπετε εὐχαριστεῖν ὅσα θέλουσιν.

Mt. 21, 9. 15
I Cor. 16, 22

XI

1. Ὃς ἂν οὖν ἐλθὼν διδάξῃ ὑμᾶς ταῦτα πάντα τὰ προειρημένα, δέξασθε αὐτόν· 2. εἰ δὲ αὐτὸς ὁ διδάσκων στραφείη διδάσκειν ἄλλην διδαχὴν εἰς τὸ καταλύσαι, μὴ αὐτοῦ ἀκούσητε· εἰς δὲ τὸ προσθεῖναι δικαιοσύνην καὶ γνώσιν κυρίου, δέξασθε αὐτόν ὡς κύριον.

¹ C reads *σύ* which is a common mistake for *σοι*, but Harnack prefers to emend to *ὅτι δυνατὸς εἶ· σύ· σοὶ κ.τ.λ.*

THE DIDACHE, x. 2—XI. 2

nacle in our hearts, and for the knowledge and faith and immortality which thou didst make known to us through Jesus thy Child. To thee be glory for ever. 3. Thou, Lord Almighty, didst create all things for thy Name's sake, and didst give food and drink to men for their enjoyment, that they might give thanks to thee, but us hast thou blessed with spiritual food and drink and eternal light through thy Child. 4. Above all we give thanks to thee for that thou art mighty. To thee be glory for ever. 5. Remember, Lord, thy Church, to deliver it from all evil and to make it perfect in thy love, and gather it together in its holiness from the four winds to thy kingdom which thou hast prepared for it. For thine is the power and the glory for ever. 6. Let grace come and let this world pass away. Hosannah to the God of David. If any man be holy, let him come! if any man be not, let him repent: Maran atha,¹ Amen." 7. But suffer the prophets to hold Eucharist as they will.

XI

1. WHOSEVER then comes and teaches you all these things aforesaid, receive him. 2. But if the teacher himself be perverted and teach another doctrine to destroy these things, do not listen to him, but if his teaching be for the increase of righteousness and knowledge of the Lord, receive him as the Lord.

¹ A transliteration of Aramaic words meaning "Our Lord! Come!"

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

3. Περὶ δὲ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ προφητῶν, κατὰ τὸ δόγμα τοῦ εὐαγγελίου οὕτω ποιήσατε. 4. πᾶς δὲ ἀπόστολος ἐρχόμενος πρὸς ὑμᾶς δεχθήτω ὡς κύριος. 5. οὐ μνεὶ δὲ εἰ μὴ¹ ἡμέραν μίαν· ἐὰν δὲ ἦ χρεία, καὶ τὴν ἄλλην· τρεῖς δὲ ἐὰν μείνη, ψευδοπροφήτης ἐστίν. 6. ἐξερχόμενος δὲ ὁ ἀπόστολος μηδὲν λαμβανέτω εἰ μὴ ἄρτου, ἕως οὗ αὐλισθῆ· ἐὰν δὲ ἀργύριον αἰτῆ, ψευδοπροφήτης ἐστίν.

Mt. 12, 31

7. Καὶ πάντα προφήτην λαλοῦντα ἐν πνεύματι οὐ πειράσετε οὐδὲ διακρινεῖτε· πᾶσα γὰρ ἁμαρτία ἀφεθήσεται, αὕτη δὲ ἡ ἁμαρτία οὐκ ἀφεθήσεται. 8. οὐ πᾶς δὲ ὁ λαλῶν ἐν πνεύματι προφήτης ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ἐὰν ἔχη τοὺς τρόπους κυρίου. ἀπὸ οὖν τῶν τρόπων γνωσθήσεται ὁ ψευδοπροφήτης καὶ ὁ προφήτης. 9. καὶ πᾶς προφήτης ὀρίζων τράπεζαν ἐν πνεύματι οὐ φάγεται ἀπ' αὐτῆς, εἰ δὲ μήγε ψευδοπροφήτης ἐστίν. 10. πᾶς δὲ προφήτης διδάσκων τὴν ἀλήθειαν, εἰ ἂ διδάσκει οὐ ποιεῖ, ψευδοπροφήτης ἐστίν. 11. πᾶς δὲ προφήτης δεδοκιμασμένος, ἀληθινός, ποιῶν εἰς μυστήριον κοσμικὸν ἐκκλησίας, μὴ διδάσκων δὲ ποιεῖν, ὅσα αὐτὸς ποιεῖ, οὐ κριθήσεται ἐφ' ὑμῶν· μετὰ θεοῦ γὰρ ἔχει τὴν κρίσιν· ὡσαύτως γὰρ ἐποίησαν καὶ οἱ ἀρχαῖοι προφῆται. 12. ὃς δ' ἂν εἴπη ἐν πνεύματι· δός μοι ἀργύρια ἢ ἕτερα ἅτινα, οὐκ ἀκούσεσθε αὐτοῦ· ἐὰν δὲ περὶ ἄλλων ὑστερούντων εἴπη δοῦναι, μηδεὶς αὐτὸν κρινέτω.

¹ εἰ μὴ are omitted by C, but xii. 2 seems to make the correction quite certain.

THE DIDACHE, XI. 3—XI. 12

3. And concerning the Apostles and Prophets, ^{Apostles} act thus according to the ordinance of the Gospel.¹

4. Let every Apostle who comes to you be received as the Lord, 5. but let him not stay more than one day, or if need be a second as well; but if he stay three days, he is a false prophet. 6. And when an Apostle goes forth let him accept nothing but bread till he reach his night's lodging; but if he ask for money, he is a false prophet.

7. Do not test or examine any prophet who is speak- ^{Prophets} ing in a spirit, "for every sin shall be forgiven, but this sin shall not be forgiven." 8. But not everyone who speaks in a spirit is a prophet, except he have the behaviour of the Lord. From his behaviour, then, the false prophet and the true prophet shall be known. 9. And no prophet who orders a meal in a spirit shall eat of it: otherwise he is a false prophet. 10. And every prophet who teaches the truth, if he do not what he teaches, is a false prophet. 11. But no prophet who has been tried and is genuine, though he enact a worldly mystery² of the Church, if he teach not others to do what he does himself, shall be judged by you: for he has his judgment with God, for so also did the prophets of old. 12. But whosoever shall say in a spirit 'Give me money, or something else,' you shall not listen to him; but if he tell you to give on behalf of others in want, let none judge him.

¹ It is unknown to what ordinance the writer refers.

² This passage has never been satisfactorily explained: it probably refers to a tendency among some prophets to introduce forms of worship, or of illustration of their teaching, of doubtful propriety, if so the reference below to the prophets of old is perhaps an allusion to Hosea (Hos. 1, 2 ff.).

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

XII

Mt. 21, 9;
Ps. 118, 26,
cf. Joh. 5, 43
Joh. 4, 11
Rom. 12, 13
 1. Πᾶς δὲ ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου
 δεχθήτω· ἔπειτα δὲ δοκιμάσαντες αὐτὸν γνώσεσθε,
 [σύνεσιν γὰρ ἔξετε] δεξιὰν καὶ ἀριστεράν. 2. εἰ
 μὲν παρόδιός ἐστιν ὁ ἐρχόμενος, βοηθεῖτε αὐτῷ,
 ὅσον δύνασθε· οὐ μενεῖ δὲ πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰ μὴ δύο ἢ
 τρεῖς ἡμέρας, εἰ μὴ ἡ ἀνάγκη. 3. εἰ δὲ θέλει πρὸς
 ὑμᾶς καθῆσθαι, τεχνίτης ὢν, ἐργαζέσθω καὶ
 φαγέτω. 4. εἰ δὲ οὐκ ἔχει τέχνην, κατὰ τὴν
 σύνεσιν ὑμῶν προνοήσατε, πῶς μὴ ἀργὸς μεθ'
 ὑμῶν ζήσεται Χριστιανός. 5. εἰ δ' οὐ θέλει οὕτω
 ποιεῖν, χριστέμπορός ἐστι· προσέχετε ἀπὸ τῶν
 τοιούτων.

XIII

Mt. 10, 10;
cf. Luke 10, 7;
I Cor. 9, 13,
14; I Tim. 5,
17, 18
 1. Πᾶς δὲ προφήτης ἀληθινὸς θέλων καθῆσθαι
 πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἄξιός ἐστι τῆς τροφῆς αὐτοῦ. 2.
 ὡσαύτως διδάσκαλος ἀληθινὸς ἐστὶν ἄξιος καὶ
 αὐτὸς ὡσπερ ὁ ἐργάτης τῆς τροφῆς αὐτοῦ. 3.
 πᾶσαν οὖν ἀπαρχὴν γεννημάτων ληνοῦ καὶ
 ἄλωνος, βοῶν τε καὶ προβάτων λαβῶν δώσεις τὴν
 ἀπαρχὴν τοῖς προφήταις· αὐτοὶ γὰρ εἰσιν οἱ
 ἀρχιερεῖς ὑμῶν. 4. εἰ μὴ ἔχητε προφήτην,
 δότε τοῖς πτωχοῖς. 5. εἰ μὴ σιτία ποιῆς, τὴν
 ἀπαρχὴν λαβῶν δὸς κατὰ τὴν ἐντολήν. 6.
 ὡσαύτως κεράμιον οἴνου ἢ ἐλαίου ἀνοίξας, τὴν
 ἀπαρχὴν λαβῶν δὸς τοῖς προφήταις· 7. ἀργυρίου
 δὲ καὶ ἱματισμοῦ καὶ παντὸς κτήματος λαβῶν τὴν
 ἀπαρχὴν, ὡς ἂν σοι δόξη, δὸς κατὰ τὴν ἐντολήν.

XII

1. LET everyone who "comes in the Name of the Lord" be received; but when you have tested him you shall know him, for you shall have understanding of true and false.¹ 2. If he who comes is a traveller, help him as much as you can, but he shall not remain with you more than two days, or, if need be, three. 3. And if he wishes to settle among you and has a craft, let him work for his bread. 4. But if he has no craft provide for him according to your understanding, so that no man shall live among you in idleness because he is a Christian. 5. But if he will not do so, he is making traffic of Christ; beware of such.

Travelling
Christians

XIII

1. BUT every true prophet who wishes to settle among you is "worthy of his food." 2. Likewise a true teacher is himself worthy, like the workman, of his food. 3. Therefore thou shalt take the firstfruit of the produce of the winepress and of the threshing-floor and of oxen and sheep, and shalt give them as the firstfruits to the prophets, for they are your high priests. 4. But if you have not a prophet, give to the poor. 5. If thou makest bread, take the firstfruits, and give it according to the commandment. 6. Likewise when thou openest a jar of wine or oil, give the firstfruits to the prophets. 7. Of money also and clothes, and of all your possessions, take the firstfruits, as it seem best to you, and give according to the commandment.

Prophets
who desire
to remain

Their
payment by
firstfruits

¹ Literally, "right and left understanding."

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

XIV

1. Κατὰ κυριακὴν δὲ κυρίου συναχθέντες κλάσατε ἄρτον καὶ εὐχαριστήσατε, προεξομολογησάμενοι¹ τὰ παραπτώματα ὑμῶν, ὅπως καθαρὰ ἡ θυσία ὑμῶν² ᾗ. 2. πᾶς δὲ ἔχων τὴν ἀμφιβολίαν μετὰ τοῦ ἐταίρου αὐτοῦ μὴ συνελθέτω ὑμῖν, ἕως οὗ διαλλαγῶσιν, ἵνα μὴ κοινωθῇ ἡ θυσία ὑμῶν. 3. αὕτη γὰρ ἐστὶν ἡ ῥηθεῖσα ὑπὸ κυρίου. Ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ καὶ χρόνῳ προσφέρειν μοι θυσίαν καθαρὰν. ὅτι βασιλεὺς μέγας εἰμί, λέγει κύριος, καὶ τὸ ὄνομά μου θαυμαστὸν ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι.

cf. Mt. 5, 23,
24

Malach. 1,
11, 14

XV

1. Χειροτονήσατε οὖν ἑαυτοῖς ἐπισκόπους καὶ διακόνους ἀξίους τοῦ κυρίου, ἄνδρας πραεῖς καὶ ἀφιλαργύρους καὶ ἀληθεῖς καὶ δεδοκιμασμένους· ὑμῖν γὰρ λειτουργοῦσι καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν λειτουργίαν τῶν προφητῶν καὶ διδασκάλων. 2. μὴ οὖν ὑπερίδητε αὐτούς· αὐτοὶ γὰρ εἰσιν οἱ τετιμημένοι ὑμῶν μετὰ τῶν προφητῶν καὶ διδασκάλων.

3. Ἐλέγχετε δὲ ἀλλήλους μὴ ἐν ὀργῇ, ἀλλ' ἐν εἰρήνῃ ὡς ἔχετε ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ καὶ παντὶ ἀστοχοῦντι κατὰ τοῦ ἐτέρου μηδεὶς λαλείτω μηδὲ παρ' ὑμῶν ἀκουέτω, ἕως οὗ μετανοήσῃ. 4. τὰς δὲ εὐχὰς ὑμῶν καὶ τὰς ἐλεημοσύνας καὶ πάσας τὰς πράξεις οὕτω ποιήσατε, ὡς ἔχετε ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν.

Mt. 5, 22-26;
18, 15-35

¹ προεξομολογησάμενοι. C.

² ἡμῶν C.

THE DIDACHE, XIV. 1—XV. 4

XIV

1. ON the Lord's Day of the Lord come together, The Sunday worship break bread and hold Eucharist, after confessing your transgressions that your offering may be pure; 2. but let none who has a quarrel with his fellow join in your meeting until they be reconciled, that your sacrifice be not defiled. 3. For this is that which was spoken by the Lord, "In every place and time offer me a pure sacrifice, for I am a great king," saith the Lord, "and my name is wonderful among the heathen."

XV

1. APPOINT therefore for yourselves bishops and Bishops and Deacons deacons worthy of the Lord, meek men, and not lovers of money, and truthful and approved, for they also minister to you the ministry of the prophets and teachers. 2. Therefore do not despise them, for they are your honourable men together with the prophets and teachers.

3. And reprove one another not in wrath but in Mutual reproofs peace as you find in the Gospel, and let none speak with any who has done a wrong to his neighbour, nor let him hear a word from you until he repents. 4. But your prayers and alms and all your acts perform as ye find in the Gospel of our Lord.

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

XVI

Mt. 24, 42 ;
 Luke 12, 35

 Mt. 24, 44
 Mt. 25, 13

 Barnabas
 iv. 9

 Mt. 24, 24 ;
 cf. II Thess.
 2, 9 ;
 Apoc. 13, 2, 13

 Mt. 24, 10

 Mt. 10, 22 ;
 24, 13
 Mt. 24, 30
 Mt. 24, 31,
 cf. I Cor. 15,
 22 ;
 I Thess. 4, 16
 Zech. 14, 5
 Mt. 24, 30 ;
 26, 64

 1. Γρηγορείτε ὑπὲρ τῆς ζωῆς ὑμῶν· οἱ λύχνοι ὑμῶν μὴ σβεσθήτωσαν, καὶ αἱ ὀσφύες ὑμῶν μὴ ἐκλυέσθωσαν, ἀλλὰ γίνεσθε ἔτοιμοι· οὐ γὰρ οἴδατε τὴν ὥραν, ἐν ἧ ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν ἔρχεται. 2. πυκνῶς δὲ συναχθήσεσθε ζητοῦντες τὰ ἀνήκοντα ταῖς ψυχαῖς ὑμῶν· οὐ γὰρ ὠφελήσει ὑμᾶς ὁ πᾶς χρόνος τῆς πίστεως ὑμῶν, ἐὰν μὴ ἐν τῷ ἐσχάτῳ καιρῷ τελειωθῆτε. 3. ἐν γὰρ ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις πληθυνθήσονται οἱ ψευδοπροφήται καὶ οἱ φθορεῖς, καὶ στραφήσονται τὰ πρόβατα εἰς λύκους, καὶ ἡ ἀγάπη στραφήσεται εἰς μῖσος. 4. αὐξανούσης γὰρ τῆς ἀνομίας μισήσουσιν ἀλλήλους καὶ διώξουσι καὶ παραδώσουσι, καὶ τότε φανήσεται ὁ κοσμοπλανῆς ὡς υἱὸς θεοῦ, καὶ ποιήσει σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα, καὶ ἡ γῆ παραδοθήσεται εἰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ, καὶ ποιήσει ἀθέμιτα, ἃ οὐδέποτε γέγονεν ἐξ αἰῶνος. 5. τότε ἦξει ἡ κτίσις τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰς τὴν πύρωσιν τῆς δοκιμασίας, καὶ σκανδαλισθήσονται πολλοὶ καὶ ἀπολοῦνται, οἱ δὲ ὑπομείναντες ἐν τῇ πίστει αὐτῶν σωθήσονται ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ καταθέματος. 6. καὶ τότε φανήσεται τὰ σημεῖα τῆς ἀληθείας· πρῶτον σημεῖον ἐκπετάσεως ἐν οὐρανῷ, εἶτα σημεῖον φωνῆς σάλπιγγος, καὶ τὸ τρίτον ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν. 7. οὐ πάντων δέ, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐρρέθη· Ἦξει ὁ κύριος καὶ πάντες οἱ ἅγιοι μετ' αὐτοῦ. 8. τότε ὄψεται ὁ κόσμος τὸν κύριον ἐρχόμενον ἐπάνω τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ.

XVI

1. "WATCH" over your life: "let your lamps" be not quenched "and your loins" be not ungirded, but be "ready," for ye know not "the hour in which our Lord cometh." 2. But be frequently gathered together seeking the things which are profitable for your souls, for the whole time of your faith shall not profit you except ye be found perfect at the last time; 3. for in the last days the false prophets and the corrupters shall be multiplied, and the sheep shall be turned into wolves, and love shall change to hate; 4. for as lawlessness increaseth they shall hate one another and persecute and betray, and then shall appear the deceiver of the world as a Son of God, and shall do signs and wonders and the earth shall be given over into his hands and he shall commit iniquities which have never been since the world began. 5. Then shall the creation of mankind come to the fiery trial and "many shall be offended" and be lost, but "they who endure" in their faith "shall be saved" by the curse itself.¹ 6. And "then shall appear the signs" of the truth. First the sign spread out in Heaven, then the sign of the sound of the trumpet, and thirdly the resurrection of the dead: 7. but not of all the dead, but as it was said, "The Lord shall come and all his saints with him." 8. Then shall the world "see the Lord coming on the clouds of Heaven."

¹ The meaning is obscure; but there seem to be other traces in early literature of a doctrine that each curse also contained the elements of a counterbalancing power to salvation. There is a valuable and long note on the subject in Rendel Harris's edition of the Didache.

THE EPISTLE OF BARNABAS

THE EPISTLE OF BARNABAS

THE document which is always known as the Epistle of Barnabas is, like I. Clement, really anonymous, and it is generally regarded as impossible to accept the tradition which ascribes it to the Barnabas who was a companion of S. Paul, though it is convenient to continue to use the title.

It is either a general treatise or was intended for some community in which Alexandrian ideas prevailed, though it is not possible to define either its destination, or the locality from which it was written, with any greater accuracy. Its main object is to warn Christians against a Judaistic conception of the Old Testament, and the writer carries a symbolical exegesis as far as did Philo; indeed he goes farther and apparently denies any literal significance at all to the commands of the Law. The literal exegesis of the ceremonial law is to him a device of an evil angel who deceived the Jews.

The date of Barnabas is doubtful. Two attempts have been made to fix it from internal evidence. In the first place, the ten kings in chap. vi. have been identified with the Roman Emperors, and thus a date well within the limits of the first century has been suggested, though there is no unanimity as to the

THE EPISTLE OF BARNABAS

exact manner in which the number of the ten Emperors is to be reached. In the second place attention has been drawn to the reference in chap. xvi. to the rebuilding of the Temple, and this is supposed to refer to the events of 132 A.D. Neither theory is quite satisfactory, but neither date is in itself impossible. The document no doubt belongs to the end of the first or beginning of the second century.

The text is found in the following authorities :—

(1) The *Codex Sinaiticus*, an uncial of the fourth century, now at St. Petersburg, and published in photographic facsimile by the Clarendon Press.

(2) The *Codex Constantinopolitanus*, found by Bryennios in 1875 and now at Jerusalem, the same MS. as that known as C in I. Clement and the Didache.

(3) In eight defective MSS., in which owing to some accident the ninth chapter of the epistle of Polycarp is continued without a break by the fifth chapter of Barnabas. These MSS. are clearly descended from a common archetype, copied from a MS. in which Barnabas followed Polycarp, but the pages containing the end of the latter and beginning of the former were lost, and a copyist who did not observe this merged the one into the other.

(4) A Latin version, extant in a single MS. at St. Petersburg, in which the text stops at the end of chap. xvii. It thus omits the "Two Ways," and the question (perhaps insoluble) arises whether the Latin has omitted it, or the Greek interpolated it. At present the general opinion is in favour of the former view.

THE EPISTLE OF BARNABAS

Barnabas, like I. Clement and Hermas, became canonical in some circles : it is quoted by Clement of Alexandria as Scripture, and is referred to by Origen as a Catholic Epistle, while it is included in the Codex Sinaiticus among the books of the New Testament, not, as is sometimes said, as an appendix, but following immediately after the Apocalypse, without any suggestion that it belonged to a different category of books.

The symbols employed in quoting the textual evidence are as follows :—

S = Codex Sinaiticus.

C = Codex Constantinopolitanus.

G = the archetype of the eight Greek MSS.

L = the Latin version.

ΒΑΡΝΑΒΑ ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ

I

1. Χαίρετε, υἱοὶ καὶ θυγατέρες, ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου τοῦ ἀγαπήσαντος ἡμᾶς, ἐν εἰρήνῃ.

2. Μεγάλων μὲν ὄντων καὶ πλουσίων τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ δικαιομάτων εἰς ὑμᾶς, ὑπὲρ τι καὶ καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ὑπερευφραίνομαι ἐπὶ τοῖς μακαρίοις καὶ ἐνδόξοις ὑμῶν πνεύμασιν οὕτως¹ ἔμφυτον τῆς δωρεᾶς πνευματικῆς χάριν εἰλήφατε. 3. διὸ καὶ μᾶλλον συγχαίρω ἑμαυτῷ ἐλπίζων σωθῆναι, ὅτι ἀληθῶς βλέπω ἐν ὑμῖν ἐκκεχυμένον ἀπὸ τοῦ πλουσίου τῆς πηγῆς κυρίου πνεῦμα ἐφ' ὑμᾶς. οὕτω με ἐξέπληξεν ἐπὶ ὑμῶν ἢ ἔμοι ἐπιποθήτη ὄψις ὑμῶν. 4. πεπεισμένος οὖν τοῦτο καὶ συνειδὼς ἑμαυτῷ, ὅτι ἐν ὑμῖν λαλήσας πολλὰ ἐπίσταμαι, ὅτι ἔμοι συνώδευσεν ἐν ὁδῷ δικαιοσύνης κύριος, καὶ πάντως ἀναγκάζομαι καὶ γὰρ εἰς τοῦτο, ἀγαπᾶν ὑμᾶς ὑπὲρ τὴν ψυχὴν μου, ὅτι μεγάλη πίστις καὶ ἀγάπη ἐγκατοικεῖ ἐν ὑμῖν ἐπ' ἐλπίδι ζωῆς αὐτοῦ. 5. λογισάμενος οὖν τοῦτο, ὅτι ἂν μελήσῃ μοι περὶ ὑμῶν τοῦ μέρος τι μεταδοῦναι ἄφ' οὗ ἔλαβον, ὅτι ἔσται μοι τοιούτοις πνεύμασιν ὑπηρετήσαντι εἰς μισθόν, ἐσπούδασα κατὰ μικρὸν ὑμῖν πέμπειν,

¹ οὕτω L, ουτο N, ο' -4 C.

THE EPISTLE OF BARNABAS

I

1. HAIL, sons and daughters, in the name of the Lord who loved us, in peace. Greeting
and intro-
duction

2. Exceedingly and abundantly do I rejoice over your blessed and glorious spirit for the greatness and richness of God's ordinances towards you; so innate a grace of the gift of the spirit have you received.

3. Wherefore I congratulate myself the more in my hope of salvation, because I truly see in you that the Spirit has been poured out upon you from the Lord, who is rich in his bounty;¹ so that the sight of you, for which I longed, amazed me.

4. Being persuaded then of this, and being conscious that since I spoke among you I have much understanding because the Lord has travelled with me in the way of righteousness, I am above all constrained to this, to love you above my own life, because great faith and love dwell in you in the "hope of his life." 5. I have therefore reckoned that, if I make it my care in your behalf to communicate somewhat of that which I received, it shall bring me the reward of having ministered to such spirits, and I hasten to send you a short letter in order that

¹ Literally "spring."

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

ἵνα μετὰ τῆς πίστεως ὑμῶν τελείαν ἔχητε τὴν γνώσιν.

Mt. 1, 2;
5, 7

6. Τρία οὖν δόγματά ἐστιν κυρίου ζωῆς ἐλπίς, ἀρχὴ καὶ τέλος πίστεως ἡμῶν καὶ δικαιοσύνη, κρίσεως ἀρχὴ καὶ τέλος ἀγάπη εὐφροσύνης καὶ ἀγαλλιᾶσεως ἔργων δικαιοσύνης μαρτυρία.¹

7. ἐγνώρισεν γὰρ ἡμῖν ὁ δεσπότης διὰ τῶν προφητῶν τὰ παρεληλυθότα καὶ τὰ ἐνεστῶτα, καὶ τῶν μελλόντων δούς ἀπαρχὰς ἡμῖν γεύσεως, ὧν τὰ καθ' ἕκαστα βλέποντες ἐνεργούμενα, καθὼς ἐλάλησεν, ὀφείλομεν πλουσιώτερον καὶ ὑψηλότερον προσάγειν τῷ φόβῳ αὐτοῦ.
8. ἐγὼ δὲ οὐχ ὡς διδάσκαλος, ἀλλ' ὡς εἰς ἐξ ὑμῶν ὑποδείξω ὀλίγα, δι' ὧν ἐν τοῖς παροῦσιν εὐφρανθήσεσθε.

II

1. Ἡμερῶν οὖν οὐσῶν πονηρῶν καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἐνεργούντος ἔχοντος τὴν ἐξουσίαν, ὀφείλομεν ἑαυτοῖς προσέχοντες ἐκζητεῖν τὰ δικαιώματα κυρίου. 2. τῆς οὖν πίστεως ἡμῶν εἰσιν βοηθοὶ φόβος καὶ ὑπομονή, τὰ δὲ συμμαχοῦντα ἡμῖν μακροθυμία καὶ ἐγκράτεια. 3. τούτων οὖν μενόντων τὰ πρὸς κύριον ἀγνώως, συνευφραίνονται

¹ The text of this whole passage is confused: *tres sunt ergo constitutiones domini, vitae spes initiium et consummatio* L and no more; *τρία οὖν δόγματά ἐστιν κυρίου, ζωῆς, πίστεως, ἐλπίς, ἀρχὴ καὶ τέλος ἡμῶν, καὶ δικαιοσύνη κρίσεως ἀρχὴ, καὶ τέλος ἀγάπη, εὐφροσύνη, καὶ ἀγαλλιᾶσεως ἔργων ἐν δικαιοσύναις μαρτυρία* N The text printed is that of C, which gives the best sense, though it is doubtful if it is more than the correction of an early corruption.

THE EPISTLE OF BARNABAS, I. 5-II. 3

your knowledge may be perfected along with your faith.

6. There are then three doctrines¹ of the Lord: The three doctrines "the hope of life" is the beginning and end of our faith; and righteousness is the beginning and end of judgment; love of joy and of gladness is the testimony of the works of righteousness. 7. For the Lord Prophecy made known to us through the prophets things past and things present and has given us the firstfruits of the taste of things to come; and when we see these things coming to pass one by one, as he said, we ought to make a richer and deeper offering for fear of him. 8. But I will show you a few things, not as a teacher but as one of yourselves, in which you shall rejoice at this present time.

II

1. The need of virtue SEEING then that the days are evil, and that the worker of evil himself is in power, we ought to give heed to ourselves, and seek out the ordinances of the Lord. 2. Fear then, and patience are the helpers of our faith, and long-suffering and continence are our allies. 3. While then these things remain in holiness towards the Lord, wisdom, prudence, understanding, and knowledge rejoice

¹ Or possibly "ordinances" or "decrees."

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- αὐτοῖς σοφία, σύνεσις, ἐπιστήμη, γνῶσις. 4. πεφανέρωκεν γὰρ ἡμῖν διὰ πάντων τῶν προφητῶν, ὅτι οὔτε θυσιῶν οὔτε ὀλοκαυτωμάτων οὔτε προσφορῶν χρήζει, λέγων ὅτε μὲν· 5. Τί μοι πλήθος τῶν θυσιῶν ὑμῶν; λέγει κύριος. πλήρης εἰμι ὀλοκαυτωμάτων, καὶ στέαρ ἄρνων καὶ αἷμα ταύρων καὶ τράγων οὐ βούλομαι, οὐδ' ἂν ἔρχησθε ὀφθῆναί μοι. τίς γὰρ ἐξεζήτησεν ταῦτα ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν ὑμῶν; πατεῖν μου τὴν αὐλὴν οὐ προσθήσεσθε. ἂν φέρητε σεμίδαλιν, μάταιον· θυμίαμα βδέλυγμά μοι ἔστιν· τὰς νεομηνίας ὑμῶν καὶ τὰ σάββατα οὐκ ἀνέχομαι. 6. ταῦτα οὖν κατήργησεν, ἵνα ὁ καινὸς νόμος τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἄνευ ζυγοῦ ἀνάγκης ᾖ, μὴ ἀνθρωποποίητον ἔχῃ τὴν προσφορὰν. 7. λέγει δὲ πάλιν πρὸς αὐτοὺς· Μὴ ἐγὼ ἐνετειλάμην τοῖς πατράσιν ὑμῶν ἐκπορευομένοις ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου, προσενέγκαι μοι ὀλοκαυτώματα καὶ θυσίας; 8. ἀλλ' ἢ τοῦτο ἐνετειλάμην αὐτοῖς· ἕκαστος ὑμῶν κατὰ τοῦ πλησίον ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ ἑαυτοῦ κακίαν μὴ μνησικακίῳ, καὶ ὄρκον ψευδῆ μὴ ἀγαπᾶτε. 9. αἰσθάνεσθαι οὖν ὀφείλομεν, μὴ ὄντες ἀσύνητοι, τὴν γνώμην τῆς ἀγαθωσύνης τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν, ὅτ' ἡμῖν λέγει, θέλων ἡμᾶς μὴ ὁμοίως πλανωμένους ἐκείνοις ζητεῖν, πῶς προσάγωμεν αὐτῷ. 10. ἡμῖν οὖν οὕτως λέγει· Θυσία τῷ κυρίῳ¹ καρδία συντετριμμένη, ὁσμὴ εὐωδίας τῷ κυρίῳ καρδία δοξάζουσα τὸν πεπλακότα αὐτήν. ἀκριβεύεσθαι οὖν ὀφείλομεν, ἀδελφοί, περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας ἡμῶν, ἵνα
- Is. 1, 1-18
- Jer. 7, 22, 23
- Zech. 8, 17
- Ps. 51, 10

¹ τῷ κυρίῳ CL, τῷ θεῷ K (LXX).

THE EPISTLE OF BARNABAS, II. 3-II. 10

with them. 4. For he has made plain to us through all the Prophets that he needs neither sacrifices nor burnt-offerings nor oblations, saying in one place, 5. "What is the multitude of your sacrifices unto me? saith the Lord. I am full of burnt offerings and desire not the fat of lambs and the blood of bulls and goats, not even when ye come to appear before me. For who has required these things at your hands? Henceforth shall ye tread my court no more. If ye bring flour, it is vain. Incense is an abomination to me. I cannot away with your new moons and sabbaths." 6. These things then he abolished in order that the new law of our Lord Jesus Christ, which is without the yoke of necessity, might have its oblation not made by man. 7. And again he says to them, "Did I command your fathers when they came out of the land of Egypt to offer me burnt offerings and sacrifices? 8. Nay, but rather did I command them this: Let none of you cherish any evil in his heart against his neighbour, and love not a false oath." 9. We ought then to understand, if we are not foolish, the loving intention of our Father, for he speaks to us, wishing that we should not err like them, but seek how we may make our offering to him. 10. To us then he speaks thus: "Sacrifice for the Lord is a broken heart, a smell of sweet savour to the Lord is a heart that glorifieth him that made it."¹ We ought, therefore, brethren, carefully to enquire concerning our salvation, in

The
abolition
of Jewish
sacrifices

¹ The first part of this quotation is Ps. 51, 19; the second part according to a note in C is from the Apocalypse of Adam, which is no longer extant.

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μη ὁ πονηρὸς παρείσδυσιν πλάνης ποιήσας ἐν
ἡμῖν ἐκσφενδονήσῃ ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τῆς ζωῆς ἡμῶν.

III

Is. 58, 4. 5

1. Λέγει οὖν πάλιν περὶ τούτων πρὸς αὐτούς·
Ἰνατί μοι νηστεύετε, λέγει κύριος, ὡς σήμερον
ἀκουσθῆναι ἐν κραυγῇ τὴν φωνὴν ὑμῶν; οὐ ταύτην
τὴν νηστείαν ἐγὼ ἐξελεξάμην, λέγει κύριος, οὐκ
ἄνθρωπον ταπεινούντα τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ, 2. οὐδ'
ἂν κάμψῃτε ὡς κρίκον τὸν τράχηλον ὑμῶν καὶ
σάκκον ἐνδύσησθε καὶ σποδὸν ὑποστρώσητε, οὐδ'
οὕτως καλέσετε νηστείαν δεκτὴν. 3. πρὸς ἡμᾶς

Is. 58, 6-10

δὲ λέγει· Ἴδου αὕτη ἡ νηστεία, ἣν ἐγὼ ἐξελεξάμην,
λέγει κύριος· λύε πάντα σύνδεσμον ἀδικίας,
διάλυε στραγγαλιὰς βιαίων συναλλαγμάτων,
ἀπόσπελλε τεθραυσμένους ἐν ἀφέσει καὶ πᾶσαν
ἄδικον συγγραφὴν διάσπα. διάθρυπτε πεινώσιν
τὸν ἄρτον σου, καὶ γυμνὸν ἐὰν ἴδῃς περίβαλε·
ἀστέγους εἰσαγε εἰς τὸν οἶκόν σου, καὶ ἐὰν ἴδῃς
ταπεινόν, οὐχ ὑπερόψη αὐτόν, οὐδὲ ἀπὸ τῶν
οἰκείων τοῦ σπέρματός σου. 4. τότε ῥαγήσεται
πρώϊμον τὸ φῶς σου, καὶ τὰ ἱμάτιά¹ σου ταχέως
ἀνατελεῖ, καὶ προπορεύσεται ἔμπροσθέν σου ἡ
δικαιοσύνη, καὶ ἡ δόξα τοῦ θεοῦ περιστελεῖ σε.
5. τότε βοήσεις, καὶ ὁ θεὸς ἐπακούσεται σου, ἔτι
λαλοῦντός σου ἐρεῖ· Ἴδὸν πάρεμι· ἐὰν ἀφέλῃς

¹ ἱμάτια N* CL, ἱάματα N Corr. (healings) (LXX). This correction, which Lightfoot accepts, is no doubt what Barnabas meant, but the MSS. evidence suggests that it is not what he wrote.

THE EPISTLE OF BARNABAS, II. 10-III. 5

order that the evil one may not achieve a deceitful entry into us and hurl us away from our life.

III

1. To them he says then again concerning these things, "Why do ye fast for me, saith the Lord, so that your voice is heard this day with a cry! This is not the fast which I chose, saith the Lord, not a man humbling his soul; 2. nor though ye bend your neck as a hoop, and put on sackcloth, and make your bed of ashes, not even so shall ye call it an acceptable fast." 3. But to us he says, "Behold this is the fast which I chose," saith the Lord, "loose every bond of wickedness, set loose the fastenings of harsh agreements, send away the bruised in forgiveness, and tear up every unjust contract, give to the hungry thy bread, and if thou seest a naked man clothe him, bring the homeless into thy house, and if thou seest a humble man, despise him not, neither thou nor any of the household of thy seed. 4. Then shall thy light break forth as the dawn, and thy robes shall rise quickly, and thy righteousness shall go before thee, and the glory of God shall surround thee." 5. "Then thou shalt cry and God shall hear thee; while thou art still speaking He shall say, 'Lo I am here'; if thou puttest away from thee bondage, and

Concerning
fasting

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

ἀπὸ σοῦ σύνδεσμον καὶ χειροτονίαν καὶ ῥῆμα γογγυσμοῦ, καὶ ὁῶς πεινῶντι τὸν ἄρτον σου ἐκ ψυχῆς σου καὶ ψυχὴν τεταπεινωμένην ἐλεήσης. 6. εἰς τοῦτο οὖν, ἀδελφοί, ὁ μακρόθυμος προβλέψας, ὡς ἐν ἀκεραιοσύνῃ πιστεύσει ὁ λαός, διητοιμάσεν ἐν τῷ ἠγαπημένῳ αὐτοῦ, προεφάνερωσεν ἡμῖν περὶ πάντων, ἵνα μὴ προσρησώμεθα ὡς ἐπήλυτοι¹ τῷ ἐκείνων νόμῳ.

IV

1. Δεῖ οὖν ἡμᾶς περὶ τῶν ἐνεστώτων ἐπιπολῦν ἐραυνῶντας² ἐκζητεῖν τὰ δυνάμενα ἡμᾶς σώζειν. φύγωμεν οὖν τελείως ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἔργων τῆς ἀνομίας, μήποτε καταλάβῃ ἡμᾶς τὰ ἔργα τῆς ἀνομίας· καὶ μισήσωμεν τὴν πλάνην τοῦ νῦν καιροῦ, ἵνα εἰς τὸν μέλλοντα ἀγαπηθῶμεν. 2. μὴ δῶμεν τῇ ἑαυτῶν ψυχῇ ἄνεσιν, ὥστε ἔχειν αὐτὴν ἐξουσίαν μετὰ ἁμαρτωλῶν καὶ πονηρῶν συντρέχειν, μήποτε ὁμοιωθῶμεν αὐτοῖς. 3. τὸ τέλειον σκάνδαλον ἠγγικεν, περὶ οὗ γέγραπται, ὡς Ἐνώχ λέγει. Εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ ὁ δεσπότης συντέτμηκε τοὺς καιροὺς καὶ τὰς ἡμέρας, ἵνα ταχύνη ὁ ἠγαπημένος αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν κληρονομίαν ἦξῃ. 4. λέγει δὲ οὕτως καὶ ὁ προφήτης· Βασιλείαι δέκα ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς βασιλεύσουσιν, καὶ ἕξαναστήσεται ὁπισθεν³ μικρὸς βασιλεύς, ὃς ταπεινώσει τρεῖς ὑφ' ἐν τῶν βασιλέων. 5. ὁμοίως περὶ τοῦ

Enoch, 89,
61-64; 90, 17

Dan. 7, 24

¹ ἐπήλυτοι N, προσήλυτοι C, *proselvtae* L; the use of the words in Philo suggests that they both mean proselytes, so that the evidence of L is ambiguous.

² ἐραυνῶντας N, ἐρευνῶντας C.

³ ὁπισθεν CL, ὀπισθεν αὐτῶν N (Theod.).

THE EPISTLE OF BARNABAS, III. 5-IV. 5

violence, and the word of murmuring, and dost give to the poor thy bread with a cheerful heart, and dost pity the soul that is abased." 6. So then, brethren, the long-suffering one foresaw that the people whom He prepared in his Beloved should believe in guilelessness, and made all things plain to us beforehand that we should not be shipwrecked by conversion to their law.

IV

1. We ought, then, to enquire earnestly into the things which now are, and to seek out those which are able to save us. Let us then utterly flee from all the works of lawlessness, lest the works of lawlessness overcome us, and let us hate the error of this present time, that we may be loved in that which is to come. 2. Let us give no freedom to our souls to have power to walk with sinners and wicked men, lest we be made like to them. 3. The final stumbling block is at hand of which it was written, as Enoch says, "For to this end the Lord has cut short the times and the days, that his beloved should make haste and come to his inheritance." 4. And the Prophet also says thus: "Ten kingdoms shall reign upon the earth and there shall rise up after them a little king, who shall subdue three of the kings under one." 5. Daniel says likewise concerning the same: "And I beheld

Warning
that the
final trial
is at hand

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- Dan. 7, 7, 8 αὐτοῦ λέγει Δαυιήλ· Καὶ εἶδον τὸ τέταρτον θηρίον τὸ πονηρὸν καὶ ἰσχυρὸν καὶ χαλεπώτερον παρὰ πάντα τὰ θηρία τῆς θαλάσσης,¹ καὶ ὡς ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἀνέτειλεν δέκα κέρατα, καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν μικρὸν κέρας παραφυάδιον, καὶ ὡς ἐταπείνωσεν ὑφ' ἐν τρία τῶν μεγάλων κεράτων. 6. συνιέναι οὖν ὀφείλετε. ἔτι δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἐρωτῶ ὑμᾶς ὡς εἰς ἐξ ὑμῶν ὢν,
 Didache ii, 7 ἰδίως δὲ καὶ πάντας ἀγαπῶν ὑπὲρ τὴν ψυχὴν μου, προσέχειν νῦν ἑαυτοῖς καὶ μὴ ὁμοιοῦσθαί τισιν ἐπισωρεύοντας ταῖς ἀμαρτίαις ὑμῶν λέγοντας, ὅτι ἡ διαθήκη ἐκείνων καὶ ἡμῶν. 7. ἡμῶν μὲν· ἀλλ' ἐκείνοι οὕτως εἰς τέλος ἀπώλεσαν αὐτὴν λαβόντος
 Exod. 34, 28 ἤδη τοῦ Μωϋσέως. λέγει γὰρ ἡ γραφή· Καὶ ἦν Μωϋσῆς ἐν τῷ ὄρει νηστεύων ἡμέρας τεσσαράκοντα καὶ νύκτας τεσσαράκοντα, καὶ ἔλαβεν τὴν
 Exod. 32, 16 διαθήκην ἀπὸ τοῦ κυρίου, πλάκας λιθίνας γεγραμμένας τῷ δακτύλῳ τῆς χειρὸς τοῦ κυρίου. 8. ἀλλὰ ἐπιστραφέντες ἐπὶ τὰ εἰδῶλα ἀπώλεσαν αὐτήν.
 Exod. 32, 7 λέγει γὰρ οὕτως κύριος. Μωϋσῆ Μωϋσῆ, κατὰ
 Deut. 9, 12 βηθι τὸ τάχος, ὅτι ἠνόμησεν ὁ λαὸς σου, οὗς ἐξήγαγες ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου, καὶ συνήκεν Μωϋσῆς καὶ ἔριψεν τὰς δύο πλάκας ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν αὐτοῦ· καὶ συνετρίβη αὐτῶν ἡ διαθήκη, ἵνα ἡ τοῦ ἡγαπημένου Ἰησοῦ ἐγκατασφραγισθῆ εἰς τὴν καρδίαν ἡμῶν ἐν ἐλπίδι τῆς πίστεως αὐτοῦ. 9. πολλὰ δὲ θέλων γράφειν, οὐχ ὡς διδάσκαλος, ἀλλ' ὡς πρέπει ἀγαπῶντι ἀφ' ὧν ἔχομεν μὴ ἐλλείπειν, γράφειν ἐσπούδασα, περίψημα ὑμῶν. διὸ προσέχωμεν ἐν ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις· οὐδὲν

¹ θαλάσσης CL, γῆς R.

THE EPISTLE OF BARNABAS, iv. 5-iv. 9

the fourth Beast, wicked and powerful and fiercer than all the beasts of the sea, and that ten horns sprang from it, and out of them a little excrescent horn, and that it subdued under one three of the great horns." 6. You ought then to understand. And this also I ask you, as being one of yourselves, and especially as loving you all above my own life; take heed to yourselves now, and be not made like unto some, heaping up your sins and saying that the covenant is both theirs and ours. 7. It is ours: but in this way did they finally lose it when Moses had just received it, for the Scripture says: "And Moses was in the mount fasting forty days and forty nights, and he received the covenant from the Lord, tables of stone written with the finger of the hand of the Lord." 8. But they turned to idols and lost it. For thus saith the Lord: "Moses, Moses, go down quickly, for thy people, whom thou broughtest forth out of the land of Egypt, have broken the Law." And Moses understood and cast the two tables out of his hands, and their covenant was broken, in order that the covenant of Jesus the Beloved should be sealed in our hearts in hope of his faith. 9. (And though I wish to write much, I hasten to write in devotion to you, not as a teacher, but as it becomes one who loves to leave out nothing of that which we have.)¹ Wherefore let us pay heed in the last days, for the whole

The
covenant.
Christian
or Jewish?

Admonition
to
steadfastness

¹ It is possible that the odd change of construction is due to some reference to a well known maxim: but the source of such quotation or reference has not been found.

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

Didache
xvi. 2

γὰρ ὠφελήσει ἡμᾶς ὁ πᾶς χρόνος τῆς πίστεως ἡμῶν,¹ ἐὰν μὴ νῦν ἐν τῷ ἀνόμῳ καιρῷ καὶ τοῖς μέλλουσιν σκανδάλους, ὡς πρέπει υἱοῖς θεοῦ, ἀντιστῶμεν, ἵνα² μὴ σχῆ παρείσδυσιν ὁ μέλας.

Is. 5, 21

10. φύγωμεν ἀπὸ πάσης ματαιότητος, μισήσωμεν τελείως τὰ ἔργα τῆς πονηρᾶς ὁδοῦ. μὴ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἐνδύνοντες μονάζετε ὡς ἤδη δεδικαιωμένοι, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συνερχόμενοι συζητεῖτε περὶ τοῦ κοινῆ συμφέροντος. 11. λέγει γὰρ ἡ γραφή· Οὐαὶ οἱ συνετοὶ ἑαυτοῖς καὶ ἐνώπιον ἑαυτῶν ἐπιστήμονες. γενώμεθα πνευματικοί, γενώμεθα ναὸς τέλειος τῷ θεῷ. ἐφ' ὅσον ἐστὶν ἐν ἡμῖν, μελετῶμεν τὸν φόβον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ φυλάσσειν ἀγωνιζώμεθα τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ, ἵνα ἐν τοῖς δικαιομασίαις αὐτοῦ εὐφρανθῶμεν. 12. ὁ κύριος ἀπροσωπολήμπτως κρινεῖ τὸν κόσμον. ἕκαστος καθὼς ἐποίησεν κομιεῖται. ἐὰν ᾖ ἀγαθός, ἡ

Is. 83, 18

δικαιοσύνη αὐτοῦ προηγήσεται αὐτοῦ· ἐὰν ᾖ πονηρὸς, ὁ μισθὸς τῆς πονηρίας ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ· 13. ἵνα μήποτε ἐπαναπαύομενοι ὡς κλητοὶ ἐπικαθυπνώσωμεν ταῖς ἀμαρτίαις ἡμῶν, καὶ ὁ πονηρὸς ἄρχων λαβὼν τὴν καθ' ἡμῶν ἐξουσίαν ἀπόσῃται ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ κυρίου. 14. ἔτι δὲ κἀκεῖνο, ἀδελφοί μου, νοεῖτε· ὅταν βλέπετε μετὰ τηλικαῦτα σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα γεγονότα ἐν τῷ Ἰσραήλ, καὶ οὕτως ἐγκαταλελειφθαι αὐτούς· προσέχωμεν, μήποτε, ὡς γέγραπται, πολλοὶ κλητοί, ὀλίγοι δὲ ἐκλεκτοὶ εὐρεθῶμεν.

I. Pet. 1, 17,
cf. Rom. 2,
11;
Gal. 2, 6

II Cor. 5, 10

11. ἀπροσωπολήμπτως κρινεῖ τὸν κόσμον. ἕκαστος καθὼς ἐποίησεν κομιεῖται. ἐὰν ᾖ ἀγαθός, ἡ δικαιοσύνη αὐτοῦ προηγήσεται αὐτοῦ· ἐὰν ᾖ πονηρὸς, ὁ μισθὸς τῆς πονηρίας ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ· 13. ἵνα μήποτε ἐπαναπαύομενοι ὡς κλητοὶ ἐπικαθυπνώσωμεν ταῖς ἀμαρτίαις ἡμῶν, καὶ ὁ πονηρὸς ἄρχων λαβὼν τὴν καθ' ἡμῶν ἐξουσίαν ἀπόσῃται ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ κυρίου. 14. ἔτι δὲ κἀκεῖνο, ἀδελφοί μου, νοεῖτε· ὅταν βλέπετε μετὰ τηλικαῦτα σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα γεγονότα ἐν τῷ Ἰσραήλ, καὶ οὕτως ἐγκαταλελειφθαι αὐτούς· προσέχωμεν, μήποτε, ὡς γέγραπται, πολλοὶ κλητοί, ὀλίγοι δὲ ἐκλεκτοὶ εὐρεθῶμεν.

mt. 20, 16;
22, 14

¹ τῆς πίστεως ἡμῶν B, τῆς ζωῆς ἡμῶν C, vitæ nostræ et fidei L.

² ἵνα B, ἵνα οὖν C, ἵνα . . . μέλας om. L.

THE EPISTLE OF BARNABAS, IV. 9—IV. 14

time of our life and faith will profit us nothing, unless we resist, as becomes the sons of God in this present evil time, against the offences which are to come, that the Black One may have no opportunity of entry. 10. Let us flee from all vanity, let us utterly hate the deeds of the path of wickedness. Do not by retiring apart live alone as if you were already made righteous, but come together and seek out the common good. 11. For the Scripture says: "Woe to them who are prudent for themselves and understanding in their own sight." Let us be spiritual, let us be a temple consecrated to God, so far as in us lies let us "exercise ourselves in the fear" of God, and let us strive to keep his commandments in order that we may rejoice in his ordinances. 12. The Lord will "judge" the world "without respect of persons." Each will receive according to his deeds. If he be good his righteousness will lead him, if he be evil the reward of iniquity is before him. 13. Let us never rest as though we were 'called'¹ and slumber in our sins, lest the wicked ruler gain power over us and thrust us out from the Kingdom of the Lord. 14. And consider this also, my brethren, when you see that after such great signs and wonders were wrought in Israel they were even then finally abandoned;—let us take heed lest as it was written we be found "many called but few chosen."

¹ Apparently a loose expression = "confiding in our call."

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

V

1. Εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ ὑπέμεινεν ὁ κύριος παραδοῦναι τὴν σάρκα εἰς καταφθοράν, ἵνα τῇ ἀφέσει τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἀγνισθῶμεν, ὃ ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ αἵματι τοῦ βαντίσματος αὐτοῦ.¹ 2. γέγραπται γὰρ περὶ αὐτοῦ ἃ μὲν πρὸς τὸν Ἰσραὴλ, ἃ δὲ πρὸς ἡμᾶς, λέγει δὲ οὕτως· Ἐτραυματίσθη διὰ τὰς ἀνομίας ἡμῶν καὶ μεμαλάκισται διὰ τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν τῷ μῶλωπι αὐτοῦ ἡμεῖς ἰάθημεν ὡς πρόβατον ἐπὶ σφαγῆν ἤχθη, καὶ ὡς ἀμνὸς ἀφῶνος ἐναντίον τοῦ κείραντος αὐτόν. 3. οὐκοῦν ὑπερευχαριστεῖν ὀφείλομεν τῷ κυρίῳ, ὅτι καὶ τὰ παρεληλυθότα ἡμῖν ἐγνώρισεν καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐνεστώσιν ἡμᾶς ἐσόφισεν, καὶ εἰς τὰ μέλλοντα οὐκ ἐσμὲν ἀσύνητοι. 4. λέγει δὲ ἡ γραφή· Οὐκ ἀδίκως ἐκτείνεται δίκτυα πτερωτοῖς. τοῦτο λέγει, ὅτι δικαίως ἀπολείται ἄνθρωπος, ὃς ἔχων ὁδοῦ δικαιοσύνης γινῶσιν ἑαυτὸν εἰς ὁδὸν σκότους ἀποσυνέχει. 5. ἔτι δὲ καὶ τοῦτο, ἀδελφοί μου εἰ ὁ κύριος ὑπέμεινεν παθεῖν περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ἡμῶν, ὧν παντὸς τοῦ κόσμου κύριος ᾧ εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς ἀπὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου· Ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα καὶ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν ἡμετέραν πῶς οὖν ὑπέμεινεν ὑπὸ χειρὸς ἀνθρώπων παθεῖν; 6. μάθετε. οἱ προφῆται, ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἔχοντες τὴν χάριν, εἰς αὐτὸν ἐπροφήτευσαν αὐτὸς δέ, ἵνα καταργήσῃ τὸν θάνατον καὶ τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν δείξῃ, ὅτι ἐν σαρκὶ ἔδει αὐτὸν φανερωθῆναι,
- Ia. 53, 5, 7
Prov. 1, 17
Gen. 1, 26
II Tim. 1, 10
I Tim. 3, 16

¹ αἵματι τοῦ βαντίσματος αὐτοῦ K, βαντίσματι αὐτοῦ τοῦ αἵματος CL, a natural correction of the more difficult phrase.

THE EPISTLE OF BARNABAS, v. 1-V. 6

V

1. For it was for this reason that the Lord endured to deliver up his flesh to corruption, that we should be sanctified by the remission of sin, that is, by his sprinkled blood. 2. For the scripture concerning him relates partly to Israel, partly to us, and it speaks thus: "He was wounded for our transgressions and bruised for our iniquities, by his stripes we were healed. He was brought as a sheep to the slaughter, and as a lamb dumb before its shearer." 3. Therefore we ought to give great thanks to the Lord that he has given us knowledge of the past, and wisdom for the present, and that we are not without understanding for the future. 4. And the Scripture says, "Not unjustly are the nets spread out for the birds." This means that a man deserves to perish who has a knowledge of the way of righteousness, but turns aside into the way of darkness. 5. Moreover, my brethren, if the Lord endured to suffer for our life, though he is the Lord of all the world, to whom God said before the foundation of the world, "Let us make man in our image and likeness," how, then, did he endure to suffer at the hand of man? 6. Learn:—The Prophets who received grace from him prophesied of him, and he, in order that he "might destroy death," and show forth the Resurrection from the dead, because he needs must be made "manifest in the

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for the
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of Christ

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

ὑπέμεινεν, 7. ἵνα τοῖς πατράσιν τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν ἀποδοῖ, καὶ αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ τὸν λαὸν τὸν καινὸν ἐτοιμάζων ἐπιδείξῃ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ὧν, ὅτι τὴν ἀνάστασιν αὐτὸς ποιήσας κρινεῖ. 8. πέρασ γέ τοι διδάσκων τὸν Ἰσραὴλ καὶ τηλικαῦτα τέρατα καὶ σημεῖα ποιῶν ἐκήρυσσεν, καὶ ὑπερηγάπησεν αὐτόν. 9. ὅτε δὲ τοὺς ἰδίους ἀποστόλους τοὺς μέλλοντας κηρύσσειν τὸ εὐαγγέλιον αὐτοῦ ἐξελέξατο, ὄντας ὑπὲρ πᾶσαν ἁμαρτίαν ἀνομωτέρους, ἵνα δείξῃ, ὅτι οὐκ ἦλθεν καλέσαι δικαίους, ἀλλὰ ἁμαρτωλοὺς, τότε ἐφάνέρωσεν ἑαυτὸν εἶναι υἱὸν θεοῦ. 10. εἰ γὰρ μὴ ἦλθεν ἐν σαρκί, οὐδ' ἂν πως¹ οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἐσώθησαν βλέποντες αὐτόν, ὅτε τὸν μέλλοντα μὴ εἶναι ἥλιον, ἔργον τῶν χειρῶν αὐτοῦ ὑπάρχοντα, ἐμβλέποντες οὐκ ἰσχύουσιν εἰς τὰς ἀκτίνας αὐτοῦ ἀντοφθαλμῆσαι; 11. οὐκοῦν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ εἰς τοῦτο ἐν σαρκί ἦλθεν, ἵνα τὸ τέλειον τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἀνακεφαλαιώσῃ τοῖς διώξασιν ἐν θανάτῳ τοὺς προφήτας αὐτοῦ. 12. οὐκοῦν εἰς τοῦτο ὑπέμεινεν. λέγει γὰρ ὁ θεὸς τὴν πληγὴν τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ ὅτι ἐξ αὐτῶν "Ὅταν πατάξωσιν τὸν ποιμένα ἑαυτῶν, τότε ἀπολείται τὰ πρόβατα τῆς ποιμνῆς. 13. αὐτὸς δὲ ἠθέλησεν οὕτω παθεῖν· ἔδει γάρ, ἵνα ἐπὶ ξύλου πάθῃ. λέγει γὰρ ὁ προφητεύων ἐπ' αὐτῷ. Φεῖσαί μου τῆς ψυχῆς ἀπὸ ῥομφαίας, καί· Καθήλωσόν μου τὰς σάρκας, ὅτι πονηρευομένων συναγωγῶν ἐπαρέστησάν μοι. 14. καὶ πάλιν λέγει· Ἰδοὺ, τέθεικά μου τὸν νῶτον εἰς μάστιγας, τὰς δὲ σιαγόνας εἰς ῥαπίσματα. τὸ δὲ πρόσωπόν μου ἔθηκα ὡς στερεὰν πέτραν.

Mk. 2, 17

Zach. 13, 6. 7,
cf. Mt. 26, 31

Ps. 22, 40

Ps. 119, 120;

Is. 50, 6. 7

¹ οὐδ' ἂν πως N, οὐδ' ἂν C, πῶς ἂν GL

THE EPISTLE OF BARNABAS, v. 6-v. 14

flesh," endured 7. in order to fulfil the promise made to the fathers, and himself prepare for himself the new people and show while he was on earth that he himself will raise the dead and judge the risen. 8. Furthermore, while teaching Israel and doing such great signs and wonders he preached to them and loved them greatly; 9. but when he chose out his own Apostles who were to preach his Gospel, he chose those who were iniquitous above all sin to show that "he came not to call the righteous but sinners,"—then he manifested himself as God's Son. 10. For if he had not come in the flesh men could in no way have been saved by beholding him; seeing that they have not the power when they look at the sun to gaze straight at its rays, though it is destined to perish, and is the work of his hands. 11. So then the Son of God came in the flesh for this reason, that he might complete the total of the sins of those who persecuted his prophets to death. 12. For this cause he endured. For God says of the chastisement of his flesh that it is from them: "When they shall smite their shepherd, then the sheep of the flock shall be destroyed." 13. And he was willing to suffer thus, for it was necessary that he should suffer on a tree, for the Prophet says of him, "Spare my soul from the sword" and, "Nail my flesh, for the synagogues of the wicked have risen against me." 14. And again he says: "Lo, I have given my back to scourges, and my cheeks to strokes, and I have set my face as a solid rock."

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

VI

Is. 50, 8, 9

1. Ὅτε οὖν ἐποίησεν τὴν ἐντολήν, τί λέγει; Τίς ὁ κρινόμενός μοι; ἀντιστήτω μοι ἢ τίς ὁ δικαιούμενός μοι; ἐγγισάτω τῷ παιδί κυρίου. 2. οὐαὶ ὑμῖν, ὅτι ὑμεῖς πάντες ὡς ἱμάτιον παλαιωθήσεσθε, καὶ σῆς καταφάγεται ὑμᾶς. καὶ πάλιν λέγει ὁ προφήτης, ἐπεὶ ὡς λίθος ἰσχυρὸς ἐτέθη εἰς συντριβὴν Ἰδοῦ, ἐμβαλῶ εἰς τὰ θεμέλια Σιών λίθον πολυτελεῆ, ἐκλεκτόν, ἀκρογωνιαίον, ἔντιμον.

Is. 28, 16,
cf. Rom.
9, 33;

I Pet. 2, 6

Is. 28, 16

Ἰδοῦ, ἐμβαλῶ εἰς τὰ θεμέλια Σιών λίθον πολυτελεῆ, ἐκλεκτόν, ἀκρογωνιαίον, ἔντιμον. 3. εἶτα τί λέγει; Καὶ ὃς ἐλπίζει ἐπ' αὐτὸν¹ ζήσεται εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα. ἐπὶ λίθον οὖν ἡμῶν ἡ ἐλπίς; μὴ γένοιτο· ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἐν ἰσχυΐ τέθεικεν τὴν σάρκα αὐτοῦ

Is. 50, 7

Ps. 117
22, 24

κύριος. λέγει γάρ· Καὶ ἔθηκέ με ὡς στερεὰν πέτραν. 4. λέγει δὲ πάλιν ὁ προφήτης· Λίθον οὖν ἀπεδοκίμασαν οἱ οἰκοδομοῦντες, οὗτος ἐγενήθη εἰς κεφαλὴν γωνίας. καὶ πάλιν λέγει· Αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ ἡμέρα ἡ μεγάλη καὶ θαυμαστή, ἣν ἐποίησεν ὁ κύριος. 5. ἀπλούστερον ὑμῖν γράφω, ἵνα συνιῆτε· ἐγὼ περίφημα τῆς ἀγάπης ὑμῶν.

Ps. 22, 18;
118, 12

Ps. 21, 19

6. τί οὖν λέγει πάλιν ὁ προφήτης; Περιέσχευ με συναγωγὴ πονηρευομένων, ἐκύκλωσάν με ὡσεὶ μέλισσαι κηρίου, καί· Ἐπὶ τὸν ἱματισμόν μου ἔβαλον κλῆρον. 7. ἐν σαρκὶ οὖν αὐτοῦ μέλλοντος φανεροῦσθαι καὶ πάσχειν, προεφανερώθη τὸ πάθος. λέγει γάρ ὁ προφήτης ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰσραὴλ· Οὐαὶ τῇ ψυχῇ αὐτῶν, ὅτι βεβούλευνται βουλὴν πονηρὰν καθ' ἑαυτῶν, εἰπόντες· Δῆσωμεν τὸν

Is. 3, 9, 10,
cf. Wisd.
2, 12

¹ ὃς ἐλπίζει ἐπ' αὐτόν G, ὁ πιστεύων εἰς αὐτόν NCL, probably owing to the influence of the LXX. ἐλπίζει is covered by the following ἐλπίς.

THE EPISTLE OF BARNABAS, VI. 1-VI. 7

VI

1. **WHEN** therefore he made the commandment what does he say? "Who is he that comes into court with me? Let him oppose me; or, who is he that seeks justice against me? Let him draw near to the Lord's servant. 2. Woe unto you, for ye shall all wax old as a garment and the moth shall eat you up." And again the Prophet says that he was placed as a strong stone for crushing, "Lo, I will place for the foundations of Sion a precious stone, chosen out, a chief corner stone, honourable." 3. Then what does he say? "And he that hopeth on it shall live for ever." Is then our hope on a stone? God forbid. But he means that the Lord placed his flesh in strength. For he says, "And he placed me as a solid rock." 4. And again the Prophet says, "The stone which the builders rejected, this is become the head of the corner," and again he says, "This is the great and wonderful day which the Lord made." 5. I write to you more simply that you may understand: I am devoted to your love. 6. What then does the Prophet say again? "The synagogue of the sinners compassed me around, they surrounded me as bees round the honeycomb" and, "They cast lots for my clothing." 7. Since therefore he was destined to be manifest and to suffer in the flesh his Passion was foretold. For the Prophet says concerning Israel, "Woe unto their soul, for they have plotted an evil plot against themselves, saying, 'Let us

Proofs
from the
Prophets

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- Exod. 33,
1. 8;
Lev. 20, 24
 δίκαιον, ὅτι δύσχρηστος ἡμῖν ἐστίν. 8. τί λέγει ὁ ἄλλος προφήτης Μωϋσῆς αὐτοῖς; Ἰδοὺ, τάδε λέγει κύριος ὁ θεός· Εἰσέλθατε εἰς τὴν γῆν τὴν ἀγαθὴν, ἣν ὤμοσεν κύριος τῷ Ἀβραάμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ, καὶ κατακληρονομήσατε αὐτήν, γῆν ῥέουσαν γάλα καὶ μέλι. 9. τί δὲ λέγει ἡ γνώσις; μάθετε. ἐλπίσατε, φησὶν,¹ ἐπὶ τὸν ἐν σαρκὶ μέλλοντα φανεροῦσθαι ὑμῖν Ἰησοῦν. ἄνθρωπος γὰρ γῆ ἐστιν πάσχουσα· ἀπὸ προσώπου γὰρ τῆς γῆς ἡ πλάσις τοῦ Ἀδάμ ἐγένετο.
- Exod. 33,
1. 8
 10. τί οὖν λέγει Εἰς τὴν γῆν τὴν ἀγαθὴν, γῆν ῥέουσαν γάλα καὶ μέλι; εὐλογητὸς ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν, ἀδελφοί, ὁ σοφίαν καὶ νοῦν θέμενος ἐν ἡμῖν τῶν κρυφίων αὐτοῦ· λέγει γὰρ ὁ προφήτης παραβολὴν κυρίου· τίς νοήσει, εἰ μὴ σοφὸς καὶ ἐπιστήμων καὶ ἀγαπῶν τὸν κύριον αὐτοῦ; 11. ἐπεὶ οὖν ἀνακαινίσας ἡμᾶς ἐν τῇ ἀφέσει τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν, ἐποίησεν ἡμᾶς ἄλλον τύπον, ὡς παιδίων ἔχειν τὴν ψυχὴν, ὡς ἂν δὴ ἀναπλάσσοντος αὐτοῦ ἡμᾶς. 12. λέγει γὰρ ἡ γραφὴ περὶ ἡμῶν, ὡς λέγει τῷ υἱῷ· Ποιήσωμεν κατ' εἰκόνα καὶ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν ἡμῶν τὸν ἄνθρωπον, καὶ ἀρχέτωσαν τῶν θηρίων τῆς γῆς καὶ τῶν πετεινῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῶν ἰχθύων τῆς θαλάσσης. καὶ εἶπεν κύριος, ἰδὼν τὸ καλὸν πλάσμα ἡμῶν· Αὐξάνεσθε καὶ πληθυνέσθε καὶ πληρώσατε τὴν γῆν. ταῦτα πρὸς τὸν υἱόν. 13. πάλιν σοι ἐπιδείξω, πῶς πρὸς ἡμᾶς λέγει.² δευτέραν πλάσιον ἐπ' ἐσχάτων
- Eph. 2, 10;
4, 22-24
- Gen. 1, 26
- Gen. 1, 28

¹ φησὶν NC CL Clem. Alex. om. N^oG.

² λέγει CL(g), λέγει κύριος N.

THE EPISTLE OF BARNABAS, VI. 7-VI. 13

bind the Just one, for he is unprofitable to us.”¹
8. What does the other Prophet, Moses, say to them? “Lo, thus saith the Lord God, enter into the good land which the Lord sware that he would give to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and inherit it, a land flowing with milk and honey.” 9. But learn what knowledge says. Hope, it says, on that Jesus¹ who will be manifested to you in the flesh. For man is earth which suffers, for the creation of Adam was from the face of the earth. 10. What then is the meaning of “into the good land, a land flowing with milk and honey”? Blessed be our Lord, brethren, who has placed in us wisdom and understanding of his secrets. For the prophet speaks a parable of the Lord: “Who shall understand save he who is wise, and learned, and a lover of his Lord?” 11. Since then he made us new by the remission of sins he made us another type, that we should have the soul of children, as though he were creating us afresh. 12. For it is concerning us that the scripture says that he says to the Son, “Let us make man after our image and likeness, and let them rule the beasts of the earth, and the birds of heaven, and the fishes of the sea.” And the Lord said, when he saw our fair creation, “Increase and multiply and fill the earth”; these things were spoken to the Son. 13. Again I will show you how he speaks to us. In the last

¹A contrast is here no doubt implied between “that Jesus who will be manifested” and the Jesus, or Joshua (the two names are the same in Greek) who led the Israelites over the Jordan.

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Gf. Mt.
19, 30;
20, 16

Exod. 33, 3

Ezek.
11, 19; 36, 26

Ps. 43, 4

Ps. 22, 23

Gen. 1,
26, 28

ἐποίησεν. λέγει δὲ κύριος· Ἰδοὺ, ποιῶ τὰ ἔσχατα ὡς τὰ πρῶτα. εἰς τοῦτο οὖν ἐκήρυξεν ὁ προφήτης· Εἰσέλθατε εἰς γῆν ρέουσαν γάλα καὶ μέλι καὶ κατακυριεύσατε αὐτῆς. 14. ἴδε οὖν, ἡμεῖς ἀναπεπλάσμεθα, καθὼς πάλιν ἐν ἑτέρῳ προφήτῃ λέγει· Ἰδοὺ, λέγει κύριος, ἐξελῶ τούτων, τουτέστιν ὧν προέβλεπεν τὸ πνεῦμα κυρίου, τὰς λιθίνας καρδίας καὶ ἐμβαλῶ σαρκίνας· ὅτι αὐτὸς ἐν σαρκὶ ἐμελλεν φανεροῦσθαι καὶ ἐν ἡμῖν κατοικεῖν. 15. ναὸς γὰρ ἅγιος, ἀδελφοί μου, τῷ κυρίῳ τὸ κατοικητήριον ἡμῶν τῆς καρδίας. 16. λέγει γὰρ κύριος πάλιν· Καὶ ἐν τίνι ὀφθήσομαι τῷ κυρίῳ τῷ θεῷ μου καὶ δοξασθήσομαι; λέγει· Ἐξομολογήσομαί σοι ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀδελφῶν μου, καὶ ψαλῶ σοι ἀνάμεσον ἐκκλησίας ἁγίων. οὐκοῦν ἡμεῖς ἐσμέν, οὐδὲ εἰσήγαγεν εἰς τὴν γῆν τὴν ἀγαθὴν. 17. τί οὖν τὸ γάλα καὶ τὸ μέλι; ὅτι πρῶτον τὸ παιδίον μέλιτι, εἶτα γάλακτι ζωοποιεῖται· οὕτως οὖν καὶ ἡμεῖς τῇ πίστει τῆς ἐπαγγελίας καὶ τῷ λόγῳ ζωοποιούμενοι ζήσομεν κατακυριεύοντες τῆς γῆς. 18. προειρήκαμεν¹ δὲ ἐπάνω. Καὶ αὐξανέσθωσαν καὶ πληθυνέσθωσαν καὶ ἀρχέτωσαν τῶν ἰχθύων. τίς οὖν ὁ δυνάμενος νῦν ἀρχειν θηρίων ἢ ἰχθύων ἢ πετεινῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ; αἰσθάνεσθαι γὰρ ὀφείλομεν, ὅτι τὸ ἀρχειν ἐξουσίας ἐστίν, ἵνα τις ἐπιτάξας κυριεύσῃ. 19. εἰ οὖν οὐ γίνεται τοῦτο νῦν, ἄρα ἡμῖν εἴρηκεν, πότε· ὅταν καὶ αὐτοὶ τελειωθῶμεν κληρονόμοι τῆς διαθήκης κυρίου γενέσθαι.

¹ προειρήκαμεν K, προείρηκε CG, L omits the whole sentence.

THE EPISTLE OF BARNABAS, VI. 13-VI. 19

days he made a second creation; and the Lord says, "See, I make the last things as the first." To this then the Prophet referred when he proclaimed, "Enter into a land flowing with milk and honey, and rule over it." 14. See then, we have been created afresh, as he says again in another Prophet, "See," saith the Lord, "I will take out from them" (that is those whom the Spirit of the Lord foresaw) "the hearts of stone and I will put in hearts of flesh." Because he himself was going to be manifest in the flesh and to dwell among us. 15. For, my brethren, the habitation of our hearts is a shrine holy to the Lord. 16. For the Lord says again, "And wherewith shall I appear before the Lord my God and be glorified?" He says, "I will confess to thee in the assembly of my brethren, and will sing to thee in the midst of the assembly of saints." We then are they whom he brought into the good land. 17. What then is the milk and the honey? Because a child is first nourished with honey, and afterwards with milk. Thus therefore we also, being nourished on the faith of the promise and by the word, shall live and possess the earth. 18. And we have said above, "And let them increase and multiply and rule over the fishes." Who then is it who is now able to rule over beasts or fishes or the birds of heaven? For we ought to understand that to rule implies authority, so that one may give commandments and have domination. 19. If then this does not happen at present he has told us the time when it will;—when we ourselves also have been made perfect as heirs of the covenant of the Lord.

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

VII

1. Οὐκ οὖν νοεῖτε, τέκνα εὐφροσύνης, ὅτι πάντα ὁ καλὸς κύριος προεφανέρωσεν ἡμῖν, ἵνα γνῶμεν, ὃ κατὰ πάντα εὐχαριστοῦντες ὀφείλομεν αἰνεῖν.

II Tim. 4, 1
(I. Pet. 4, 5)

2. εἰ οὖν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, ὃν κύριος καὶ μέλλων κρίνειν ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς, ἔπαθεν, ἵνα ἡ πληγὴ αὐτοῦ ζωοποιήσῃ ἡμᾶς· πιστεύσωμεν, ὅτι ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ οὐκ ἠδύνατο παθεῖν εἰ μὴ δι' ἡμᾶς.

Mt. 27,
34. 48

3. ἀλλὰ καὶ σταυρωθεὶς ἐποτίζετο ὄξει καὶ χολῇ. ἀκούσατε, πῶς περὶ τούτου πεφανέρωκαν οἱ ἱερεῖς τοῦ ναοῦ. γεγραμμένης ἐντολῆς· "Ὅς ἂν μὴ νηστεύσῃ τὴν νηστείαν, θανάτῳ ἐξολεθρευθήσεται, ἐνετείλατο κύριος, ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἁμαρτιῶν ἔμελλεν τὸ σκεῦος τοῦ πνεύματος προσφέρειν θυσίαν, ἵνα καὶ ὁ τύπος ὁ γενόμενος ἐπὶ Ἰσαὰκ τοῦ προσενεχθέντος ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον τελεσθῇ.

Lev. 23, 29

4. τί οὖν λέγει ἐν τῷ προφήτῃ; Καὶ φαγέτωσαν ἐκ τοῦ τράγου τοῦ προσφερομένου τῇ νηστεία ὑπὲρ πασῶν τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν. προσέχετε ἀκριβῶς· Καὶ φαγέτωσαν οἱ ἱερεῖς μόνοι πάντες τὸ ἔντερον ἄπλυτον μετὰ ὄξους. 5. πρὸς τί; ἐπειδὴ ἐμὲ ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτιῶν μέλλοντα τοῦ λαοῦ μου τοῦ καινοῦ προσφέρειν τὴν σάρκα μου μέλλετε ποτίζειν χολὴν μετὰ ὄξους, φάγετε ὑμεῖς μόνοι, τοῦ λαοῦ νηστεύοντος καὶ κοπτομένου ἐπὶ σάκκου καὶ σποδοῦ. ἵνα δείξῃ, ὅτι δεῖ αὐτὸν παθεῖν ὑπ' αὐτῶν. 6. ἂ ἐνετείλατο,

Mt. 27,
34. 48

Lev. 16, 7. 9

προσέχετε· Λάβετε δύο τράγους καλοὺς καὶ ὁμοίους καὶ προσενέγκατε, καὶ λαβέτω ὁ ἱερεὺς τὸν ἕνα εἰς ὀλοκαύτωμα ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτιῶν. 7. τὸν

THE EPISTLE OF BARNABAS, VII. 1-VII. 7

VII

1. UNDERSTAND therefore, children of gladness, that the good Lord made all things plain beforehand to us, that we should know him to whom we ought to give thanks and praise for everything. 2. If then the Son of God, though he was the Lord and was "destined to judge the living and the dead" suffered in order that his wounding might make us alive, let us believe that the Son of God could not suffer except for our sakes. 3. But moreover when he was crucified "he was given to drink vinegar and gall." Listen how the priests of the Temple foretold this. The commandment was written, "Who-soever does not keep the fast shall die the death," and the Lord commanded this because he himself was going to offer the vessel of the spirit as a sacrifice for our sins, in order that the type established in Isaac, who was offered upon the altar, might be fulfilled. 4. What then does he say in the Prophet? "And let them eat of the goat which is offered in the fast for all their sins." Attend carefully,— "and let all the priests alone eat the entrails unwashed with vinegar." 5. Why? Because you are going "to give to me gall and vinegar to drink" when I am on the point of offering my flesh for my new people, therefore you alone shall eat, while the people fast and mourn in sackcloth and ashes. To show that he must suffer for them. 6. Note what was commanded: "Take two goats, goodly and alike, and offer them, and let the priest take the one as a burnt offering for sins." 7. But what are they to do with the other? "The

Fasting and
the scape-
goat

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

Lev. 16,
8, 10

δὲ ἓνα τί ποιήσωσιν; ¹ Ἐπικατάρατος, φησίν, ὁ εἰς. προσέχετε, πῶς ὁ τύπος τοῦ Ἰησοῦ φανεροῦται. 8. Καὶ ἐμπτύσατε πάντες καὶ κατακεντήσατε καὶ περίθετε τὸ ἔριον τὸ κόκκινον περὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ, καὶ οὕτως εἰς ἔρημον βληθήτω, καὶ ὅταν γένηται οὕτως, ἄγει ὁ βαστάζων τὸν τράγον εἰς τὴν ἔρημον καὶ ἀφαιρεῖ τὸ ἔριον καὶ ἐπιτίθησιν αὐτὸ ἐπὶ φρύγανον τὸ λεγόμενον ραχήλ,² οὐ καὶ τοὺς βλαστοὺς εἰώθαμεν τρώγειν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ εὐρίσκοντες· οὕτω μόνῃς τῆς ραχοῦς³ οἱ καρποὶ γλυκεῖς εἰσιν. 9. τί οὖν τοῦτό ἐστιν;

Lev. 16, 8

προσέχετε. Τὸν μὲν ἓνα ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον, τὸν δὲ ἓνα ἐπικατάρατον, καὶ ὅτι τὸν ἐπικατάρατον ἐστεφανωμένον; ἐπειδὴ ὄψονται αὐτὸν τότε τῇ

Rev. 1, 7, 13

ἡμέρᾳ τὸν ποδήρη ἔχοντα τὸν κόκκινον περὶ τὴν σάρκα καὶ ἐροῦσιν. Οὐχ οὗτός ἐστιν, ὃν ποτε ἡμεῖς ἐσταυρώσαμεν ἐξουθενήσαντες καὶ κατακεντήσαντες καὶ ἐμπτύσαντες; ⁴ ἀληθῶς οὗτος ἦν, ὁ τότε λέγων ἑαυτὸν υἱὸν θεοῦ εἶναι. 10. πῶς

Lev. 16, 7

γὰρ ὁμοῖος ἐκείνῳ; εἰς τοῦτο ὁμοίους τοὺς τράγους, καλοῦς, ἴσους, ἴνα, ὅταν ἴδωσιν αὐτὸν τότε ἐρχόμενον, ἐκπλαγῶσιν ἐπὶ τῇ ὁμοιότητι τοῦ τράγου. οὐκοῦν ἴδε τὸν τύπον τοῦ μέλλοντος πάσχειν Ἰησοῦ. 11. τί δέ, ὅτι τὸ ἔριον μέσον τῶν ἀκαυθῶν τιθέασιν; τύπος ἐστὶν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ θέμενος, ὅτι ὃς ἐὰν θέλη τὸ ἔριον ἄραι τὸ κόκκινον, δεῖ αὐτὸν πολλὰ παθεῖν διὰ τὸ εἶναι

¹ ποιήσωσιν N, ποιήσουσιν CG.

² ραχήλ N, ραχίλ G, ραχή C.

³ ραχοῦς NG, ραχῆς C. τῆς ραχοῦς can scarcely be right, but in face of the evidence can hardly be rejected.

⁴ ἐξουθενήσαμεν ἐμπτύσαντες N.

THE EPISTLE OF BARNABAS, VII. 7--VII. 11

other," he says, "is accursed." Notice how the type of Jesus is manifested: 8. "And do ye all spit on it, and goad it, and bind the scarlet wool about its head, and so let it be cast into the desert." And when it is so done, he who takes the goat into the wilderness drives it forth, and takes away the wool, and puts it upon a shrub which is called Rachél,¹ of which we are accustomed to eat the shoots when we find them in the country: thus of Rachél alone is the fruit sweet. 9. What does this mean? Listen: "the first goat is for the altar, but the other is accursed," and note that the one that is accursed is crowned, because then "they will see him" on that day with the long scarlet robe "down to the feet" on his body, and they will say, "Is not this he whom we once crucified and rejected and pierced and spat upon? Of a truth it was he who then said that he was the Son of God." 10. But how is he like to the goat? For this reason: "the goats shall be alike, beautiful, and a pair," in order that when they see him come at that time they may be astonished at the likeness of the goat. See then the type of Jesus destined to suffer. 11. But why is it that they put the wool in the middle of the thorns? It is a type of Jesus placed in the Church, because whoever wishes to take away the scarlet wool must suffer much because the thorns

¹ It is probable that Barnabas has mistaken a word meaning a hill for the name of a herb with which he was familiar; but it is not clear whether the confusion was made in Hebrew or in Greek (*παχός*=a brier, and sometimes a wild-olive, and *πάχης*=a mountain ridge, seems to suggest some such possibility). But the identity of the herb is unknown. There is an interesting article on it in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 1890, by Rendel Harris.

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

φοβερὰν τὴν ἄκανθαν, καὶ θλιβέντα κυριεύσαι αὐτοῦ. οὕτω, φησὶν, οἱ θέλοντές με ἰδεῖν καὶ ἄψασθαι μου τῆς βασιλείας ὀφείλουσιν θλιβέντες καὶ παθόντες λαβεῖν με.

VIII

Num. 19

1. Τίνα δὲ δοκεῖτε τύπον εἶναι, ὅτι ἐντέταλται τῷ Ἰσραὴλ προσφέρειν δάμαλιν τοὺς ἄνδρας, ἐν οἷς εἰσὶν ἁμαρτίαι τέλειαι, καὶ σφάξαντας κατακαίειν, καὶ αἶρειν τότε τὴν σποδὸν παιδία καὶ βάλλειν εἰς ἄγγη καὶ περιτιθέναι τὸ ἔριον τὸ κόκκινον ἐπὶ ξύλον (ἴδε πάλιν ὁ τύπος ὁ τοῦ σταυροῦ καὶ τὸ ἔριον τὸ κόκκινον) καὶ τὸ ὕσσωπον, καὶ οὕτως ῥαντίζειν τὰ παιδία καθ' ἓνα τὸν λαόν, ἵνα ἀγνίζονται ἀπὸ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν; 2. νοεῖτε, πῶς ἐν ἀπλότῃ λέγει ὑμῖν. ὁ μόσχος ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐστίν, οἱ προσφέροντες ἄνδρες ἁμαρτωλοὶ οἱ προσενέγκαντες αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν σφαγὴν. εἶτα οὐκέτι ἄνδρες, οὐκέτι ἁμαρτωλῶν ἢ δόξα.¹ 3. οἱ ῥαντίζοντες παῖδες οἱ εὐαγγελιστάμενοι ἡμῖν τὴν ἄφεσιν τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν καὶ τὸν ἀγνισμόν τῆς καρδίας, οἷς ἔδωκεν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου τὴν ἐξουσίαν (οὓσιν δεκάδυο εἰς μαρτύριον τῶν φυλῶν ὅτι δεκάδυο φυλαὶ τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ), εἰς τὸ κηρύσσειν. 4. διὰ τί δὲ τρεῖς παῖδες οἱ ῥαντίζοντες; εἰς μαρτύριον Ἀβραάμ, Ἰσαάκ, Ἰακώβ, ὅτι οὗτοι μεγάλοι τῷ θεῷ. 5. ὅτι δὲ τὸ ἔριον ἐπὶ τὸ ξύλον; ὅτι ἡ

¹ εἶτα . . . δόξα om. L.

THE EPISTLE OF BARNABAS, VII. 11-VIII. 5

are terrible and he can gain it only through pain. Thus he says, "those who will see me, and attain to my kingdom must lay hold of me through pain and suffering."

VIII

1. But what do you think that it typifies, that the commandment has been given to Israel that the men in whom sin is complete offer a heifer and slay it and burn it, and that boys then take the ashes and put them into vessels and bind scarlet wool on sticks (see again the type of the Cross and the scarlet wool) and hyssop, and that the boys all sprinkle the people thus one by one in order that they all be purified from their sins? 2. Observe how plainly he speaks to you. The calf is Jesus; the sinful men offering it are those who brought him to be slain. Then there are no longer men, no longer the glory¹ of sinners. 3. The boys who sprinkle are they who preached to us the forgiveness of sins, and the purification of the heart, to whom he gave the power of the Gospel to preach, and there are twelve as a testimony to the tribes, because there are twelve tribes of Israel. 4. But why are there three boys who sprinkle? As a testimony to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, for these are great before God. 5. And why was the wool put on the wood? Because the king-

The sacrifice of a heifer

¹ This seems to be the only possible translation, but the text must surely be corrupt.

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

βασιλεία Ἰησοῦ ἐπὶ ξύλου,¹ καὶ ὅτι οἱ ἐλπίζοντες ἐπ' αὐτὸν ζήσονται εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα. 6. διὰ τί δὲ ἅμα τὸ ἔριον καὶ τὸ ὕσσωπον; ὅτι ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ αὐτοῦ ἡμέραι ἔσονται πονηραὶ καὶ ῥυπαραί, ἐν αἷς ἡμεῖς σωθησόμεθα· ὅτι καὶ ὁ ἀλγῶν σάρκα διὰ τοῦ ῥύπου τοῦ ὕσσωπου ἰᾶται. 7. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὕτως γινόμενα ἡμῖν μὲν ἔστιν φανερά, ἐκείνοις δὲ σκοτεινά, ὅτι οὐκ ἤκουσαν φωνῆς κυρίου.

IX

1. Λέγει γὰρ πάλιν περὶ τῶν ὀπίων, πῶς περιέτεμεν ἡμῶν τὴν καρδίαν. λέγει κύριος ἐν τῷ προφήτῃ. Εἰς ἀκοὴν ὀπίου ὑπήκουσάν μου. καὶ πάλιν λέγει· Ἀκοῆ ἀκούσονται οἱ πόρρωθεν, ἃ ἐποίησα γινώσκονται. καὶ· Περιτμήθητε, λέγει κύριος, τὰς καρδίας ὑμῶν. 2. καὶ πάλιν λέγει· Ἄκουε Ἰσραὴλ, ὅτι τάδε λέγει κύριος ὁ θεὸς σου. καὶ πάλιν τὸ πνεῦμα κυρίου προφητεύει.² Τίς ἔστιν ὁ θέλων ζῆσαι εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα; ἀκοῆ ἀκουσάτω τῆς φωνῆς τοῦ παιδός μου. 3. καὶ πάλιν λέγει· Ἄκουε οὐρανέ, καὶ ἐνωτίζου γῆ, ὅτι κύριος ἐλάλησεν ταῦτα εἰς μαρτύριον. καὶ πάλιν λέγει· Ἀκούσατε λόγον κυρίου, ἄρχοντες τοῦ λαοῦ τούτου. καὶ πάλιν λέγει· Ἀκούσατε, τέκνα, φωνῆς βοῶντος ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ. οὐκοῦν περιέτεμεν ἡμῶν τὰς ἀκοάς, ἵνα ἀκούσαντες λόγον πιστεύσωμεν ἡμεῖς. 4. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ περιτομή, ἐφ' ἣ πεποιθήσιν, κατήργηται. περιτομὴν γὰρ εἴρηκεν οὐ σαρκὸς γεννηθῆναι· ἀλλὰ παρέβησαν, ὅτι ἄγγελος πονηρὸς

¹ ξύλου N, ξύλω CS. ² καὶ πάλιν . . . προφητεύει GL, om. NC.

THE EPISTLE OF BARNABAS, viii. 5-ix. 4

dom of Jesus is on the wood,¹ and because those who hope on him shall live for ever. 6. But why are the wool and the hyssop together? Because in his kingdom there shall be evil and foul days, in which we shall be saved, for he also who has pain in his flesh is cured by the foulness of the hyssop. 7. And for this reason the things which were thus done are plain to us, but obscure to them, because they did not hear the Lord's voice.

IX

1. For he speaks again concerning the ears, how he circumcised our hearts; for the Lord says in the Prophet: "In the hearing of the ear they obey me." And again he says, "They who are afar off shall hear clearly, they shall know the things that I have done," and "Circumcise your hearts, saith the Lord." 2. And again he says, "Hear, O Israel, thus saith the Lord thy God," and again the Spirit of the Lord prophesies, "Who is he that will live for ever? Let him hear the voice of my servant." 3. And again he says, "Hear, O heaven, and give ear, O earth, for the Lord hath spoken these things for a testimony." And again he says, "Hear the word of the Lord, ye rulers of this people." And again he says, "Hear, O children, a voice of one crying in the wilderness." So then he circumcised our hearing in order that we should hear the word and believe. 4. But moreover the circumcision in which they trusted has been abolished. For he declared that circumcision was not of the flesh, but they erred because an evil angel

¹ Or "on the tree."

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- Jer. 4, 8. 4 ἐσόφιζεν αὐτούς. 5. λέγει πρὸς αὐτούς· Τάδε λέγει κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὑμῶν (ὧδε εὐρίσκω ἐν πολλῇ). Μὴ σπείρητε ἐπ' ἀκάνθαις, περιτμήθητε τῷ κυρίῳ
- Deut. 10, 16 ὑμῶν. καὶ τί λέγει; Περιτμήθητε τὴν σκληροκαρδίαν ὑμῶν, καὶ τὸν τράχηλον ὑμῶν οὐ σκλη-
- Jer. 9, 25. 26 ρυνεῖτε. λάβε πάλιν· Ἴδού, λέγει κύριος, πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἀπερίτμητα ἀκροβυστίαν, ὁ δὲ λαὸς οὗτος ἀπερίτμητος καρδίας. 6. ἀλλ' ἐρεῖς· Καὶ μὴν περιτέτμηται ὁ λαὸς εἰς σφραγιδα. ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶς Σύρος καὶ Ἄραψ καὶ πάντες οἱ ἱερεῖς τῶν εἰδώλων. ἄρα οὖν κἀκεῖνοι ἐκ τῆς διαθήκης αὐτῶν εἰσίν; ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι ἐν περιτομῇ εἰσίν. 7. μάθετε οὖν, τέκνα ἀγάπης, περὶ πάντων πλουσίως, ὅτι Ἀβραάμ, πρῶτος περιτομῆν δούς, ἐν πνεύματι προβλέψας εἰς τὸν Ἰησοῦν περιέτεμεν, λαβὼν τριῶν γραμμάτων δόγματα. 8. λέγει γάρ· Καὶ περιέτεμεν Ἀβραάμ ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου αὐτοῦ ἄνδρας δεκαοκτῶ καὶ τριακοσίους. τίς οὖν ἢ δοθεῖσα αὐτῷ γνῶσις; μάθετε, ὅτι τοὺς δεκαοκτῶ πρώτους, καὶ διάστημα ποιήσας λέγει τριακοσίους. τὸ δεκαοκτῶ ἰδέκα, ἢ ὀκτώ ἔχεις Ἰησοῦν. ὅτι δὲ ὁ σταυρὸς ἐν τῷ ταῦ ἡμελλεν ἔχειν τὴν χάριν, λέγει καὶ τοὺς τριακοσίους. δηλοῖ οὖν τὸν μὲν Ἰησοῦν ἐν τοῖς δυσὶν γράμμασιν, καὶ ἐν τῷ ἐνὶ τὸν σταυρῶν. 9. οἶδεν ὁ τὴν ἐμφυτον δωρεὰν τῆς διδαχῆς αὐτοῦ θέμενος ἐν ἡμῖν. οὐδεὶς γνησιώτερον ἔμαθεν ἀπ' ἐμοῦ λόγον· ἀλλὰ οἶδα, ὅτι ἄξιοί ἐστε ὑμεῖς.

Gen. 17,
23. 27; 14. 14

THE EPISTLE OF BARNABAS, IX. 4-IX. 9

was misleading them. 5. He says to them, "Thus saith the Lord your God" (here I find a commandment), "Sow not among thorns, be circumcised to your Lord." And what does he say? "Circumcise the hardness of your heart, and stiffen not your neck." Take it again: "Behold, saith the Lord, all the heathen are uncircumcised in the foreskin, but this people is uncircumcised in heart." 6. But you will say, surely the people has received circumcision as a seal? Yes, but every Syrian and Arab and all priests of the idols have been circumcised; are then these also within their¹ covenant?—indeed even the Egyptians belong to the circumcision. 7. Learn fully then, children of love, concerning all things, for Abraham, who first circumcised, did so looking forward in the spirit to Jesus, and had received the doctrines of three letters. 8. For it says, "And Abraham circumcised from his household eighteen men and three hundred."² What then was the knowledge that was given to him? Notice that he first mentions the eighteen, and after a pause the three hundred. The eighteen is I (=ten) and H (=8)—you have Jesus³—and because the cross was destined to have grace in the T he says "and three hundred."⁴ So he indicates Jesus in the two letters and the cross in the other. 9. He knows this who placed the gift of his teaching in our hearts. No one has heard a more excellent lesson from me, but I know that you are worthy.

¹ *I.e.* of the Jews.

² In Greek, which expresses numerals by letters, this is THH.

³ Because IH are in Greek the first letters of the word Jesus.

⁴ The Greek symbol for 300 is T.

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

X

Lev. 11:
Deut. 14

1. Ὅτι δὲ Μωϋσῆς εἶπεν· Οὐ φάγεσθε χοῖρον οὔτε ἀετὸν οὔτε ὀξύπτερον οὔτε κόρακα οὔτε πάντα ἰχθύν, ὃς οὐκ ἔχει λεπίδα ἐν ἑαυτῷ, τρία ἔλαβεν ἐν τῇ συνέσει δόγματα. 2. Πέρας γέ τοι

Deut. 4, 1. 5

λέγει αὐτοῖς ἐν τῷ Δευτερονομίῳ· Καὶ διαθήσομαι πρὸς τὸν λαὸν τοῦτον τὰ δικαιώματά μου. Ἄρα οὖν οὐκ ἔστιν ἐντολὴ θεοῦ τὸ μὴ τρώγειν, Μωϋσῆς δὲ ἐν πνεύματι ἐλάλησεν. 3. τὸ οὖν χοιρίον πρὸς τοῦτο εἶπεν· οὐ κολληθήσῃ, φησίν, ἀνθρώποις τοιοῦτοις, οἵτινες εἰσιν ὅμοιοι χοίρων·¹ τουτέστιν ὅταν σπαταλῶσιν, ἐπιλαυθάνονται τοῦ κυρίου, ὅταν δὲ ὑστεροῦνται, ἐπιγινώσκουσιν τὸν κύριον, ὡς καὶ ὁ χοῖρος ὅταν τρώγει τὸν κύριον οὐκ οἶδεν, ὅταν δὲ πεινᾷ κραυγάζει, καὶ λαβῶν πάλιν

Lev. 11,
13-16

σιωπᾷ. 4. Οὐδὲ φάγη τὸν ἀετὸν οὐδὲ τὸν ὀξύπτερον οὐδὲ τὸν ἰκτίνα οὐδὲ τὸν κόρακα· οὐ μὴ, φησίν, κολληθήσῃ οὐδὲ ὁμοιωθήσῃ ἀνθρώποις τοιοῦτοις, οἵτινες οὐκ οἶδαςιν διὰ κόπου καὶ ἰδρωτὸς πορίζειν ἑαυτοῖς τὴν τροφήν, ἀλλὰ ἀρπάζουσιν τὰ ἀλλότρια ἐν ἀνομίᾳ αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπιτηροῦσιν ὡς ἐν ἀκεραιοσύνῃ περιπατοῦντες καὶ περιβλέπονται, τίνα ἐκδύσωσιν διὰ τὴν πλεονεξίαν, ὡς καὶ τὰ ὄρνεα ταῦτα μόνα ἑαυτοῖς οὐ προίξει τὴν τροφήν, ἀλλὰ ἀργὰ καθήμενα ἐκζητεῖ, πῶς ἀλλοτρίας σάρκας καταφάγη, ὄντα λοιμὰ τῇ πονηρίᾳ αὐτῶν.

Lev. 11, 10

5. Καὶ οὐ φάγη, φησίν, σμύραιναι οὐδὲ πολυποδα οὐδὲ σηπίαν· οὐ μὴ, φησίν, ὁμοιωθήσῃ κολλώμενος² ἀνθρώποις τοιοῦτοις, οἵτινες εἰς τέλος

¹ χοίρων **Σ**, χοίροις **CG**.

² κολλώμενος **GL**, *om.* **SC**.

THE EPISTLE OF BARNABAS, x. 1-X. 5

X

1. Now, in that Moses said, "Ye shall not eat swine, nor an eagle, nor a hawk, nor a crow, nor any fish which has no scales on itself," he included three doctrines in his understanding. 2. Moreover he says to them in Deuteronomy, "And I will make a covenant of my ordinances with this people." So then the ordinance of God is not abstinence from eating, but Moses spoke in the spirit. 3. He mentioned the swine for this reason: you shall not consort, he means, with men who are like swine, that is to say, when they have plenty they forget the Lord, but when they are in want they recognise the Lord, just as the swine when it eats does not know its master, but when it is hungry it cries out, and after receiving food is again silent. 4. "Neither shalt thou eat the eagle nor the hawk nor the kite nor the crow." Thou shalt not, he means, join thyself or make thyself like to such men, as do not know how to gain their food by their labour and sweat, but plunder other people's property in their iniquity, and lay wait for it, though they seem to walk in innocence, and look round to see whom they may plunder in their covetousness, just as these birds alone provide no food for themselves, but sit idle, and seek how they may devour the flesh of others, and become pestilent in their iniquity. 5. "Thou shalt not eat," he says, "the lamprey nor the polypus nor the cuttlefish." Thou shalt not, he means, consort with or become like such men who are utterly ungodly and who are already condemned

The Food-law of the Jews

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

εἰσὶν ἀσεβεῖς καὶ κεκριμένοι ἤδη τῷ θανάτῳ, ὡς
 καὶ ταῦτα τὰ ἰχθύδια μόνα ἐπικατάρματα ἐν τῷ
 βυθῷ νήχεται, μὴ κολυμβῶντα ὡς τὰ λοιπά,
 ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ γῇ κάτω τοῦ βυθοῦ κατοικεῖ. 6. ἀλλὰ
 καὶ τὸν δασύποδα οὐ φάγγη. πρὸς τί; οὐ μὴ
 γένῃ, φησὶν, παιδοφθόρος οὐδὲ ὁμοιωθήσῃ τοῖς
 τοιούτοις, ὅτι ὁ λαγῶς κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν πλεονεκτεῖ
 τὴν ἀφόδευσιν· ὅσα γὰρ ἔτη ζῆ, τοσαύτας ἔχει
 τρύπας. 7. ἀλλὰ οὐδὲ τὴν ὕαιναν φάγγη· οὐ μὴ,
 φησὶν, γένῃ μοιχὸς οὐδὲ φθορεὺς οὐδὲ ὁμοιωθήσῃ
 τοῖς τοιούτοις. πρὸς τί; ὅτι τὸ ζῶον τοῦτο παρ'
 ἐνιαυτὸν ἀλλάσσει τὴν φύσιν καὶ ποτὲ μὲν ἄρρην,
 ποτὲ δὲ θῆλυ γίνεται. 8. ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν γαλήνην
 ἐμίσησεν καλῶς. οὐ μὴ, φησὶν, γενηθῆς τοιοῦτος,
 οἷους ἀκούομεν ἀνομίαν ποιούντας ἐν τῷ στόματι
 δι' ἀκαθαρσίαν, οὐδὲ κολληθήσῃ ταῖς ἀκαθάρτοις
 ταῖς τὴν ἀνομίαν ποιούσαις ἐν τῷ στόματι. τὸ
 γὰρ ζῶον τοῦτο τῷ στόματι κύει. 9. περὶ μὲν
 τῶν βρωμάτων λαβὼν Μωϋσῆς τρία δόγματα
 οὕτως ἐν πνεύματι ἐλάλησεν· οἱ δὲ κατ' ἐπιθυμίαν
 τῆς σαρκὸς ὡς περὶ βρώσεως προσεδέξαντο. 10.
 λαμβάνει δὲ τῶν αὐτῶν τριῶν δογμάτων γινώσκιν
 Δαυεὶδ καὶ λέγει· Μακάριος ἀνὴρ, ὃς οὐκ
 ἐπορεύθη ἐν βουλῇ ἀσεβῶν, καθὼς καὶ οἱ ἰχθύες
 πορεύονται ἐν σκότει εἰς τὰ βάθη· καὶ ἐν ὁδῷ
 ἁμαρτωλῶν οὐκ ἔστη, καθὼς οἱ δοκοῦντες φοβεῖ-
 σθαι τὸν κύριον ἁμαρτάνουσιν ὡς ὁ χοῖρος, καὶ
 ἐπὶ καθέδραν λοιμῶν οὐκ ἐκάθισεν, καθὼς τὰ
 πετεινὰ καθήμενα εἰς ἄρπαγὴν. ἔχετε τελείως

Lev. 11, 5

Lev. 11. 29

Ps. 1, 1

THE EPISTLE OF BARNABAS, x. 5-x. 10

to death, just as these fish alone are accursed, and float in the deep water, not swimming like the others but living on the ground at the bottom of the sea. 6. Sed¹ nec "leporem manducabis." Non eris, inquit, corruptor puerorum nec similibis talibus. Quia lepus singulis annis facit ad adselandum singula foramina; et quotquot annis vivit, totidem foramina facit. 7. Sed "nec beluam, inquit, manducabis";² hoc est non eris moecus aut adulter, nec corruptor, nec similibis talibus. Quia haec bestia alternis annis mutat naturam et fit modo masculus, modo femina. 8. Sed et quod dicit mustelam odibus. Non eris, inquit, talis, qui audit iniquitatem et loquitur immunditiam. Non inquit adhaerebis immundis qui iniquitatem faciunt ore suo. 9. The explanation in the Psalter Moses received three doctrines concerning food and thus spoke of them in the Spirit; but they received them as really referring to food, owing to the lust of their flesh. 10. But David received knowledge concerning the same three doctrines, and says: "Blessed is the man who has not gone in the counsel of the ungodly" as the fishes go in darkness in the deep waters, "and has not stood in the way of sinners" like those who seem to fear the Lord, but sin like the swine, "and has not sat in the seat of the scorners" like the birds who sit and wait for their prey. Grasp fully

¹ The Latin here given is that of the Old Latin version, and does not in all places correspond quite accurately to the Greek.

² This prohibition is not in the O.T.

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

Lev. 11, 3 ;
Deut. 14, 6

καὶ περὶ τῆς βρώσεως. 11. πάλιν λέγει Μωϋσῆς·
Φάγεσθε πᾶν διχηλοῦν καὶ μαρυκώμενον. τί λέγει ;
ὅτι τὴν τροφήν λαμβάνων οἶδεν τὸν τρέφοντα αὐτὸν
καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἀναπαυόμενος εὐφραίνεσθαι δοκεῖ.
καλῶς εἶπεν βλέπων τὴν ἐντολήν. τί οὖν λέγει ;
κολλᾶσθε μετὰ τῶν φοβουμένων τὸν κύριον, μετὰ
τῶν μελετώντων ὃ ἔλαβον διάσταλμα ῥήματος ἐν
τῇ καρδίᾳ, μετὰ τῶν λαλούντων τὰ διδαιώματα
κυρίου καὶ τηρούντων, μετὰ τῶν εἰδότων, ὅτι ἡ
μελέτη ἐστὶν ἔργον εὐφροσύνης, καὶ ἀναμαρυκω-
μένων τὸν λόγον κυρίου. τί δὲ τὸ διχηλοῦν ; ὅτι
ὁ δίκαιος καὶ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ κόσμῳ περιπατεῖ καὶ
τὸν ἅγιον αἰῶνα ἐκδέχεται. βλέπετε, πῶς ἐνομο-
θέτησεν Μωϋσῆς καλῶς. 12. ἀλλὰ πόθεν ἐκείνοις
ταῦτα νοῆσαι ἢ συνιέναι ; ἡμεῖς δὲ δικαίως νοή-
σαντες τὰς ἐντολὰς λαλοῦμεν, ὡς ἠθέλησεν ὁ
κύριος. διὰ τοῦτο περιέτεμεν τὰς ἀκοὰς ἡμῶν καὶ
τὰς καρδίας, ἵνα συνιῶμεν ταῦτα.

XI

1. Ζητήσωμεν δέ, εἰ ἐμέλησεν τῷ κυρίῳ προ-
φανερῶσαι περὶ τοῦ ὕδατος καὶ περὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ.
περὶ μὲν τοῦ ὕδατος γέγραπται ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰσραὴλ,
πῶς τὸ βάπτισμα τὸ φέρον ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν οὐ
μὴ προσδέξονται, ἀλλ' ἑαυτοῖς οἰκοδομήσουσιν.

Jer. 2, 12. 18

2. λέγει γὰρ ὁ προφήτης· Ἐκστηθὶ οὐρανέ, καὶ
ἐπὶ τούτῳ πλεῖον φριξάτω ἡ γῆ, ὅτι δύο καὶ
πονηρὰ ἐποίησεν ὁ λαὸς οὗτος· ἐμὲ ἐγκατέλιπον,

THE EPISTLE OF BARNABAS, x. 10-XI. 2

the doctrines concerning food. 11. Moses says again, "Eat of every animal that is cloven hoofed and ruminant." What does he mean? That he who receives food knows him who feeds him, and rests on him and seems to rejoice. Well did he speak with regard to the commandment. What then does he mean? Consort with those who fear the Lord, with those who meditate in their heart on the meaning of the word which they have received, with those who speak of and observe the ordinances of the Lord, with those who know that meditation is a work of gladness, and who ruminate on the word of the Lord. But what does "the cloven hoofed" mean? That the righteous both walks in this world and looks forward to the holy age. See how well Moses legislated. 12. But how was it possible for them to understand or comprehend these things? But we having a righteous understanding of them announce the commandments as the Lord wished. For this cause he circumcised our hearing and our hearts that we should comprehend these things.

XI

1. BUT let us enquire if the Lord took pains to foretell the water of baptism and the cross. Concerning the water it has been written with regard to Israel that they will not receive the baptism that brings the remission of sins, but will build for themselves. 2. For the Prophet says, "Be astonished O heaven, and let the earth tremble the more at this, that this people hath committed two evils: they have deserted me, the spring of life, and they have

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- πηγὴν ζωῆς, καὶ ἑαυτοῖς ὤρυξαν βόθρον θανάτου.
- Is. 16, 1. 2 3. Μὴ πέτρα ἔρημός ἐστιν τὸ ὄρος τὸ ἅγιόν μου Σινᾶ; ἔσεσθε γὰρ ὡς πετεινοῦ νοσσοὶ ἀνιπτάμενοι νοσσιᾶς ἀφηρημένοι. 4. καὶ πάλιν λέγει ὁ προφήτης· Ἐγὼ πορεύσομαι ἔμπροσθέν σου καὶ ὄρη ὀμαλιῶ καὶ πύλας χαλκᾶς συντρίψω καὶ μοχλοὺς σιδηροὺς συγκλάσω, καὶ δώσω σοι θησαυροὺς σκοτεινοὺς, ἀποκρύφους, ἀοράτους, ἵνα γνῶσιν
- Is. 45, 2. 3 φήτης· Ἐγὼ κύριος ὁ θεός. 5. καὶ Κατοικήσεις ἐν ὑψηλῷ σπηλαιῶ πέτρας ἰσχυρᾶς. καί· τὸ ὕδωρ αὐτοῦ πιστόν· βασιλέα μετὰ δόξης ὄψεσθε, καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ ὑμῶν μελετήσῃ φόβον κυρίου. 6. καὶ
- Is. 53, 16-18 ὅτι ἐγὼ κύριος ὁ θεός. 5. καὶ Κατοικήσεις ἐν ὑψηλῷ σπηλαιῶ πέτρας ἰσχυρᾶς. καί· τὸ ὕδωρ αὐτοῦ πιστόν· βασιλέα μετὰ δόξης ὄψεσθε, καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ ὑμῶν μελετήσῃ φόβον κυρίου. 6. καὶ
- Pa. 1, 3-6 πάλιν ἐν ἄλλῳ προφήτῃ λέγει· Καὶ ἔσται ὁ ταῦτα ποιῶν ὡς τὸ ξύλον τὸ πεφυτευμένον παρὰ τὰς διεξόδους τῶν ὑδάτων, ὃ τὸν καρπὸν αὐτοῦ δώσει ἐν καιρῷ αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὸ φύλλον αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἀπορυήσεται, καὶ πάντα, ὅσα ἂν ποιῇ, κατενοδωθήσεται. 7. οὐχ οὕτως οἱ ἀσεβεῖς, οὐχ οὕτως, ἀλλ' ἢ ὡς ὁ χνούς, ὃν ἐκρίπτει ὁ ἄνεμος ἀπὸ προσώπου τῆς γῆς. διὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἀναστήσονται ἀσεβεῖς ἐν κρίσει οὐδὲ ἁμαρτωλοὶ ἐν βουλῇ δικαίων, ὅτι γινώσκει κύριος ὁδὸν δικαίων, καὶ ὁδὸς ἀσεβῶν ἀπολεῖται. 8. αἰσθάνεσθε, πῶς τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ τὸν σταυρὸν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ὤρισεν. τοῦτο γὰρ λέγει μακάριοι, οἱ ἐπὶ τὸν σταυρὸν ἐλπίσαντες κατέβησαν εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ, ὅτι τὸν μὲν μισθὸν λέγει ἐν καιρῷ αὐτοῦ· τότε, φησὶν, ἀποδώσω. νῦν δὲ ὁ λέγει· τὰ φύλλα οὐκ ἀπορυήσεται, τοῦτο λέγει· ὅτι πᾶν ῥῆμα, ὃ ἐὰν ἐξελεύσεται ἐξ ὑμῶν διὰ τοῦ στόματος ὑμῶν ἐν πίστει καὶ ἀγάπῃ, ἔσται εἰς ἐπιστροφὴν καὶ ἐλπίδα πολλοῖς. 9. καὶ πάλιν ἕτερος προφήτης λέγει. Καὶ ἦν ἡ γῆ τοῦ Ἰακῶβ
- Pa. 1, 3 380

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dug for themselves a cistern of death. 3. Is my holy mountain Sinai a desert rock? For ye shall be as the fledgling birds, fluttering about when they are taken away from the nest." 4. And again the Prophet says, "I will go before you and I will make mountains level, and I will break gates of brass, and I will shatter bars of iron, and I will give thee treasures of darkness, secret, invisible, that they may know that I am the Lord God." 5. And, "Thou shalt dwell in a lofty cave of a strong rock." And, "His water is sure, ye shall see the King in his glory, and your soul shall meditate on the fear of the Lord." 6. And again he says in another Prophet, "And he who does these things shall be as the tree, which is planted at the partings of the waters, which shall give its fruit in its season, and its leaf shall not fade, and all things, whatsoever he doeth, shall prosper. 7. It is not so with the wicked, it is not so; but they are even as the chaff which the wind driveth away from the face of the earth. Therefore the wicked shall not rise up in judgment, nor sinners in the counsel of the righteous, for the Lord knoweth the way of the righteous, and the way of the ungodly shall perish." 8. Mark how he described the water and the cross together. For he means this: blessed are those who hoped on the cross, and descended into the water. For he speaks of their reward "in his season"; at that time, he says, I will repay. But now when he says, "Their leaves shall not fade," he means that every word which shall come forth from your mouth in faith and love, shall be for conversion and hope for many. 9. And again another Prophet says, "And the land of Jacob was praised

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ἐπαινουμένη παρὰ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν. τοῦτο λέγει·
Cf. Wisd. 3, 19 τὸ σκεῦος τοῦ πνεύματος αὐτοῦ δοξάζει. 10. εἶτα
Ezek. 47, 1-12 τί λέγει; Καὶ ἦν ποταμὸς ἔλκων ἐκ δεξιῶν, καὶ
 ἀνέβαινεν ἐξ αὐτοῦ δένδρα ὠραῖα· καὶ ὃς ἂν φάγη
 ἐξ αὐτῶν, ζήσεται εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα. 11. τοῦτο λέγει
 ὅτι ἡμεῖς μὲν καταβαίνομεν εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ γέμοντες
 ἁμαρτιῶν καὶ ῥύπου, καὶ ἀναβαίνομεν καρποφο-
 ροῦντες ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ τὸν φόβον καὶ τὴν ἐλπίδα
Ezek. 47, 9 εἰς τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐν τῷ πνεύματι ἔχοντες. Καὶ ὃς
 ἂν φάγη ἀπὸ τούτων, ζήσεται εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα,
 τοῦτο λέγει· ὃς ἂν, φησὶν, ἀκούσῃ τούτων λαλου-
 μένων καὶ πιστεύσῃ, ζήσεται εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.

XII

1. Ὅμοίως πάλιν περὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ ὀρίζει
IV Esr. 4, 33; 5, 5 ἐν ἄλλῳ προφήτῃ λέγοντι· Καὶ πότε ταῦτα συν-
 τελεσθήσεται; λέγει κύριος· ὅταν ξύλον κλιθῇ
 καὶ ἀναστῇ, καὶ ὅταν ἐκ ξύλου αἷμα στάξῃ.
 ἔχεις πάλιν περὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ καὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ-
 σθαι μέλλοντος. 2. λέγει δὲ πάλιν τῷ Μωϋσῇ,¹
Exod. 17, 18 ff. πολεμουμένου τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀλλοφύλων,
 καὶ ἵνα ὑπομνήσῃ αὐτοὺς πολεμουμένους, ὅτι διὰ
 τὰς ἁμαρτίας αὐτῶν παρεδόθησαν εἰς θάνατον·
 λέγει εἰς τὴν καρδίαν Μωϋσέως τὸ πνεῦμα, ἵνα
 ποιήσῃ τύπον σταυροῦ καὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος πάσ-
 χειν, ὅτι, εἰ μὴ, φησὶν, ἐλπίσωσιν ἐπ' αὐτῷ, εἰς
 τὸν αἰῶνα πολεμηθήσονται. τίθησιν οὖν Μωϋσῆς
 ἐν ἐφ' ἐν ὄπλῳ ἐν μέσῳ τῆς πυγμῆς, καὶ ὑψηλό-
 τερος σταθεῖς πάντων ἐξέτεινε τὰς χεῖρας, καὶ

¹ τῷ Μωϋσῇ NC, ἐν τῷ Μωϋσῇ GL "in Moses" i.e. in the
 "Pentateuch" which was spoken of as "Moses."

THE EPISTLE OF BARNABAS, XI. 9—XII. 2

above every land." He means to say that he is glorifying the vessel of his Spirit. 10. What does he say next? "And there was a river flowing on the right hand, and beautiful trees grew out of it, and whosoever shall eat of them shall live for ever."

11. He means to say that we go down into the water full of sins and foulness, and we come up bearing the fruit of fear in our hearts, and having hope on Jesus in the Spirit. "And whosoever shall eat of them shall live for ever." He means that whosoever hears and believes these things spoken shall live for ever.

XII

1. SIMILARLY, again, he describes the cross in The Cross another Prophet, who says, "And when shall all these things be accomplished? saith the Lord. When the tree shall fall and rise, and when blood shall flow from the tree." Here again you have a reference to the cross, and to him who should be crucified.

2. And he says again to Moses, when Israel was warred upon by strangers, and in order to remind those who were warred upon that they were delivered unto death by reason of their sins—the Spirit speaks to the heart of Moses to make a representation of the cross, and of him who should suffer, because, he says, unless they put their trust in him, they shall suffer war for ever. Moses therefore placed one shield upon another in the midst of the fight, and standing there raised above them all kept stretching

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

οὕτως πάλιν ἐνίκα ὁ Ἰσραήλ. εἶτα, ὁπόταν καθ-
 εἴλεν, ἐθανατοῦντο. 3. πρὸς τί; ἵνα γνῶσιν ὅτι
 οὐ δύνανται σωθῆναι, ἐὰν μὴ ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐλπίσω-
 σιν. 4. καὶ πάλιν ἐν ἑτέρῳ προφήτῃ λέγει "Ὀλην
 τὴν ἡμέραν ἐξεπέτασα τὰς χεῖράς μου πρὸς λαὸν
 ἀπειθῆ¹ καὶ ἀντιλέγοντα ὁδῷ δικαίᾳ μου. 5.
 πάλιν Μωϋσῆς ποιεῖ τύπον τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, ὅτι δεῖ
 αὐτὸν παθεῖν, καὶ αὐτὸς ζωοποιήσει, ὃν δόξουσι
 ἀπολωλέκεναι, ἐν σημείῳ πίπτοντος τοῦ Ἰσραήλ,
 (ἐποίησεν γὰρ κύριος πάντα ὄφιν δάκνειν αὐτούς,
 καὶ ἀπέθνησκον ἐπειδὴ ἡ παράβασις διὰ τοῦ
 ὄφεως ἐν Εὐὰ ἐγένετο), ἵνα ἐλέγξῃ αὐτούς, ὅτι διὰ
 τὴν παράβασιν αὐτῶν εἰς θλίψιν θανάτου παρα-
 δοθήσονται. 6. πέρας γέ τοι αὐτὸς Μωϋσῆς
 ἐντειλάμενος· Οὐκ ἔσται ὑμῖν οὔτε χωνευτὸν
 οὔτε γλυπτὸν εἰς θεὸν ὑμῖν, αὐτὸς ποιεῖ, ἵνα τύπον
 τοῦ Ἰησοῦ δείξῃ. ποιεῖ οὖν Μωϋσῆς χαλκοῦν
 ὄφιν καὶ τίθησιν ἐνδόξως καὶ κηρύγματι καλεῖ τὸν
 λαόν. 7. ἐλθόντες οὖν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἐδέοντο Μωϋ-
 σέως, ἵνα περὶ αὐτῶν ἀνευέγκη δέξῃσιν περὶ τῆς
 ἰάσεως αὐτῶν. εἶπεν δὲ πρὸς αὐτοὺς Μωϋσῆς·
 "Ὅταν, φησίν, δηχθῆ τις ὑμῶν, ἐλθέτω ἐπὶ τὸν
 ὄφιν τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ ξύλου ἐπικείμενον καὶ ἐλπισάτω
 πιστεύσας, ὅτι αὐτὸς ὢν νεκρὸς δύναται ζωοποιῆ-
 σαι, καὶ παραχρῆμα σωθήσεται. καὶ οὕτως
 ἐποίουν. ἔχεις πάλιν καὶ ἐν τούτοις τὴν δόξαν
 τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, ὅτι ἐν αὐτῷ πάντα καὶ εἰς αὐτόν.
 8. τί λέγει πάλιν Μωϋσῆς Ἰησοῦ, υἱῷ Ναυῆ,
 ἐπιθεὶς αὐτῷ τοῦτο τὸ ὄνομα, ὅντι προφήτῃ, ἵνα
 μόνον ἀκούσῃ πᾶς ὁ λαός; ὅτι πάντα ὁ πατήρ

Is. 66, 2

Num. 21, 6 ff.

Deut. 27, 15

Num. 21, 8. 9

Num. 13, 17

¹ ἀπειθῆ N, ἀπειθοῦντα Cg (LXX).

THE EPISTLE OF BARNABAS, XII. 2—XII. 8

out his hands, and so Israel again began to be victorious: then, whenever he let them drop they began to perish. 3. Why? That they may know that they cannot be saved if they do not hope on him.

4. And again he says in another Prophet, "I stretched out my hands the whole day to a disobedient people and one that refuses my righteous way."

5. Again Moses makes a representation of Jesus, showing that he must suffer, and shall himself give life, though they will believe that he has been put to death, by the sign given when Israel was falling (for the Lord made every serpent bite them, and they were perishing, for the fall¹ took place in Eve through the serpent), in order to convince them that they will be delivered over to the affliction of death because of their transgression.

6. Moreover, though Moses commanded them:—"You shall have neither graven nor molten image for your God," yet he makes one himself to show a type of Jesus. Moses therefore makes a graven serpent, and places it in honour and calls the people by a proclamation.

7. So they came together and besought Moses that he would offer prayer on their behalf for their healing.

But Moses said to them, "Whenever one of you," he said, "be bitten, let him come to the serpent that is placed upon the tree, and let him hope, in faith that it though dead is able to give life, and he shall straightway be saved." And they did so. In this

also you have again the glory of Jesus, for all things are in him and for him. 8. Again, why does

Moses say to Jesus, the son of Naue,² when he gives him, prophet as he is, this name, that the whole

¹ Literally the "transgression." ² i.e. Joshua the son of Nun, of which names Jesus and Naue are the Greek forms.

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

- φανεροῖ περὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ Ἰησοῦ. 9. λέγει οὖν Μωϋσῆς Ἰησοῦ, υἱῶ Ναυή, ἐπιθεὶς τοῦτο τὸ ὄνομα, **Exod. 17, 14** ὁπότε ἐπεμφεν αὐτὸν κατάσκοπον τῆς γῆς· Λάβε βιβλίον εἰς τὰς χεῖράς σου καὶ γράψον, ἃ λέγει κύριος, ὅτι ἐκκόψει ἐκ ῥιζῶν τὸν οἶκον πάντα τοῦ Ἀμαλήκ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν.
10. ἴδε πάλιν Ἰησοῦς, οὐχὶ υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου, ἀλλὰ **Mt. 22, 42-44** υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, τύπῳ δὲ ἐν σαρκὶ φανερωθείς. ἐπεὶ οὖν μέλλουσιν λέγειν, ὅτι Χριστὸς υἱὸς Δαυεὶδ ἐστίν,¹ αὐτὸς προφητεύει Δαυεὶδ, φοβούμενος καὶ **Pa. 110, 1** συνίων τὴν πλάνην τῶν ἀμαρτωλῶν· Εἶπεν κύριος τῷ κυρίῳ μου· Κάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν μου, ἕως ἂν θῶ τοὺς ἐχθρούς σου ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν σου.
11. καὶ πάλιν λέγει οὕτως Ἡσαΐας· Εἶπεν κύριος **Is. 45, 1** τῷ Χριστῷ μου κυρίῳ, οὐ ἐκράτησα τῆς δεξιᾶς αὐτοῦ, ἐπακούσαι ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ ἔθνη, καὶ ἰσχὺν βασιλέων διαρρήξω. ἴδε, πῶς Δαυεὶδ λέγει αὐτὸν κύριον, καὶ υἱὸν οὐ λέγει.
- Mk. 12, 37**
cf. **Mt. 22, 45**; **Luke, 20, 44**

XIII

1. Ἰδωμεν δὲ εἰ οὗτος ὁ λαὸς κληρονομεῖ ἢ ὁ πρῶτος, καὶ εἰ ἡ διαθήκη εἰς ἡμᾶς ἢ εἰς ἐκείνους. 2. ἀκούσατε οὖν περὶ τοῦ λαοῦ τί λέγει ἡ γραφή· Ἐδεῖτο δὲ Ἰσαὰκ περὶ Ῥεβέκκας τῆς **Gen. 25, 21** γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ, ὅτι στείρα ἦν καὶ συνέλαβεν. εἶτα ἐξῆλθεν Ῥεβέκκα πυθέσθαι παρὰ κυρίου, καὶ εἶπεν κύριος πρὸς αὐτήν· Δύο ἔθνη ἐν τῇ **Gen. 25, 22-23** γαστρὶ σου καὶ δύο λαοὶ ἐν τῇ κοιλίᾳ σου, καὶ **cf. Rom. 9, 10-12**

¹ Χριστὸς υἱὸς Δαυεὶδ ἐστίν N, ὁ Χριστὸς υἱὸς ἐστίν Δαυεὶδ CG.

THE EPISTLE OF BARNABAS, XII. 8—XIII. 2

people should listen to him alone? Because the Father was revealing everything concerning his Son Jesus. 9. Moses therefore says to Jesus the son of Naue, after giving him this name, when he sent him to spy out the land, "Take a book in thy hands and write what the Lord saith, that the Son of God shall in the last day tear up by the roots the whole house of Amalek." 10. See again Jesus, not as son of man, but as Son of God, but manifested in a type in the flesh. Since therefore they are going to say that the Christ is David's son, David himself prophesies, fearing and understanding the error of the sinners, "The Lord said to my Lord sit thou on my right hand until I make thy enemies thy footstool." 11. And again Isaiah speaks thus, "The Lord said to Christ my Lord, whose right hand I held, that the nations should obey before him, and I will shatter the strength of Kings." See how "David calls him Lord" and does not say Son.

XIII

1. Now let us see whether this people or the former people is the heir, and whether the covenant is for us or for them. 2. Hear then what the Scripture says concerning the people: "And Isaac prayed concerning Rebecca his wife, because she was barren, and she conceived. Then Rebecca went forth to enquire of the Lord and the Lord said to her: two nations are in thy womb, and two peoples in thy belly, and one people shall

Jews and
Christians
as heirs
of the
covenant

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

- ὑπερέξει λαὸς λαοῦ καὶ ὁ μείζων δουλεύσει τῷ ἐλάσσονι. 3. αἰσθάνεσθαι ὀφείλετε, τίς ὁ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ τίς ἡ Ῥεβέκκα, καὶ ἐπὶ τίνων δέδειχεν, ὅτι μείζων ὁ λαὸς οὗτος ἢ ἐκεῖνος. 4. καὶ ἐν ἄλλῃ προφητείᾳ λέγει φανερώτερον ὁ Ἰακώβ πρὸς Ἰωσήφ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ, λέγων· Ἰδού, οὐκ ἐστέρησέν με κύριος τοῦ προσώπου σου· προσάγαγέ μοι τοὺς υἱούς σου, ἵνα εὐλογήσω αὐτούς. 5. καὶ προσήγαγεν Ἐφραὶμ καὶ Μανασσῆ, τὸν Μανασσῆ θέλων ἵνα εὐλογηθῆ, ὅτι πρεσβύτερος ἦν· ὁ γὰρ Ἰωσήφ προσήγαγεν εἰς τὴν δεξιὰν χεῖρα τοῦ πατρὸς Ἰακώβ. εἶδεν δὲ Ἰακώβ τύπον τῷ πνεύματι τοῦ λαοῦ τοῦ μεταξῦ· καὶ τί λέγει; Καὶ ἐποίησεν Ἰακώβ ἐναλλαγῆ τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπέθηκεν τὴν δεξιὰν ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν Ἐφραὶμ, τοῦ δευτέρου καὶ νεωτέρου, καὶ εὐλόγησεν αὐτόν. καὶ εἶπεν Ἰωσήφ πρὸς Ἰακώβ· Μετάθες σου τὴν δεξιὰν ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν Μανασσῆ, ὅτι πρωτότοκός μου υἱός ἐστιν. καὶ εἶπεν Ἰακώβ πρὸς Ἰωσήφ· Οἶδα, τέκνον, οἶδα· ἀλλ' ὁ μείζων δουλεύσει τῷ ἐλάσσονι, καὶ οὗτος δὲ εὐλογηθήσεται. 6. βλέπετε, ἐπὶ τίνων τέθεικεν, τὸν λαὸν τοῦτον εἶναι πρῶτον καὶ τῆς διαθήκης κληρονόμον. 7. εἰ οὖν ἔτι καὶ διὰ τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ ἐμνήσθη, ἀπέχομεν τὸ τέλειον τῆς γνώσεως ἡμῶν. τί οὖν λέγει τῷ Ἀβραάμ, ὅτε μόνος πιστεύσας ἐτέθη εἰς δικαιοσύνην; Ἰδού, τέθεικά σε, Ἀβραάμ, πατέρα ἔθνων τῶν πιστευόντων δι' ἀκροβυστίας τῷ θεῷ.
- Gen. 48, 11
- Gen. 48, 9
- Gen. 48, 18-19
- Gen. 15, 6
- Gen. 17, 4, 5, cf. Rom. 4 2-13

THE EPISTLE OF BARNABAS, XIII. 2—XIII. 7

overcome a people, and the greater shall serve the less." 3. You ought to understand who is Isaac and who is Rebecca, and of whom he has shown that this people is greater than that people. 4. And in another prophecy Jacob speaks more plainly to Joseph his son, saying, "Behold the Lord hath not deprived me of thy presence; bring me thy sons, that I may bless them." 5. And he brought Ephraim and Manasses, and wished that Manasses should be blessed, because he was the elder; for Joseph brought him to the right hand of his father Jacob. But Jacob saw in the spirit a type of the people of the future. And what does he say? "And Jacob crossed his hands, and placed his right hand on the head of Ephraim, the second and younger son, and blessed him; and Joseph said to Jacob, Change thy right hand on to the head of Manasses, for he is my first-born son. And Jacob said to Joseph, I know it, my child, I know it; but the greater shall serve the less, and this one shall indeed be blessed." 6. See who it is of whom he ordained that this people is the first and heir of the covenant. 7. If then besides this he remembered it also in the case of Abraham, we reach the perfection of our knowledge. What then does he say to Abraham, when he alone was faithful, and it was counted him for righteousness? "Behold I have made thee, Abraham, the father of the Gentiles who believe in God in uncircumcision."

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

XIV

1. *Ναί. ἀλλὰ ἴδωμεν, εἰ ἡ διαθήκη, ἣν ὤμοσεν τοῖς πατράσιν δοῦναι τῷ λαῷ, εἰ δέδωκεν.¹ δέδωκεν· αὐτοὶ δὲ οὐκ ἐγένοντο ἄξιοι λαβεῖν διὰ τὰς ἀμαρτίας αὐτῶν.* 2. λέγει γὰρ ὁ προφήτης·

Exod. 24, 18 *Καὶ ἦν Μωϋσῆς νηστεύων ἐν ὄρει Σινᾶ, τοῦ λαβεῖν τὴν διαθήκην κυρίου πρὸς τὸν λαόν, ἡμέρας τεσ-*

Exod. 31, 18 *σεράκοντα καὶ νύκτας τεσσεράκοντα. καὶ ἔλαβεν Μωϋσῆς παρὰ κυρίου τὰς δύο πλάκας τὰς γεγραμμένας τῷ δακτύλῳ τῆς χειρὸς κυρίου ἐν πνεύματι· καὶ λαβὼν Μωϋσῆς κατέφερεν πρὸς τὸν λαὸν δοῦναι.* 3. καὶ εἶπεν κύριος πρὸς Μωϋσῆν. Μωϋσῆ Μωϋσῆ, κατὰβηθι τὸ τάχος, ὅτι ὁ λαὸς σου, ὃν ἐξήγαγες ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου, ἠνόμησεν. καὶ συνῆκεν Μωϋσῆς, ὅτι ἐποίησαν ἑαυτοῖς πάλιν χωνεύματα, καὶ ἔρριψεν ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν,² καὶ συνετρίβησαν αἱ πλάκες τῆς διαθήκης κυρίου.

Exod. 32, 7-19; Deut. 9, 12-17

4. Μωϋσῆς μὲν ἔλαβεν, αὐτοὶ δὲ οὐκ ἐγένοντο ἄξιοι. πῶς δὲ ἡμεῖς ἐλάβομεν, μάθετε. Μωϋσῆς θεράπων ὢν ἔλαβεν, αὐτὸς δὲ κύριος ἡμῖν ἔδωκεν εἰς λαὸν κληρονομίας, δι' ἡμᾶς ὑπομείνας. 5. ἐφανερῶθη δέ, ἵνα κάκεῖνοι τελειωθῶσιν τοῖς ἀμαρτήμασιν, καὶ ἡμεῖς διὰ τοῦ κληρονομοῦντος διαθήκην κυρίου Ἰησοῦ λάβωμεν, ὃς εἰς τοῦτο ἠτοιμάσθη, ἵνα αὐτὸς φανεί, τὰς ἤδη δεδαπανημένας ἡμῶν καρ-

Tit. 2, 14

¹ εἰ δέδωκεν *NC*, εἰ δέδωκεν ζητῶμεν *C(GL)*; the grammar of the sentence is emended by *G* to ἀλλὰ τὴν διαθήκην, ἣν . . . λαῷ, εἰ δέδωκεν ζητῶμεν.

² χειρῶν *NC*, χειρῶν τὰς πλάκας *GL*.

THE EPISTLE OF BARNABAS, XIV. 1—XIV. 5

XIV

1. So it is. But let us see whether the covenant which he swore to the fathers to give to the people—whether he has given it. He has given it. But they were not worthy to receive it because of their sins. 2. For the Prophet says, "And Moses was fasting on Mount Sinai, to receive the covenant of the Lord for the people, forty days and forty nights. And Moses received from the Lord the two tables, written by the finger of the hand of the Lord in the Spirit"; and Moses took them, and carried them down to give them to the people. 3. And the Lord said to Moses, "Moses, go down quickly, for thy people whom thou didst bring out of the land of Egypt have broken the Law. And Moses perceived that they had made themselves again molten images, and he cast them out of his hands, and the tables of the covenant of the Lord were broken." 4. Moses received it, but they were not worthy. But learn how we received it. Moses received it when he was a servant, but the Lord himself gave it to us, as the people of the inheritance, by suffering for our sakes. 5. And it was made manifest both that the tale of their sins should be completed in their sins, and that we through Jesus, the Lord who inherits the covenant, should receive it, for he was prepared for this purpose, that when he appeared he might redeem from darkness

The
fulfilment
of the
promise to
the Jews

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- δίας τῷ θανάτῳ καὶ παραδεδομένας τῇ τῆς
 πλάνης ἀνομία λυτρωσάμενος ἐκ τοῦ σκότους,
 διάθηται ἐν ἡμῖν διαθήκην λόγῳ. 6. γέγραπται
 γάρ, πῶς αὐτῷ ὁ πατήρ ἐντέλλεται, λυτρωσά-
 μενον ἡμᾶς ἐκ τοῦ σκότους ἐτοιμάσαι ἑαυτῷ λαὸν
 ἅγιον. 7. λέγει οὖν ὁ προφήτης· Ἐγὼ κύριος,
 ὁ θεὸς σου, ἐκάλεσά σε ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ κρατήσω
 τῆς χειρός σου καὶ ἐνισχύσω σε, καὶ ἔδωκά σε
 εἰς διαθήκην γένους, εἰς φῶς ἐθνῶν ἀνοῖξαι
 ὀφθαλμοὺς τυφλῶν καὶ ἐξαγαγεῖν ἐκ δεσμῶν
 πεπεδημένους καὶ ἐξ οἴκου φυλακῆς καθημένους
 ἐν σκότει. γινώσκομεν οὖν, πόθεν ἐλυτρώθημεν.
 8. πάλιν ὁ προφήτης λέγει· Ἴδού, τέθεικά σε εἰς
 φῶς ἐθνῶν, τοῦ εἶναί σε εἰς σωτηρίαν ἕως ἐσχάτου
 τῆς γῆς, οὕτως λέγει κύριος ὁ λυτρωσάμενός σε θεός.
 9. καὶ πάλιν ὁ προφήτης λέγει· Πνεῦμα κυρίου
 ἐπ' ἐμέ, οὐ εἴνεκεν ἔχρισέν με εὐαγγελίσασθαι
 ταπεινοῖς χάριν,¹ ἀπέσταλκέν με ἰάσασθαι τοὺς
 συντετριμμένους τὴν καρδίαν, κηρύξαι αἰχμαλώ-
 τοις ἀφ᾿ ἑσῶν καὶ τυφλοῖς ἀνάβλεψιν, καλέσαι
 ἐνιαυτὸν κυρίου δεκτὸν καὶ ἡμέραν ἀνταποδόσεως,
 παρακαλέσαι πάντας τοὺς πενθοῦντας.

Is. 42, 6. 7

Is. 49, 6. 7

Is. 61, 1. 2,
cf. Luke, 4,
17. 19

XV

1. Ἐτι οὖν καὶ περὶ τοῦ σαββάτου γέγραπται
 ἐν τοῖς δέκα λόγοις, ἐν οἷς ἐλάλησεν ἐν τῷ ὄρει
 Σινᾶ πρὸς Μωϋσῆν κατὰ πρόσωπον· Καὶ ἀγιά-
 σατε τὸ σάββατον κυρίου χερσὶν καθααῖς καὶ
 καρδίᾳ καθαρᾷ. 2. καὶ ἐν ἐτέρῳ λέγει· Ἐὰν

Exod. 20, 8;
Deut. 5, 12,
cf. Ps. 28, 4

¹ ταπεινοῖς χάριν G, ταπεινοῖς L, πτωχοῖς N (LXX) om. C

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our hearts which were already paid over to death, and given over to the iniquity of error, and by his word might make a covenant with us. 6. For it is written that the Father enjoins on him that he should redeem us from darkness and prepare a holy people for himself. 7. The Prophet therefore says, "I the Lord thy God did call thee in righteousness, and I will hold thy hands, and I will give thee strength, and I have given thee for a covenant of the people, for a light to the Gentiles, to open the eyes of the blind, and to bring forth from their fetters those that are bound and those that sit in darkness out of the prison house." We know then whence we have been redeemed. 8. Again the Prophet says, "Lo, I have made thee a light for the Gentiles, to be for salvation unto the ends of the earth, thus saith the Lord the God who did redeem thee." 9. And again the Prophet saith, "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he anointed me to preach the Gospel of grace to the humble, he sent me to heal the brokenhearted, to proclaim delivery to the captives, and sight to the blind, to announce a year acceptable to the Lord, and a day of recompense, to comfort all who mourn."

XV

1. FURTHERMORE it was written concerning the Sabbath in the ten words which he spake on Mount Sinai face to face to Moses. ^{The Sabbath} "Sanctify also the Sabbath of the Lord with pure hands and a pure heart." 2. And in another place he says, "If my

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Jer. 17. 24, 25,
 cf. Ex. 31,
 13-17
 Gen. 2, 2

φυλάξωσιν οἱ υἱοὶ μου τὸ σάββατον, τότε ἐπιθήσω
 τὸ ἔλεός μου ἐπ' αὐτούς. 3. τὸ σάββατον λέγει
 ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς κτίσεως. Καὶ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς ἐν
 ἕξ ἡμέραις τὰ ἔργα τῶν χειρῶν αὐτοῦ, καὶ συνετέ-
 λεσεν ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἐβδόμῃ καὶ κατέπαυσεν ἐν

Gen. 2, 2

αὐτῇ καὶ ἡγίασεν αὐτήν. 4. προσέχετε, τέκνα, τί
 λέγει τὸ συνετέλεσεν ἐν ἕξ ἡμέραις. τοῦτο λέγει,
 ὅτι ἐν ἑξακισχιλίοις ἔτεσιν συντελέσει κύριος

Ps. 90, 4;
 II Pet. 3, 8

τὰ σύμπαντα· ἡ γὰρ ἡμέρα παρ' αὐτῷ σημαίνει
 χίλια ἔτη. αὐτὸς δέ μοι μαρτυρεῖ λέγων· Ἴδού,
 ἡμέρα κυρίου ἔσται ὡς χίλια ἔτη. οὐκοῦν, τέκνα,
 ἐν ἕξ ἡμέραις, ἐν τοῖς ἑξακισχιλίοις ἔτεσιν συντε-

Gen. 2, 2

λεσθήσεται τὰ σύμπαντα. 5. Καὶ κατέπαυσεν
 τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἐβδόμῃ. τοῦτο λέγει· ὅταν ἐλθῶν
 ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ καταργήσῃ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦ ἀνόμου
 καὶ κρινεῖ τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς καὶ ἀλλάξῃ τὸν ἥλιον
 καὶ τὴν σελήνην καὶ τοὺς ἀστέρας, τότε καλῶς

Ex. 20, 8

καταπαύσεται ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἐβδόμῃ. 6. πέρασ
 γέ τοι λέγει· Ἀγιάσεις αὐτὴν χερσὶν καθααῖς
 καὶ καρδία καθαρά. εἰ οὖν ἦν ὁ θεὸς ἡμέραν
 ἡγίασεν νῦν τις δύναται ἀγιάσαι καθαρὸς ὢν τῇ
 καρδίᾳ, ἐν πᾶσιν πεπλανήμεθα. 7. Ἴδε ὅτι ἄρα
 τότε καλῶς καταπανόμενοι ἀγιάσομεν αὐτήν, ὅτε
 δυνησόμεθα αὐτοὶ δικαιωθέντες καὶ ἀπολαβόντες
 τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν, μηκέτι οὔσης τῆς ἀνομίας, καινῶν
 δὲ γεγονότων πάντων ὑπὸ κυρίου· τότε δυνησό-
 μεθα αὐτὴν ἀγιάσαι, αὐτοὶ ἀγιασθέντες πρῶτον.

Is. 1, 18

8. πέρασ γέ τοι λέγει αὐτοῖς· Τὰς νεομηνίας ὑμῶν
 καὶ τὰ σάββατα οὐκ ἀνέχομαι. ὁρᾶτε, πῶς λέγει;
 οὐ τὰ νῦν σάββατα ἐμοὶ δεκτά, ἀλλὰ ὁ πεποίηκα,
 ἐν ᾧ καταπαύσας τὰ πάντα ἀρχὴν ἡμέρας ὀγδόης

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sons keep the Sabbath, then will I bestow my mercy upon them." 3. He speaks of the Sabbath at the beginning of the Creation, "And God made in six days the works of his hands and on the seventh day he made an end, and rested in it and sanctified it." 4. Notice, children, what is the meaning of "He made an end in six days"? He means this: that the Lord will make an end of everything in six thousand years, for a day with him means a thousand years. And he himself is my witness when he says, "Lo, the day of the Lord shall be as a thousand years." So then, children, in six days, that is in six thousand years, everything will be completed. 5. "And he rested on the seventh day." This means, when his Son comes he will destroy the time of the wicked one, and will judge the godless, and will change the sun and the moon and the stars, and then he will truly rest on the seventh day. 6. Furthermore he says, "Thou shalt sanctify it with clean hands and a pure heart." If, then, anyone has at present the power to keep holy the day which God made holy, by being pure in heart, we are altogether deceived. 7. See that we shall indeed keep it holy at that time, when we enjoy true rest, when we shall be able to do so because we have been made righteous ourselves and have received the promise, when there is no more sin, but all things have been made new by the Lord: then we shall be able to keep it holy because we ourselves have first been made holy. 8. Furthermore he says to them, "Your new moons and the sabbaths I cannot away with." Do you see what he means? The present sabbaths are not acceptable to me, but that which I have made, in which I will give rest to all things and make the beginning of an

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ποιήσω, ὃ ἐστὶν ἄλλου κόσμου ἀρχήν. 9. διὸ καὶ ἄγομεν τὴν ἡμέραν τὴν ὀγδόην εἰς εὐφροσύνην, ἐν ἣ καὶ ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἀνέστη ἐκ νεκρῶν καὶ φανερωθεὶς ἀνέβη εἰς οὐρανοῦς.

XVI

1. Ἐπι δὲ καὶ περὶ τοῦ ναοῦ ἐρῶ ὑμῖν, ὡς πλανώμενοι οἱ ταλαίπωροι εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν ἤλπισαν, καὶ οὐκ ἐπὶ τὸν θεὸν αὐτῶν τὸν ποιήσαντα αὐτούς, ὡς ὄντα οἶκον θεοῦ. 2. σχεδὸν γὰρ ὡς τὰ ἔθνη ἀφίέρωσαν αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ ναῷ. ἀλλὰ πῶς λέγει κύριος καταργῶν αὐτόν, μάθετε· Τίς ἐμέτρησεν τὸν οὐρανὸν σπιθαμῇ ἢ τὴν γῆν δρακί; οὐκ ἐγώ; λέγει κύριος· Ὁ οὐρανός μοι θρόνος, ἡ δὲ γῆ ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν μου· ποῖον οἶκον οἰκοδομήσατέ μοι, ἢ τίς τόπος τῆς καταπαύσεώς μου; ἐγνώκατε, ὅτι ματαία ἡ ἐλπίς αὐτῶν. 3. πέρασ γέ τοι πάλιν λέγει· Ἴδού, οἱ καθελόντες τὸν ναὸν τούτον αὐτοὶ αὐτὸν οἰκοδομήσουσιν. 4. γίνεται διὰ γὰρ τὸ πολεμεῖν αὐτοὺς καθηρέθη ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν νῦν καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὑπηρέται ἀνοικοδομήσουσιν αὐτόν. 5. πάλιν ὡς ἔμελλεν ἡ πόλις καὶ ὁ ναὸς καὶ ὁ λαὸς Ἰσραὴλ παραδίδοσθαι, ἐφανερώθη. λέγει γὰρ ἡ γραφή· Καὶ ἔσται ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν, καὶ παραδώσει κύριος τὰ πρόβατα τῆς νομῆς καὶ τὴν μάνδραν καὶ τὸν πύργον αὐτῶν εἰς καταφθοράν. καὶ ἐγένετο καθ' ἃ ἐλάλησεν κύριος. 6. ζητήσωμεν δέ, εἰ ἔστιν ναὸς θεοῦ. ἔστιν, ὅπου αὐτὸς λέγει ποιεῖν καὶ καταρτίζειν. γέγραπται γάρ· Καὶ

Ia. 40, 12

Is. 66, 1

Ia. 49, 17

Ezech 89,
55. 66. 67

Dan. 9,
24-27†

THE EPISTLE OF BARNABAS, xv. 8-xvi. 6

eighth day, that is the beginning of another world. 9. Wherefore we also celebrate with gladness the eighth day in which Jesus also rose from the dead, and was made manifest, and ascended into Heaven.

XVI

1. I WILL also speak with you concerning the The Temple Temple, and show how the wretched men erred by putting their hope on the building, and not on the God who made them, and is the true house of God. 2. For they consecrated him in the Temple almost like the heathen. But learn how the Lord speaks, in bringing it to naught, "Who has measured the heaven with a span, or the earth with his outstretched hand? Have not I? saith the Lord. Heaven is my throne, and the earth is my footstool, what house will ye build for me, or what is the place of my rest?" You know that their hope was vain. 3. Furthermore he says again, "Lo, they who destroyed this temple shall themselves build it." 4. That is happening now. For owing to the war it was destroyed by the enemy; at present even the servants of the enemy will build it up again. 5. Again, it was made manifest that the city and the temple and the people of Israel were to be delivered up. For the Scripture says, "And it shall come to pass in the last days that the Lord shall deliver the sheep of his pasture, and the sheep-fold, and their tower to destruction." And it took place according to what the Lord said. 6. But let us inquire if a temple of God exists. Yes, it exists, where he himself said that he makes and perfects it. For it is written, "And it shall come to

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ἔσται, τῆς ἑβδομάδος συντελουμένης οἰκοδομηθήσεται ναὸς θεοῦ ἐνδόξως ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι κυρίου. 7. εὐρίσκω οὖν, ὅτι ἔστιν ναός. πῶς οὖν οἰκοδομηθήσεται ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι κυρίου, μάθετε. πρὸ τοῦ ἡμᾶς πιστεῦσαι τῷ θεῷ ἦν ἡμῶν τὸ κατοικητήριον τῆς καρδίας φθαρτὸν καὶ ἀσθενές, ὡς ἀληθῶς οἰκοδομητὸς ναὸς διὰ χειρός, ὅτι ἦν πλήρης μὲν εἰδωλολατρίας καὶ ἦν οἶκος δαιμονίων διὰ τὸ ποιεῖν, ὅσα ἦν ἐναντία τῷ θεῷ. 8. Οἰκοδομηθήσεται δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι κυρίου. προσέχετε δέ, ἵνα ὁ ναὸς τοῦ κυρίου ἐνδόξως οἰκοδομηθῇ. πῶς, μάθετε. λαβόντες τὴν ἄφεσιν τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν καὶ ἐλπίσαντες ἐπὶ τὸ ὄνομα ἐγενόμεθα καινοί, πάλιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς κτιζόμενοι· διὸ ἐν τῷ κατοικητηρίῳ ἡμῶν ἀληθῶς ὁ θεὸς κατοικεῖ ἐν ἡμῖν. 9. πῶς; ὁ λόγος αὐτοῦ τῆς πίστεως, ἡ κλήσις αὐτοῦ τῆς ἐπαγγελίας, ἡ σοφία τῶν δικαιωμάτων, αἱ ἐντολαὶ τῆς διδαχῆς, αὐτὸς ἐν ἡμῖν προφητεύων, αὐτὸς ἐν ἡμῖν κατοικῶν, τοὺς τῷ θανάτῳ δεδουλωμένους¹ ἀνοίγων ἡμῖν τὴν θύραν τοῦ ναοῦ, ὃ ἔστιν στόμα, μετάνοιαν διδοὺς ἡμῖν, εἰσάγει εἰς τὸν ἀφθαρτον ναόν. 10. ὁ γὰρ ποθῶν σωθῆναι βλέπει οὐκ εἰς τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλ' εἰς τὸν ἐν αὐτῷ κατοικοῦντα καὶ λαλοῦντα, ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐκπλησσύμενος, ἐπὶ τῷ μηδέποτε μήτε τοῦ λέγοντος τὰ ῥήματα ἀκηκοέναι ἐκ τοῦ στόματος μήτε αὐτὸς ποτε ἐπιτεθυμηκέναι ἀκούειν. τοῦτό ἐστιν πνευματικὸς ναὸς οἰκοδομούμενος τῷ κυρίῳ.

¹ τοὺς . . . δεδουλωμένους CGL, τοῖς δεδουλωμένοις N (probably a correction of the unexpected accusative).

THE EPISTLE OF BARNABAS, xvi. 6-xvi. 10

pass when the week is ended that a temple of God shall be built gloriously in the name of the Lord."

7. I find then that a temple exists. Learn then how it will be built in the name of the Lord.

Before we believed in God the habitation of our heart was corrupt and weak, like a temple really built with hands, because it was full of idolatry, and was the house of demons through doing things which were contrary to God. 8. "But it shall be

built in the name of the Lord." Now give heed, in order that the temple of the Lord may be built gloriously. Learn in what way. When we received

the remission of sins, and put our hope on the Name, we became new, being created again from the beginning; wherefore God truly dwells in us, in the habitation which we are. 9. How?

His word of faith, the calling of his promise, the wisdom of the ordinances, the commands of the teaching, himself prophesying in us, himself dwelling in us, by opening the door of the temple (that is the mouth) to us, giving repentance to us, and thus he leads us, who have been enslaved to death into the incorruptible temple. 10. For he who

desires to be saved looks not at the man, but at him who dwells and speaks in him, and is amazed at him, for he has never either heard him speak such words with his mouth, nor has he himself ever desired to hear them. This is a spiritual temple being built for the Lord.

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XVII

1. Ἐφ' ὅσον ἦν ἐν δυνατῷ καὶ ἀπλότῃ δηλῶσαι ὑμῖν, ἐλπίζει μου ἡ ψυχὴ τῇ ἐπιθυμίᾳ μου μὴ παραλελοιπέναι¹ τι τῶν ἀνηκόντων εἰς σωτηρίαν.
2. εἰ γὰρ περὶ τῶν ἐνεστώτων ἢ μελλόντων γράφω ὑμῖν, οὐ μὴ νοήσητε διὰ τὸ ἐν παραβολαῖς κείσθαι. ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως.²

XVIII

1. Μεταβῶμεν δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ ἑτέραν γνώσιν καὶ διδαχὴν. Ὅδοι δύο εἰσὶν διδαχῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας, ἡ τε τοῦ φωτός καὶ ἡ τοῦ σκότους. διαφορὰ δὲ πολλὴ τῶν δύο ὁδῶν. ἐφ' ἧς μὲν γὰρ εἰσὶν τεταγμένοι φωταγωγοὶ ἄγγελοι τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐφ' ἧς δὲ ἄγγελοι τοῦ σατανᾶ. 2. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐστὶν κύριος ἀπὸ αἰῶνων καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, ὁ δὲ ἄρχων καιροῦ τοῦ νῦν τῆς ἀνομίας.

XIX

1. Ἡ οὖν ὁδὸς τοῦ φωτός ἐστὶν αὕτη· εἰάν τις θέλων ὁδὸν ὀδεύειν ἐπὶ τὸν ὠρισμένον τόπον, σπεύσῃ τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῦ. ἔστιν οὖν ἡ δοθεῖσα ἡμῖν γνώσις τοῦ περιπατεῖν ἐν αὐτῇ τοιαύτη. 2. ἀγαπήσεις τὸν ποιήσαντά σε, φοβηθήσῃ τὸν σε πλά-

¹ τῇ ἐπιθυμίᾳ μου μὴ παραλελοιπέναι τι τῶν ἀνηκόντων εἰς σωτηρίαν N^{OG}, μὴ παραλελοιπέναι τι N^{*C}.

² With the addition of the doxology the Latin version comes here to an end.

THE EPISTLE OF BARNABAS, xvii. 1—xix. 2

xvii

1. So far as possibility and simplicity allow an Summary explanation to be given to you my soul hopes that none of the things which are necessary for salvation have been omitted, according to my desire. 2. For if I write to you concerning things present or things to come, you will not understand because they are hid in parables. This then suffices.

xviii

1. Now¹ let us pass on to another lesson and The two
Ways teaching. There are two Ways of teaching and power, one of Light and one of Darkness. And there is a great difference between the two Ways. For over the one are set light-bringing angels of God, but over the other angels of Satan. 2. And the one is Lord from eternity and to eternity, and the other is the ruler of the present time of iniquity.

xix

1. THE Way of Light is this: if any man desire The Way
of Light to journey to the appointed place, let him be zealous in his works. Therefore the knowledge given to us of this kind that we may walk in it is as follows:—
2. Thou shalt love thy maker, thou shalt fear

¹ Here begins the section taken from the "Two Ways," cf. p. 309.

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σαντα, δοξάσεις τόν σε λυτρωσάμενον ἐκ θανάτου· ἔση ἀπλοῦς τῇ καρδίᾳ καὶ πλούσιος τῷ πνεύματι· οὐ κολληθήσῃ μετὰ τῶν πορευομένων ἐν ὁδῷ θανάτου, μισήσεις πᾶν, ὃ οὐκ ἔστιν ἀρεστὸν τῷ θεῷ, μισήσεις πᾶσαν ὑπόκρισιν· οὐ μὴ ἐγκαταλίπῃς ἐντολὰς κυρίου. 3. οὐχ ὑψώσεις σεαυτὸν, ἔση δὲ ταπεινόφρων κατὰ πάντα· οὐκ ἀρεῖς ἐπὶ σεαυτὸν δόξαν. οὐ λήμψῃ βουλήν πονηρὰν κατὰ τοῦ πλησίον σου, οὐ δώσεις τῇ ψυχῇ σου θράσος. 4. οὐ πορνεύσεις, οὐ μοιχεύσεις, οὐ παιδοφθορήσεις. οὐ μὴ σου ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ ἐξέλθῃ ἐν ἀκαθαρσίᾳ τινῶν. οὐ λήμψῃ πρόσωπον ἐλέγξει τινα ἐπὶ παραπτώματι. ἔση πραῦς, ἔση ἡσύχιος, ἔση τρέμων τοὺς λόγους οὓς ἤκουσας. οὐ μνησικακήσεις τῷ ἀδελφῷ σου. 5. οὐ μὴ διψυχήσης, πότερον ἔσται ἢ οὐ. οὐ μὴ λάβῃς ἐπὶ ματαίῳ τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου. ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὑπὲρ τὴν ψυχὴν σου. οὐ φονεύσεις τέκνον ἐν φθορᾷ, οὐδὲ πάλιν γεννηθὲν ἀποκτενεῖς. οὐ μὴ ἄρῃς τὴν χεῖρά σου ἀπὸ τοῦ υἱοῦ σου ἢ ἀπὸ τῆς θυγατρὸς σου, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ νεότητος διδάξεις φόβον θεοῦ. 6. οὐ μὴ γένη ἐπιθυμῶν τὰ τοῦ πλησίον σου, οὐ μὴ γένη πλεονέκτης. οὐδὲ κολληθήσῃ ἐκ ψυχῆς σου μετὰ ὑψηλῶν, ἀλλὰ μετὰ ταπεινῶν καὶ δικαίων ἀναστραφήσῃ. τὰ συμβαίνοντά σοι ἐνεργήματα ὡς ἀγαθὰ προσδέξῃ, εἰδώς, ὅτι ἄνευ θεοῦ οὐδὲν γίνεταί. 7. οὐκ ἔση διγνώμων οὐδὲ γλωσσώδης,¹

Deut. 5, 11

¹ γλωσσώδης N, δίγλωσσος CG; G also adds παγίς γὰρ θανάτου ἐστὶν ἡ δίγλωσσία (from *Apost. Const.*) "for to be double-tongued is the snare of death."

THE EPISTLE OF BARNABAS, XIX. 2-XIX. 7

thy Creator, thou shalt glorify Him who redeemed thee from death, thou shalt be simple in heart, and rich in spirit; thou shalt not join thyself to those who walk in the way of death, thou shalt hate all that is not pleasing to God, thou shalt hate all hypocrisy; thou shalt not desert the commandments of the Lord. 3. Thou shalt not exalt thyself, but shall be humble-minded in all things; thou shalt not take glory to thyself. Thou shalt form no evil plan against thy neighbour, thou shalt not let thy soul be froward. 4. Thou shalt not commit fornication, thou shalt not commit adultery, thou shalt not commit sodomy. Thou shalt not let the word of God depart from thee among the impurity of any men. Thou shalt not respect persons in the reproof of transgression. Thou shalt be meek, thou shalt be quiet, thou shalt fear the words which thou hast heard. Thou shalt not bear malice against thy brother. 5. Thou shalt not be in two minds whether it shall be or not. "Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord in vain." Thou shalt love thy neighbour more than thy own life. Thou shalt not procure abortion, thou shalt not commit infanticide. Thou shalt not withhold thy hand from thy son or from thy daughter, but shalt teach them the fear of God from their youth up. 6. Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's goods, thou shalt not be avaricious. Thou shalt not be joined in soul with the haughty but shalt converse with humble and righteous men. Thou shalt receive the trials that befall thee as good, knowing that nothing happens without God. 7. Thou shalt not be double-minded or talkative. Thou

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ὑποταγήσῃ κυρίοις ὡς τύπῳ θεοῦ ἐν αἰσχύνη καὶ φόβῳ· οὐ μὴ ἐπιτάξῃς δούλῳ σου ἢ παιδίσκῃ ἐν πικρία, τοῖς ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτὸν θεὸν ἐλπίζουσιν, μὴ ποτε οὐ μὴ φοβηθήσονται τὸν ἐπ' ἀμφοτέροις θεόν· ὅτι οὐκ ἦλθεν κατὰ πρόσωπὸν καλέσαι, ἀλλ' ἐφ' οὓς τὸ πνεῦμα ἠτοίμασεν. 8. κοινωνήσεις ἐν πᾶσιν τῷ πλησίον σου καὶ οὐκ ἐρεῖς ἴδια εἶναι· εἰ γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἀφθάρτῳ κοιωνοὶ ἐστε, πῶσῳ μᾶλλον ἐν τοῖς φθαρτοῖς; οὐκ ἔση πρόγλωσσος· παγὶς γὰρ τὸ στόμα θανάτου. ὅσον δύνασαι, ὑπὲρ τῆς ψυχῆς σου ἀγνεύσεις. 9. μὴ γίνου πρὸς μὲν τὸ λαβεῖν ἐκτείνων τὰς χεῖρας, πρὸς δὲ τὸ δοῦναι συσπῶν. ἀγαπήσεις ὡς κόρην τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ σου πάντα τὸν λαλοῦντά σοι τὸν λόγον κυρίου. 10. μνησθήσῃ ἡμέραν κρίσεως νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας, καὶ ἐκζητήσεις καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν τὰ πρόσωπα τῶν ἁγίων, ἢ διὰ λόγου κοπιῶν καὶ παρευόμενος εἰς τὸ παρακαλέσαι καὶ μελετῶν εἰς τὸ σῶσαι ψυχὴν τῷ λόγῳ, ἢ διὰ τῶν χειρῶν σου ἐργάσῃ εἰς λύτρωσιν ἁμαρτιῶν σου. 11. οὐ διστάσεις δοῦναι οὐδὲ διδοὺς γογγύσεις· γνώση δέ, τίς ὁ τοῦ μισθοῦ καλὸς ἀνταποδότης. φυλάξεις ἅ παρέλαβες, μήτε προστιθεῖς μήτε ἀφαιρῶν. εἰς τέλος μισήσεις τὸ πονηρὸν. κρινεῖς δικαίως. 12. οὐ ποιήσεις σχίσμα, εἰρηνεύσεις δὲ μαχομένους συναγαγών. ἐξομολογήσῃ ἐπὶ ἁμαρτίαις σου. οὐ προσήξεις ἐπὶ προσευχῇ ἐν συνειδήσει πονηρῇ. αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ ἁδὸς τοῦ φωτός.

Deut. 32, 10;
 Ps. 17, 8,
 Prov. 7, 2

Deut. 12, 32

Deut. 1, 16;
 Prov. 31, 9

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shalt obey thy masters as a type of God in modesty and fear ; thou shalt not command in bitterness thy slave or handmaid who hope on the same God, lest they cease to fear the God who is over you both ; for he came not to call men with respect of persons, but those whom the Spirit prepared. 8. Thou shalt share all things with thy neighbour and shall not say that they are thy own property ; for if you are sharers in that which is incorruptible, how much more in that which is corruptible ? Thou shalt not be forward to speak, for the mouth is a snare of death. So far as thou canst, thou shalt keep thy soul pure. 9. Be not one who stretches out the hands to take, and shuts them when it comes to giving. Thou shalt love "as the apple of thine eye" all who speak to thee the word of the Lord. 10. Thou shalt remember the day of judgment day and night, and thou shalt seek each day the society of the saints, either labouring by speech, and going out to exhort, and striving to save souls by the word, or working with thine hands for the ransom of thy sins. 11. Thou shalt not hesitate to give, and when thou givest thou shalt not grumble, but thou shalt know who is the good paymaster of the reward. "Thou shalt keep the precepts" which thou hast received, "adding nothing and taking nothing away." Thou shalt utterly hate evil. "Thou shalt give righteous judgment." 12. Thou shalt not cause quarrels, but shalt bring together and reconcile those that strive. Thou shalt confess thy sins. Thou shalt not betake thyself to prayer with an evil conscience. This is the Way of Light.

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XX

1. Ἡ δὲ τοῦ μέλανος ὁδὸς ἐστὶν σκολιὰ καὶ κατάρως μεστή. ὁδὸς γάρ ἐστιν θανάτου αἰωνίου μετὰ τιμωρίας, ἐν ᾗ ἐστὶν τὰ ἀπολλύντα τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτῶν· εἰδωλολατρεία, θρασύτης, ὕψος δυνάμεως, ὑπόκρισις, διπλοκαρδία, μοιχεία, φόνος, ἀρπαγὴ, ὑπερηφανία, παράβασις, δόλος, κακία, αὐθάδεια, φαρμακεία, μαγεία, πλεονεξία, ἀφοβία θεοῦ· 2. διώκται τῶν ἀγαθῶν, μισοῦντες ἀλήθειαν, ἀγαπῶντες ψεῦδος, οὐ γινώσκοντες μισθὸν δικαιοσύνης, οὐ κολλώμενοι ἀγαθῷ, οὐ κρίσει δικαίᾳ, χήρᾳ καὶ ὀρφανῷ οὐ προσέχοντες, ἀγρυπνοῦντες οὐκ εἰς φόβον θεοῦ, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸ πονηρὸν, ὧν μακρὰν καὶ πόρρω πρᾶπτης καὶ ὑπομονή, ἀγαπῶντες μάταια, διώκοντες ἀνταπόδομα, οὐκ ἐλεῶντες πτωχόν, οὐ ποιοῦντες ἐπὶ καταπονουμένῳ, εὐχερεῖς ἐν καταλαλιᾷ, οὐ γινώσκοντες τὸν ποιήσαντα αὐτούς, φονεῖς τέκνων, φθορεῖς πλάσματος θεοῦ, ἀποστρεφόμενοι τὸν ἐνδεόμενον, καταπονοῦντες τὸν θλιβόμενον, πλουσίων παράκλητοι, πενήτων ἄνομοι κριταί, πανθαμάρτητοι.

Rom. 12, 9

Ps. 4, 2

Is. 1, 23

XXI

1. Καλὸν οὖν ἐστὶν μαθόντα τὰ δικαιώματα τοῦ κυρίου, ὅσα γέγραπται, ἐν τούτοις περιπατεῖν. ὁ γὰρ ταῦτα ποιῶν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ δοξασθήσεται· ὁ ἐκεῖνα ἐκλεγόμενος μετὰ τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ συναπολείται. διὰ τοῦτο ἀνάστασις,

XX

1. But the Way of the Black One is crooked and full of cursing, for it is the way of death eternal with punishment, and in it are the things that destroy their soul: idolatry, frowardness, arrogance of power, hypocrisy, double-heartedness, adultery, murder, robbery, pride, transgression, fraud, malice, self-sufficiency, enchantments, magic, covetousness, the lack of the fear of God; 2. persecutors of the good, haters of the truth, lovers of lies, knowing not the reward of righteousness, who "cleave not to the good," nor to righteous judgment, who attend not to the cause of the widow and orphan, spending wakeful nights not in the fear of God, but in the pursuit of vice, from whom meekness and patience are far and distant, "loving vanity, seeking rewards," without pity for the poor, working not for him who is oppressed with toil, prone to evil speaking, without knowledge of their Maker, murderers of children, corrupters of God's creation, turning away the needy, oppressing the afflicted, advocates of the rich, unjust judges of the poor, altogether sinful.

The Way of
Darkness

XXI

1. It is good therefore that he who has learned the ordinances of the Lord as many as have been written should walk in them. For he who does these things shall be glorified in the kingdom of God, and he who chooses the others shall perish with his works. For this reason there is a resurrec-

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exhortation

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

16. 40, 10

διὰ τοῦτο ἀνταπόδομα. 2. ἐρωτῶ τοὺς ὑπερέχοντας, εἴ τινά μου γνώμης ἀγαθῆς λαμβάνετε συμβουλίαν· ἔχετε μεθ' ἑαυτῶν εἰς οὓς ἐργάσησθε τὸ καλόν· μὴ ἐλλείπητε. 3. ἐγγὺς ἡ ἡμέρα ἐν ἣ συναπολείται πάντα τῷ πονηρῷ· ἐγγὺς ὁ κύριος καὶ ὁ μισθὸς αὐτοῦ. 4. ἔτι καὶ ἔτι ἐρωτῶ ὑμᾶς· ἑαυτῶν γίνεσθε νομοθέται ἀγαθοί, ἑαυτῶν μένετε σύμβουλοι πιστοί, ἄρατε ἐξ ὑμῶν πᾶσαν ὑπόκρισιν. 5. ὁ δὲ θεός, ὁ τοῦ παντὸς κόσμου κυριεύων, δώη ὑμῖν σοφίαν, σύνεσιν, ἐπιστήμην, γνώσιν τῶν δικαιωμάτων αὐτοῦ, ὑπομονήν. 6. γίνεσθε δὲ θεοδίδακτοι, ἐκζητοῦντες τί ζητεῖ κύριος ἀφ' ὑμῶν, καὶ ποιεῖτε ἵνα εὐρεθῆτε ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κρίσεως. 7. εἰ δὲ τίς ἐστὶν ἀγαθοῦ μνεῖα, μνημονεύετε μου μελετῶντες ταῦτα, ἵνα καὶ ἡ ἐπιθυμία καὶ ἡ ἀγρυπνία εἰς τι ἀγαθὸν χωρήσῃ. ἐρωτῶ ὑμᾶς, χάριν αἰτούμενος. 8. ἕως ἔτι τὸ καλὸν σκευὸς ἐστὶν μεθ' ὑμῶν, μὴ ἐλλείπητε μηδενὶ ἑαυτῶν,¹ ἀλλὰ συνεχῶς ἐκζητεῖτε ταῦτα καὶ ἀναπληροῦτε πᾶσαν ἐντολήν· ἔστιν γὰρ ἄξια. 9. διὸ μᾶλλον ἐσπούδασα γράψαι ἀφ' ὧν ἠδυνήθην, εἰς τὸ εὐφρᾶναι ὑμᾶς. σώζεσθε, ἀγάπης τέκνα καὶ εἰρήνης. ὁ κύριος τῆς δόξης καὶ πάσης χάριτος μετὰ τοῦ πνεύματος ὑμῶν.

Ἐπιστολὴ Βαρνάβα.

¹ αὐτῶν GL, ἑαυτῶν NC.

THE EPISTLE OF BARNABAS, XXI. 1-XXI. 9

tion, for this reason there is a recompense. 2. I beseech those who are in high positions, if you will receive any counsel of my goodwill, have among yourselves those to whom you may do good; fail not. 3. The day is at hand when all things shall perish with the Evil one; "The Lord and his reward is at hand." 4. I beseech you again and again be good lawgivers to each other, remain faithful counsellors of each other, remove from yourselves all hypocrisy. 5. Now may God, who is the Lord over all the world, give you wisdom, understanding, prudence, knowledge of his ordinances, patience. 6. And be taught of God, seeking out what the Lord requires from you, and see that ye be found faithful in the day of Judgment. 7. If there is any memory of good, meditate on these things and remember me, that my desire and my watchfulness may find some good end. I beseech you asking it of your favour. 8. While the fair vessel¹ is with you fail not in any of them, but seek these things diligently, and fulfil every commandment; for these things are worthy. 9. Wherefore I was the more zealous to write to you of my ability, to give you gladness. May you gain salvation, children of love and peace. The Lord of glory and of all grace be with your spirit.

The Epistle of Barnabas.

¹ *i.e.* while you are in the body.

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