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THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
KIRSOOP 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
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, 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
I. CLEMENT

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 Maredsolanæ* 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 altkoptischer 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 Alexandrinanus and in the Strassburg
I. CLEMENT

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:—

\[\begin{align*}
\Lambda &= \text{Codex Alexandrinus.} \\
\text{C} &= \text{Codex Constantinopolitanus.} \\
\text{L} &= \text{Latin Version.} \\
\text{S} &= \text{Syriac Version.} \\
\text{K} &= \text{Coptic Version (}K_b\text{ = the Berlin MS., }K_s\text{ = the Strassburg MS.).} \\
\text{Clem} &= \text{Clement of Alexandria.}
\end{align*}\]
ΚΛΗΜΕΝΤΟΣ
ΠΡΟΣ ΚΟΡΙΝΘΙΟΥΣ Ἅ

Ἡ ἐκκλησία τοῦ θεοῦ ἡ παροικοῦσα Ἄρμην τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ τῇ παροικούσῃ Κόρινθου, κλητοῖς ἡγιασμένοις ἐν θελήματι θεοῦ διὰ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. χάρις ὑμῶν καὶ εἰρήνη ἀπὸ παντοκράτορος θεοῦ διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ πληθυνθείη.

I

1. Διὰ τὰς αἰφνιδίους καὶ ἐπαλλήλους γενομένας ἡμῶν συμφορὰς καὶ περιπτώσεις, ῥβάδιον νομίζομεν ἐπιστροφήν πεποιηθηθαί περὶ τῶν ἐπιξητουμένων παρ’ ὑμῖν πραγμάτων, ἀγαπητοί, τῆς τε ἀλλοτρίας καὶ ξένης τοῖς ἐκλεκτοῖς τοῦ θεοῦ, μιαρᾶς καὶ ἄνοσίου στάσεως ἢν ὀλίγα πρόσωπα προπετῇ καὶ αὐθάδῃ ὑπάρχοντα εἰς τοσοῦτον ἀπονοίας ἐξέκασταν, ὡστε τὸ σεμνὸν καὶ περιβότον καὶ πᾶσιν ἄθρωποις ἀξιαγάπητον ὄνομα ὑμῶν μεγάλος βλασφημηθῆναι. 2. τὸς γὰρ παρεπιδημῆς πρὸς υμᾶς τὴν πανάρετον καὶ βεβαιαν ὑμῶν πίστιν οὐκ ἔδοκιμας; τὴν τε σώφρονα καὶ ἐπιεικὴ ἐν Χριστῷ εὐσέβειαν οὐκ ἐθαύμασεν; καὶ τὸ μεγαλοπρεπὲς τῆς φιλοξενίας ὑμῶν ἡθος οὐκ ἐκήρυξεν; καὶ τὴν τελείαν καὶ ἀσφαλή γνώσιν

1 C reads περιπτάσεις which L perhaps represents by impedimenta, and Knopf accepts this.
THE FIRST EPISTLE OF CLEMENT
to the Corinthians

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 misfortunes and calamities\(^1\) 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 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 ἐμακάρισεν; 3. ἀπροσωπολήμπτως γὰρ πάντα ἐποιεῖτε καὶ ἐν τοῖς νομίμωις τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπορεύεσθε, ὑποτασσόμενοι τοῖς ἡγουμένοις ὑμῶν, καὶ τιμὴν τὴν καθήκουσαν ἀπονέμοντες τοῖς παρ' ὑμῖν πρεσβυτέροις· νέοις τε μέτρια καὶ σεμνὰ νοεῖν ἐπετρέπτετε· γυναιξίν τε ἐν ἀμόρῳ καὶ σεμνῇ καὶ ἀγνῇ συνειδήσει πάντα ἐπιτελεῖν παρηγγέλλετε, στεργοῦσας καθήκοντως τοὺς ἄνδρας ἔαυτῶν· ἐν τῷ κανόνι τῆς ὑποταγῆς ὑπαρχοῦσας τὰ κατὰ τὸν οἶκον σεμνῶς οἰκουργεῖν ἐδιδάσκετε, πάνω σωφρονοῦσας.

II

1. Πάντες τε ἐταπεινοφρονεῖτε μηδὲν ἀλαζονεύομενοι, ὑποτασσόμενοι μᾶλλον ἢ ὑποτάσσοντες, ἤδιον διδόντες ἢ λαμβάνοντες. τοῖς ἐφοδίοις τοῦ Χριστοῦ 1 ἀρκοῦμενοι, καὶ προσέχοντες τοὺς λόγους αὐτοῦ ἐπιμελῶς ἐνεστερνισμένοι ἢτε τοῖς σπλάγχνοις, καὶ τὰ παθήματα αὐτοῦ ἢν πρὸ ὡθαλμῶν ὑμῶν. 2. οὕτως εἰρήνη βαθεία καὶ λυπαρὰ ἐδέδωκα πᾶσιν καὶ ἀκόρεστος πόθος εἰς ἀγαθοποιίαν, καὶ πλήρης πνεύματος ἁγίου ἐκχύσεως ἔπει πάντας ἐγίνετο. 3. μεστοί τε ὁσίας βούλησις, ἐν ἀγαθῇ προσθημῇ μετ' εὐσεβείας τετειθήσεως ἐξεταίνετε τὰς χεῖρας ὑμῶν πρὸς τὸν παντοκράτορα θεόν, ἵκετεύοντες αὐτὸν ἱλέων 2 γενέσθαι, εἰ τι ἄκοντες ἠμάρτετε. 4. ἄγιον ἢν ὑμῖν ἡμέρας τε καὶ νυκτὸς ὑπὲρ πάσης τῆς ἀδελφότητος, εἰς τὸ σώζεσθαι μετ'

1 θεοῦ "of God" is read by A.
2 ἱλέων C.
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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εὐλογος¹ καὶ συνειδήσεως² τῶν ἁριθμῶν τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν αὐτοῦ. 5. εἰλικρινείς καὶ ἀκέραιοι ἢτε καὶ ἄμυστο-κακοὶ εἰς ἀλλήλους. 6. πᾶσα στάσις καὶ πᾶν σχέσ-μα βδολυκτῶν ἢν ὑμῶν. ἐπὶ τοῖς παραπτώμασιν τῶν πλησίον ἐπενθείτε· τὰ υστερήματα αὐτῶν ὑδα ἐκρίνετε. 7. ἀμεταμέλητοι ἢτε ἢπὶ πάση ἁγαθο-ποιία, ἐτοιμοὶ εἰς πᾶν ἔργον ἁγαθὸν. 8. τῇ παναρέτῳ καὶ σεβασμῷ πολιτεία κεκοσμημένου πάντα ἐν τῷ φόβῳ αὐτοῦ ἐπενθείτε· τὰ προσ-τάγματα καὶ τὰ δικαιώματα τοῦ κυρίου ἐπὶ τὰ πλάτη τῆς καρδίας ὑμῶν ἐγέραττο.

III

Deut. 82, 15 1. Πᾶσα δόξα καὶ πλατυσμὸς ἔδοθη ὑμῖν, καὶ ἐπετελέσθη τὸ γεγραμμένον. ἷ�φαγεν καὶ ἐπιει, καὶ ἐπλατύνθη, καὶ ἐπαχύνθη, καὶ ἀπελάκτισεν ὁ ἡγαπημένος. 2. ἐκ τούτου ξῆλος καὶ φθόνος, καὶ ἐρίς, καὶ στάσις, διωγμὸς καὶ ἀκαταστασία, πόλεμος καὶ αἰχμαλωσία. 3. οὕτως ἐπηγέρθησαν οἱ ἄτιμοι ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐντίμους, οἱ ἄδοξοι ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐνδοξούς, οἱ ἄφρονες ἐπὶ τοὺς φρονίμους, οἱ νεόι ἐπὶ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους. 4. διὰ τοῦτο πόρρω ἀπεστιν ἡ δικαιοσύνη καὶ εἰρήνη, ἐν τῷ ἀπολυτεῖν ἔκαστον τῶν φόβον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἐν τῇ πίστει αὐτοῦ ἀμβλυσσάησαι, μηδὲ ἐν τοῖς νομίμοις τῶν

¹ δόξος C.
² This must be corrupt: συνειδήσεως is perhaps the best emendation.
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

---

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 πολυτεύεσθαι κατὰ τὸ καθήκον τῷ Χριστῷ, ἀλλὰ ἐκαστὸν βαδίζειν κατὰ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας τῆς καρδίας αὐτοῦ τῆς πονηρᾶς, ζηλοὺς ἀδικοὺς καὶ ἀσεβῆ ἀνειληφότας, δῴ οὖ καὶ θάνατος εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸν κόσμον.

IV

Gen. 4, 3-8
1. Γέγραπται γὰρ οὗτος. Καὶ ἔγενετο μεθ’ ἡμέρας, ἦμερες Καίων ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν τῆς γῆς θυσίαν τῷ θεῷ, καὶ Ἄβελ ἦμερες καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπὸ τῶν πρωτότοκων τῶν προβατῶν καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν στεάτων αὐτῶν. 2. καὶ ἐπείδεθε ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ Ἄβελ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς δόροις αὐτοῦ, ἐπὶ δὲ Καίων καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς θυσίαις αὐτοῦ οὐ προσέχειν. 3. καὶ ἐλυπήθη Καίων λίαν καὶ συνήπεσεν τῷ προσώπῳ αὐτοῦ. 4. καὶ εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς πρὸς Καίων· Ἰνατί περίλυπος ἔγενος, καὶ ἱνατί συνῆπεσέν το πρόσωπόν σου; οὐκ εάν ὅρθως προσευξηκης, ὥρθως δὲ μὴ διέλης, ἡμαρτες; 5. ἤσύχασον πρὸς σὲ ἡ ἀποστροφὴ αὐτοῦ, καὶ σὺ ἀρξεῖς αὐτοῦ. 6. καὶ εἶπεν Καίων πρὸς Ἄβελ τὸν ἁδελφὸν αὐτοῦ· Διέλθωμεν εἰς τὸ πεδίον. καὶ ἔγενετο εἰς τῷ εἶναι αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ, ἀνέστη Καίων ἐπὶ Ἄβελ τὸν ἁδελφὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔπεκτεινεν αὐτοῦ.

Gen. 27, 41 ft.
Gen. 37
8. διὰ ζήλου ὁ πατὴρ ἦμῶν Ἰακὼβ ἀπέδρα ἀπὸ προσώπου Ἰσαὰκ τοῦ ἁδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ. 9. ἦλθεν ἐποίησεν Ἰωσήφ μέχρι θανάτου διωχθῆναι καὶ μέχρι δουλείας εἰσελθεῖν. 10. διὰ ζήλου φυγεῖν ἢμάρκασεν Ἰωσήφ ἀπὸ προσώπου Παραδώ Βασιλέως Αἰγύπτου ἐν τῷ ἀκούσας αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀμοφόλου

I4
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.

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.
Τίς σε κατέστησεν κριτὴν ἢ δικαστὴν ἐφ’ ἡμῶν; μὴ ἀνελείψεις με σὺ θέλεις, ὅν τρόπον ἀνελείς ἔχθες τὸν Ἀιγύπτιον; 11. διὰ ζήλοις Ἀαρὼν καὶ Μαριὰμ ἔξω τῆς παρεμβολῆς ἡμᾶς ἤλθον. 12. ζήλοις Δαβὰν καὶ Ἀβειρὰν ἦλθαν κατηγοροῦν εἰς ἄδων διὰ τὸ στασιάσαι αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὸν θεράποντα τοῦ θεοῦ Μωϋσῆν. 13. διὰ ζήλου Θανείδος φθόνον ἔσχεν οὐ μόνον ὑπὸ τῶν ἀλλοφύλων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὸ Σαουλ βασιλέως Ἰσραήλ ἐδιώχθη.

V

1. Ἀλλ' ἦνα τῶν ἀρχαίων ὑποδειγμάτων πανσώμεθα, ἐλθὼμεν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἑγγίστας γενομένους ἀθληταῖς. λάβωμεν τῆς γενεᾶς ἡμῶν τὰ γενναία ὑποδειγματα. 2. διὰ ζήλου καὶ φθόνον οἱ μέγιστοι καὶ δικαιότατοι στύλοι εἰδώχθησαν καὶ ἐὼς θανάτου ἤθλησαν. 3. λάβωμεν πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ἡμῶν τοὺς ἁγαθοὺς ἀποστόλους. 4. Πέτρου, διὰ διὰ ζήλου ἀδίκου οὐχ ἤνα οὐδὲ δύο, ἀλλὰ πλείονας ὑπῆρχεν πόνους καὶ οὕτω μαρτυρήσας ἐπορεύθη εἰς τὸν ὀφειλόμενον τόπον τῆς δόξης. 5. διὰ ζήλου καὶ ξινὶ Παύλου ὑπομονῆς βραβεῖον ὑπέδειξεν, 6. ἐπτάκις δεσμὰ φορέσας, φυγαδευτέον, λαθασθείς, κήρυξ γενόμενος ἐν τῇ ἀνατολῇ καὶ ἐν τῇ δύσει, τὸ γενναῖον τῆς πίστεως αὐτοῦ κλέος ἔλαβεν. 7. δικαιοσύνην διδάχας ὅλον τὸν κόσμον, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ τέρμα τῆς δύσεως ἐλθὼν καὶ μαρτυρήσας ἐπὶ τῶν ἡγουμένων, οὕτως ἀπηλλάξας τὸν κόσμον καὶ εἰς τὸν άγιον τόπον ἀνελήμφη, ὑπομονῆς γενομένοις 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 David strangers, but suffered persecution even from Saul, King of Israel.

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.
VI

1. Τούτοις τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ὅσιος πολιτευσαμένοις συνηθροίσθη πολὺ πλήθος ἐκλεκτῶν, οὗτες πολλαῖς αἰκίαις καὶ βασάνοις 1 διὰ ζῆλος παθόντες ὑπόδειγμα κάλλιστον ἐγένοντο ἐν ἡμῖν. 2. διὰ ζῆλος διωχθέται γυναῖκες Δαναίδες καὶ Δίρκαι, 2 αἰκίσματα δεινὰ καὶ αὐστία παθοῦσαι, ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς πίστεως βέβαιον δρόμον κατ' ὄντησαν καὶ ἔλαβον γέρας γενναίους αἱ ἀσθενεῖς τῷ σώματι. 3. ζῆλος ἀπηλλοτρίωσεν γαματάς ἀνδρῶν καὶ ἠλλοίωσεν τὸ ῥῆθεν ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἄδαμ. Τούτο νῦν ὅστοιν ἐκ τῶν ὀστέων μου καὶ σαρξ ἐκ τῆς σαρκὸς μου. 4. ζῆλος καὶ ἔριδ σύλλεις μεγάλας κατεστρεψεν καὶ ἔθνη μεγάλα ἐξερήξεσεν.

VII

1. Ταῦτα, ἀγαπητοί, οὗ μόνον ἡμᾶς νουθετοῦντες ἐπιστέλλομεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔαντοις ὑπομονήσκοντες ἐν γὰρ τῷ αὐτῷ ἐσμὲν σκάμματι, καὶ ὁ αὐτὸς ἡμῶν ἀγὼν ἐπίκειται. 2. διὸ ἀπολίπωμεν τὰς κενὰς καὶ ματαίας φροντίδας, καὶ ἔλθομεν ἐπὶ τῶν εὐκλείᾳ καὶ σεμνῶν τῆς παραδόσεως ἡμῶν κανόνα, 3. καὶ ἔδωμεν, τί καλὸν καὶ τί τερτυόν καὶ τί προσδεκτὸν ἐνώπιον τοῦ ποιήσαντος ἡμᾶς. 4. ἀνενίσθημεν εἰς τὸ αἷμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ γνώμεν, όσ ἐστιν

1 LK perhaps imply πολλὰς αἰκίας καὶ βασάνους.
2 This is perhaps corrupt: but no satisfactory emendation is known.
VI

1. To these men with their holy lives was gathered a great multitude of the chosen, who were the 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 Dirce, 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, beloved, for your admonition, but also to remind ourselves; 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, 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.
Τίμιου τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ, ὅτι διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν ἐκχυθεὶν παντὶ τῷ κόσμῳ μετανοίας χάριν ὑπήνεγκεν. 5. διέλθομεν εἰς τὰς γενεὰς πάσας, καὶ καταμάθομεν ὅτι ἐν γενεᾷ καὶ γενεᾷ μετανοίας τόπον ἔδωκεν ὁ δεσπότης τοῖς θουλο-μένοις ἐπιστραφῆναι ἐπὶ αὐτῶν. 6. Νῦ νε ἐκήρυξεν μετανοιαν, καὶ οἱ ὑπακούσαντες ἐσώθησαν. 7. Ἰω-νᾶς Νινεύτας καταστροφὴν ἐκήρυξεν οἱ δὲ μετα-νοησάντες ἐπὶ τοῖς ἁμαρτήμασιν αὐτῶν ἐξιλάσαντο τὸν θεὸν ἰκετεύσαντες καὶ ἐλαβον σωτηρίαν, καὶ-περ ἀλλότριοι τοῦ θεοῦ δύντες.

VIII

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 ὑπὸ τὴν μετάνοιαν, προστιθεῖς καὶ γνώμην ἀγαθὴν. 3. Μετανοήσατε, οἶκος Ἰσραήλ, ἀπὸ τῆς ἀνομίας ὑμῶν· εἴπων τοὺς νεόν τοῦ λαοῦ μου. ΄Εὰν ὃσιν αἱ ἁμαρτίαι ὑμῶν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἔως τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἐὰν ὃσιν πυρρότεραι κόκκον καὶ μελανώτεραι σάκ-κου, καὶ ἐπιστραφήτε πρὸς με ἔξ ὄλης τῆς καρδίας καὶ ἐξπητε. Πάτερ· ἐπακούσομαι ύμῶν ὡς λαοῦ ἁγίον. 4. καὶ ἐν ἐτέρῳ τόπῳ λέγει σὺν τῶν:

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1 τῷ θεῷ καὶ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ Α, τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ τῷ θεῷ Ο. The text is found in SLK.
know that it is precious to his Father, 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. 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.

VIII

1. The ministers of the grace of God spoke through the Holy Spirit concerning repentance, 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.” 4. And in another place he speaks thus, “Wash

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

Δούσασθε καὶ καθαροὶ γένεσθε, ἀφέλεσθε τὰς πονηρίας ἀπὸ τῶν ψυχῶν ὑμῶν ἀπέναντι τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν μου. παύσασθε ἀπὸ τῶν πονηριῶν ὑμῶν, μάθετε καλὸν ποιεῖν, ἐκζητήσατε κρίσιν, ῥύσασθε ἀδικούμενον, κρίνατε ὅρφανῷ καὶ δικαιώσατε χήραν· καὶ δεῦτε καὶ διελεγχθῶμεν, λέγει κύριος· καὶ ἐὰν ὅσιοι αἱ ἀμαρτίαι ὑμῶν ὡς φοινικῶν, ὡς χιόνα λευκανῷ· ἐὰν δὲ ὅσιον ὡς κόκκινον, ὡς ἐριον λευκανῷ· καὶ ἐὰν θέλητε καὶ εἰςακούσῃτέ μου, τὰ ἀγαθὰ τῆς γῆς φάγεσθε· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ θέλητε μηδὲ εἰςακούσῃτέ μου, μάχαιρα ὑμᾶς κατέδεικται· τὸ γὰρ στῶμα κυρίου ἐλάλησεν ταύτα. 5. πάντας οὖν τοὺς ἀγαπητοὺς αὐτοῦ βουλόμενος μετανοεῖς μετασχεῖν ἐστήριξεν τῷ παντοκρατορικῷ βουλήματι αὐτοῦ.

IX

1. Διὸ ὑπακούσωμεν τῇ μεγαλοπρεπεί καὶ ἐνδόξῳ βουλήσει αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἱκέται γενόμενοι τοῦ ἔλεους καὶ τῆς χρηστότητος αὐτοῦ προσπέσωμεν καὶ ἐπιστρέψωμεν ἐπὶ τοὺς οἰκτιρμοὺς αὐτοῦ, ἀπολυπόντες τὴν ματαιοποιίαν τὴν τε ἔριν καὶ τὸ ἐις θάνατον ἄγονον ξῆλος. 2. ἀπενίσωμεν εἰς τοὺς τελείους λειτουργήσαντας τῇ μεγαλοπρεπεί δόξῃ αὐτοῦ. 3. λάβωμεν Ἐνώχ, ὅσον ὑπακοῇ δίκαιοις εὐρεθεὶς μετετέθη, καὶ οὕς εὐρέθη αὐτοῦ θάνατος. 4. Νῦ δὲ πιστῶς εὐρεθεῖς διὰ τῆς λειτουργίας αὐτοῦ παλαιογενεσίαν κόσμῳ ἐκήρυξεν, καὶ διέσωσεν διὰ αὐτοῦ ὁ δεσπότης τὰ εἰσελθόντα ἐν ὁμονοίᾳ ἡκαῖ ἐις τὴν κυβερνήτην.
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.
1. 'Αβραάμ, ο θεός προσαγορευθείς, πιστός εὐρέθη ἐν τῷ αὐτοῦ υπήκοου γενέσθαι τοῖς ρήμασιν τοῦ θεοῦ. 2. οὕτως δὲ ὑπακοής ἔκχειλθεν ἐκ τῆς γῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκ τῆς συγγενείας αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ὦκου τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ, ὡσπερ γῆς ὀλίγης καὶ συγγενείας ἁσθενής καὶ ωκείοις μικρὰν καταλυτὸν κληρονομιῶσῃ τὰς ἑπαγγελίας τοῦ θεοῦ. λέγει γὰρ αὐτῷ: 3. Ἀπελθε ἐκ τῆς γῆς σου καὶ ἔκ τῆς συγγενείας σου καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ωκείου τοῦ πατρός σου εἰς τὴν γῆν ἣν ἄν σοι δεξιῷ καὶ ποιήσου σε εἰς ἔθνος μέγα καὶ εὐλογησόμενος καὶ εὐλογηθείς τούς εὐλογοῦντας σε καὶ καταράσσομαι τοὺς καταρωμένους σε, καὶ εὐλογηθήσονται ἐν σοὶ πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαὶ τῆς γῆς. 4. καὶ πάλιν ἐν τῷ διαχωρισθῆναι αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ Δωτ ἐπεν αὐτῷ ὁ θεός: Ἀναβλέψας τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς σου ἵδε ἀπὸ τοῦ τόπου, οὗ νῦν εἰς, πρὸς βορρᾶν καὶ νόταν καὶ ἀνατολάς καὶ βάλασαν, ὅτι πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν, ἣν σὺ ὅρας, σοι δόσω αὐτὴν καὶ τῷ σπέρματί σου ἐως αἰῶνος. 5. καὶ ποιήσω τὸ σπέρμα σου ὡς τὴν ἄμμον τῆς γῆς: εἰ δύναται τις ἐξαρθμηθῇ τῇ ἄμμον τῆς γῆς, καὶ τὸ σπέρμα σου ἐξαρθήσεται. 6. καὶ πάλιν λέγει: Ἐζήγαγεν ο θεὸς τῶν Αβραάμ καὶ ἐπεν αὐτῷ: Ἀνάβλεψον εἰς τῶν οὐρανῶν καὶ ἀρίθμησον τοὺς ἀστέρας, εἰ δυνήσῃ ἐξαρθμηθῇ αὐτοῦς: οὕτως ἔσται τὸ σπέρμα σου. ἐπιστευσέν δὲ Αβραὰμ τῷ θεῷ, καὶ ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ εἰς δικαιοσύνην. 7. διὰ πίστιν καὶ φιλοξενίαν ἔδοθη
1. Abraham, who was called "the Friend," was found faithful in his obedience to the words of God. 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
αὐτῶ νῦν ἐν γῇρα, καὶ δὲ ὑπακοής προσήνεγμεν αὐτῶν θυσίαν τῷ θεῷ πρὸς τὸ ὄρος δὲ ἔδειξεν αὐτῷ.

XI

1. Διὰ φιλοξενίαν καὶ εὐσέβειαν Λῶτ ἐσώθη ἐκ Σοδόμων, τῆς περιχώρου πάσης κριθείσης διὰ πυρὸς καὶ θείου, πρόδηλου ποιήσας ὁ δεσπότης, ὅτι τοὺς ἐλπίζοντας ἐπ' αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐγκαταλείπει, τοὺς δὲ ἑτεροκλινεῖς ὑπάρχοντας εἰς κόλασιν καὶ αἰκίσμον τίθησιν. 2. συνεξελθούσης γὰρ αὐτῶ τῆς γυναικὸς ἑτερογνώμονος ὑπαρχούσης καὶ οὐκ ἐν ὅμοιοι, εἰς τὸ τούτο σημεῖον ἐτέθη, ὡστε γενέσθαι αὐτὴν στήλην ἀλὸς ἢ ἡμέρας ταύτης, εἰς τὸ γνωστὸν εἶναι πάσιν, ὅτι οἱ δίψυχοι καὶ οἱ διστάζοντες περὶ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ δυνάμεως εἰς κρίμα καὶ εἰς σημείωσιν πάσιν ταῖς γενεαῖς γίνονται.

XII

1. Διὰ πίστιν καὶ φιλοξενίαν ἐσώθη Ὁραβῆ ἡ πόρνη. 2. ἐκπεμφθέντων γὰρ ὑπὸ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ τοῦ Ναου κατασκόπων εἰς τὴν Ἱεριχώ, ἐγνω ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς γῆς, ὅτι ἤκασιν κατασκοπεύσαι τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐξεπεμψεν ἄνδρας τοὺς συλλημψόμενους αὐτοὺς, ὅπως συλλημψέντες θανατωθῶσιν. 3. ἡ οὖν φιλοξενοῦ Ὁραβῆ εἰσδεξαμένη αὐτοὺς ἐκρυψεν εἰς τὸ ὑπερδόν ὑπὸ τὴν

1 So L; ACSK conform to the LXX and read ἐν τῶν ὄρεων.
2 ἡ ἑπιλεγομένη πόρνη CLSK perhaps from Hebr. 11, 31.
The text is found in A Clement.
his old age, and in his obedience he offered him as a CHAP. sacrifice to God on the mountain\(^1\) which he showed \(^{X}\) him.

XI

1. For his hospitality and piety Lot was saved out CHAP. of Sodom when the whole countryside was judged \(^{XI}\) 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 Lot’s wife 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.

XII

1. For her faith and hospitality Rahab the harlot\(^2\) CHAP. was saved. 2. For when the spies were sent to Rahab 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.”
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Josh. 2, 3 λινοκαλάμην. 4. ἐπισταθέντων δὲ τῶν παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ λεγόντων. Πρὸς σὲ εἰσήλθον οἱ κατάσκοποι τῆς γῆς ἡμῶν, ἐξάγαγε αὐτούς, ὁ γὰρ βασιλεὺς οὗτος κελεύει, ἢδε ἀπεκρίθη. Ἐισήλθον μὲν οἱ ἄνδρες, οὐς ξητείτε, πρὸς με, ἀλλ᾽ εὐθέως ἀπῆλθον καὶ πορεύονται τῇ ὁδῷ· ὑποδικούσα αὐτῶς ἐναλλάξ. 5. καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς τοὺς ἄνδρας· Γινώσκουσα γινώσκω ἐγώ, ὅτι κύριος ὁ θεὸς παραδίδωσιν ὑμῖν τὴν γῆν ταύτην· ὁ γὰρ φόβος καὶ ὁ πρόμος ὑμῶν ἔπεσεν τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν αὐτήν. ὡς ἔαν οὖν γένηται λαβεῖν αὐτὴν ὑμᾶς, διασώσατέ με καὶ τὸν οἶκον τοῦ πατρὸς μου. 6. καὶ εἶπαν αὐτῇ· Ἐσται οὗτος, ὡς ἐλάλησας ἡμῖν. ὡς ἔαν οὖν ἡμῖς παραγιγομένους ἡμᾶς, συνάξεις πάντας τοὺς σους ὑπὸ τὸ στέγος σου, καὶ διασωθήσονται. ὡς οἱ γὰρ ἔαν εὐρεθῶσιν ἐξω τῆς οἰκίας, ἀπολοῦνται. 7. καὶ προσέθεντο αὐτῇ δοῦναι σημεῖον, ὅπως ἐκκρεμάσῃ ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου αὐτῆς κόκκινων, πρόδηλου ποιοῦντες, ὅτι διὰ τοῦ άἵματος τοῦ κυρίου λύτρωσις ἔσται πᾶσιν τοῖς πιστεύοσιν καὶ ἐπιτίθουσιν ἐπὶ τὸν θεόν. 8. ὅρατε, ἀγαπητοί, ὅτι οὐ μόνον πίστις, ἀλλὰ καὶ προφητεία ἐν τῇ γυναικί γέγονεν.

XIII

1. Ταπεινοφρονήσωμεν οὖν, ἀδελφοί, ἀποθέμενοι πᾶσαν ἀλαζονείαν καὶ τύφος καὶ ἀφροσύνην καὶ ὀργάς, καὶ ποιήσωμεν τὸ γεγραμμένον, λέγει γὰρ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον. Μὴ καυχάσθω ὁ σοφὸς ἐν τῇ σοφίᾳ αὐτοῦ μηδὲ ὁ ἱσχυρὸς ἐν τῇ ἰσχύι αὐτοῦ μηδὲ ὁ πλούσιος ἐν τῷ πλούτῳ αὐτοῦ, ἀλλ᾽ ἢ ὁ...
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
καυχώμενος ἐν κυρίῳ καυχάσθω, τοῦ ἐκήστειν
αὐτῶν καὶ ποιεῖν κρίμα καὶ δικαιοσύνην· μάλιστα
μεμνημένοι τῶν λόγων τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ, οὓς
ἐλάλησεν διδάσκον ἐπιείκειαν καὶ μακροθυμίαν.
2. οὕτως γὰρ εἶπεν· Ἑλεάτε, ἵνα ἑλεήθητε·
ἀφίετε, ἵνα ἀφεθῇ υἱῶν· ὡς ποιεῖτε, οὕτως ποιηθή-
σεται υἱῶν· ὡς δίδοτε, οὕτως δοθήσεται υἱῶν· ὡς
κρίνετε, οὕτως κρίθησθε· ὡς χρηστεύσετε, οὕτως
χρηστευθήσεται υἱῶν· ὃ μέτρον μετρεῖτε, ἐν αὐτῷ
μετρηθήσεται υἱῶν. 3. ταύτη τῇ ἐντολῇ καὶ τοῖς
παραγγέλμασιν τούτοις στηρίξωμεν ἑαυτούς εἰς
tὸ πορεύεσθαι ὑπηκόοις ὑντας τοῖς ἀγιοπρεπέσι
λόγοις αὐτού, ταπείνοφρονοῦντες· φησίν γὰρ ὁ
ἄγιος λόγος. 4. Ἐπὶ τίνα ἐπιβλέψω, ἀλλὰ ἡ
ἐπὶ τὸν παρὰν καὶ ἡσύχιον καὶ τρέμοντα μον τὰ
λόγια.

XIV

1. Δίκαιον οὖν καὶ ὅσιον, ἀνδρὲς ἄδελφοί,
ὑπηκόοις ἡμᾶς μάλλον γενέσθαι τῷ θεῷ ἥ τοῖς ἐν
ἀλαξονείᾳ καὶ ἀκαταστασίᾳ μυσεροῦ ζῆλους
ἀρχηγοὺς ἐξακολουθεῖν. 2. Βλάβην γὰρ οὗ τὴν
τυχοῦσαν, μάλλον δὲ κίνδυνον υποίσομεν μέγαν,
εἰν ρίψοικινδύνος ἐπιδίωμεν ἑαυτοὺς τοῖς 
θελήμασιν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, οὕτως ἐξακοντίζουσιν εἰς ἔριν 
καὶ στάσεις, εἰς τὸ ἀπαλλοτριώσαι ἡμᾶς τοῦ 
καλῶς ἔχοντος. 3. χρηστευσώμεθα ἑαυτοῖς κατὰ 
tὴν 

εὐσταθίαν καὶ γλυκύτητα τοῦ ποιήσαντος
ἡμᾶς. 4. γέγραπται γὰρ· Χρηστοὶ ἔσονται οἰκῆ-
tories γῆς, ἀκακοὶ δὲ υπολειφθήσονται ἐπ᾽ αὐτῆς·
οἱ δὲ παρανομοῦντες ἐξωλοθρευθήσονται ἐπ᾽ αὐτῆς.
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."
5. καὶ πάλιν λέγει· Εἰδοὺ ἂσεβὴ ὑπερυψοῦμενον
καὶ ἐπαιρόμενον ὡς τὰς κέδρους τοῦ Διβάνου
καὶ παρῆλθον, καὶ ὤδοι οὐκ ἦν, καὶ ἔξεζήτησα τὸν
tόπον αὐτοῦ, καὶ οὐχ εὐρον. φύλασσε ἀκακίαν
καὶ ἰδε εὐθύτητα, ὅτι ἐστὼν ἐγκατάλειμμα
ἀνθρώπῳ εἰρημ.κ.ο.

XV

1. Τοίνυν κολληθῶμεν τοῖς μετ᾽ εὐσεβείας εἰρηνι
εῦνοσιν, καὶ μὴ τοῖς μεθ᾽ ὕποκρίσεως βουλομένους
εἰρήνην. 2. λέγει γὰρ πον· Οὗτος ὁ λαὸς τοῖς
χείλεσιν μὲ τιμᾶ, ἢ δὲ καρδία αὐτῶν πόρρω ἀπεστῶ
ἀπ᾽ ἑμοῦ. 3. καὶ πάλιν· Τῷ στόματι αὐτῶν
eὐλογοῦσιν, τῇ δὲ καρδίᾳ αὐτῶν κατηρώντο.

4. καὶ πάλιν λέγει· Ἡγάπησαν αὐτὸν τῷ στό-
ματι αὐτῶν καὶ τῇ γλῶσσῃ αὐτῶν ἐψευδάντω
αὐτῶ, ἢ δὲ καρδία αὐτῶν οὐκ εὐθεῖα μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ,
οὐδὲ ἐπιστῶθησαν ἐν τῇ διαθήκῃ αὐτοῦ. 5. διὰ
tοῦτο ἁλαλὰ γεννηθῆτω τὰ χεῖλη τὰ δόλια τὰ
λαλοῦντα κατὰ τοῦ δικαίου ἀνομίαν. καὶ πάλιν·
Ἑξολεθρεύσαι κύριος πάντα τὰ χεῖλη τὰ δόλια,verbs
γλῶσσαν μεγαλορήμωνα, τοὺς εἰπόντας· Τῇν
γλῶσσαν ἡμῶν μεγαλυνούμεν, τὰ χεῖλη ἡμῶν
παρ᾽ ἡμῖν ἔστιν τίς ἡμῶν κύριος ἐστὶν; 6. ἀπὸ
tῆς ταλαντορίας τῶν πτωχῶν καὶ τοῦ στεν-
αγμοῦ τῶν πενήτων νῦν ἀναστήσομαι, λέγει κύριος·
θῆσομαι ἐν σωτηρίῳ, 7. παρρησιάσομαι ἐν αὐτῷ.

1 δόλια . . . δόλια are omitted by all the textual authorities
(including Clem.) except 8. 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.

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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. 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."
THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

XVI

1. Ταπεινοφοροῦντον γὰρ ἐστὶν ὁ Χριστός, οὐκ ἐπαιρομένων ἐπὶ τὸ ποίμνιον αὐτοῦ. 2. τὸ σκῆπτρον τῆς μεγαλωσύνης τοῦ θεοῦ, ὁ κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, οὐκ ἠλθεν ἐν κόμπῳ ἀλαζονείας οὐδὲ ὑπερηφανίας, καὶ περὶ δυνάμενος, ἀλλὰ ταπεινοφορών, καθὼς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἄγιον περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐλάλησεν φησὶν γὰρ. 3. Κύριε, τόσο ἐπίστευσαν τῇ ἁκοῆ ἡμῶν; καὶ ὁ βραχίονι κυρίου τινι ἀπεκαλύφθη; ἔνθα γείγαλαμεν ἐναντίον αὐτοῦ, ὡς παιδίων, ὡς ῥίζα ἐν γη ἰδιώσῃ οὐκ ἐστὶν αὐτῷ εἴδος οὐδὲ δόξα, καὶ εἴδομεν αὐτὸν, καὶ οὐκ εἶχεν εἴδος οὐδὲ κάλλος, ἀλλὰ τὸ εἴδος αὐτοῦ ἀτιμῶν, ἐκλείπον παρὰ τὸ εἴδος τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀνθρώποις ἐν πληγῇ ὅων καὶ πόνῳ καὶ εἴδος φέρειν μαλακίαν, ὅτι ἀπεστράπται τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ, ἡτιμάσθη καὶ οὐκ ἔλογισθη. 4. οὗτος τᾶς ἀμαρτίας ἡμῶν φέρει καὶ περὶ ἡμῶν ὀδυνᾶται, καὶ ἡμεῖς ἔλογισάμεθα αὐτὸν εἰναι ἐν πόνῳ καὶ ἐν πληγῇ καὶ ἐν κακώσει. 5. αὐτὸς δὲ ἔτραμματισθή διὰ τᾶς ἀμαρτίας ἡμῶν καὶ μεμαλάκισται διὰ τᾶς ἀνομίας ἡμῶν. παιδεῖα εἰρήνης ἡμῶν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τῷ μόλυντι αὐτοῦ ἡμεῖς ἴάθημεν. 6. πάντες ὡς πρόβατα ἐπιπλανήθημεν, ἀνθρώποις τῇ ὁδῷ αὐτοῦ ἐπιπλανήθη. 7. καὶ κύριος παρέδωκεν αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν, καὶ αὐτὸς διὰ τὸ κεκακῶσθαι οὐκ ἠνοίγει τὸ στόμα. ὃς πρόβατον ἐπὶ σφαγήν ἤχθη, καὶ ὡς ἀμνὸς ἐναντίον τοῦ κείραντος ἄφωνος, οὗτος οὐκ ἠνοίγει τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ. ἐν τῇ ταπεινώσει ἡ κρίσις αὐτοῦ ἡρθη. 8. τὴν γενεὰν αὐτοῦ
I. CLEMENT, xvi. 1–xvi. 8

XVI

1. For Christ is of those who are humble-minded, not of those who exalt themselves over His flock. The sceptre of the greatness of God, the Lord 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
Τής διηγήσεται; ὅτι αἱρεται ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἢ ζωῆς αὐτοῦ. 9. ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνομίων τοῦ λαοῦ μου ἤμει εἰς θάνατον. 10. καὶ δόσω 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 καθαρίσαι αὐτὸν τῆς πληγῆς. 11. ἐὰν δῶτε περὶ ἁμαρτίας, ἡ ψυχὴ ὑμῶν ὄψεται σπέρμα μακρόβιον. 12. καὶ κύριος βούλεται ἀφελείν ἀπὸ τοῦ πόνου τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτοῦ, δεῖξαι αὐτῷ φῶς καὶ πλάσαι τῇ συνέσει, δικαιώσαι δίκαιον εὗ δουλεύοντα πολλοῖς. καὶ τὰς ἁμαρτίας αὐτῶν ἄνοιξε. 13. διὰ τούτο αὐτὸς κληρονομήσει πολλοὺς καὶ τῶν ἱσχυρῶν μερείς σκύλα· ἀνθ' ἄν παρεδόθη εἰς θάνατον ἡ ψυχὴ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐν τῶν ἀνόμων ἐλογίσθη. 14. καὶ αὐτός ἁμαρτίας πολλῶν ἀνήγερκεν καὶ διὰ τὰς ἁμαρτίας αὐτῶν παρεδόθη. 15. καὶ πάλιν αὐτός φησιν. Ἑγὼ δὲ εἰμι σκάλης καὶ σὺν ἄνθρωπος, ὅνειδος ἄνθρωπον καὶ ἐξουθενμα λαοῦ. 16. πάντες οἱ θεοροῦντες με ἐξεμμυκτήρισάν με, ἐλάλησαν ἐν χείλεσιν, ἐκίνησαν κεφαλήν. Ἡλπίσεν ἐπὶ κύριον, ῥυσάσθω αὐτῶν, σωσάτω αὐτῶν, ὦτι θέλει αὐτῶν. 17. ὀρᾶτε, ἄνδρες ἁγαπητοί, τίς ὁ ὑπογραμμός ὁ δεδομένος ἡμῖν· εἰ γὰρ ὁ κύριος οὕτως ἐταπεινωφόρησεν, τί ποιήσωμεν ἡμεῖς οἱ ὑπὸ τόν ξυγόν τῆς χάριτος αὐτοῦ δι’ αὐτοῦ ἔλθόντες;
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?
THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

XVII

Heb. 11, 37
1. Μιμηταὶ γενόμεθα κακείνων, οὕτως ἐν δέρμασιν αἰγείοις καὶ μηλωταίς περιπατήσαντες κηρύσσοντες τὴν ἐλευθερίαν τοῦ Χριστοῦ· λέγομεν δὲ Ἡλίαν καὶ Ἐλισαιά, ἐτί δὲ καὶ Ἰεζεκιήλ, τοὺς προφήτας· πρὸς τούτοις καὶ τοὺς μεμαρτυρημένους.

Gen. 18, 27
2. ἐμαρτυρήθη μεγάλως Ἀβραὰμ καὶ φίλος προσηγορευθῆ τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ λέγει ἀπενεῖδος εἰς τὴν δόξαν τοῦ θεοῦ ταπεινοφορῶν. Ἐγὼ δὲ εἰμι γῆ καὶ σποδός. 3. ἐτί δὲ καὶ περὶ Ἡλία β ούτως γέγραπται· Ἡλία δὲ Ἰν ὄντας καὶ ἀμεμπτος, ἄλθεινός, θεοσεβής, ἀπεχώμενος ἀπὸ πιντός κακοῦ. 4. ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἐαυτοῦ καθηγορεῖ λέγων· Οὐδὲν καθαρός ἀπὸ ρύπους, οὐδ' ἐν μιᾶς ἡμέρας ἢ ξωὴ αὐτοῦ. 5. Μωϋσῆς πιστὸς ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ ἐκλήθη, καὶ διὰ τῆς ὑπηρεσίας αὐτοῦ ἐκρίθη εἰς τὸν θεὸν Ἀγνυπτον διὰ τῶν μαστίγων καὶ τῶν αἰκισμάτων αὐτῶν· ἄλλα κακεῖνου δοξασθείς μεγάλος οὐκ ἐμμαρτυρήσῃς, ἀλλ’ εἶπεν εἰς τὴς βάτους χρηματισμοῦ αὐτῶ διδομένου· Τὸς εἰμι ἐγώ, ὅτι με πέμπεις; Ἐγὼ δὲ εἰμι ἱσχυρόφωνος καὶ βραδύγλωσσος. 6. καὶ πάλιν λέγει· Ἐγὼ δὲ εἰμι ἀτμις ἀπὸ κύθρας.

XVIII

1. Τι δὲ εἴπωμεν ἐπὶ τῷ μεμαρτυρημένῳ Δαυείδ;

Ps. 89, 20; Acts 13, 22
1 So L Clem. πρὸς τῇ ΑΟΤ.

Ps. 51, 1-17
2. ἀλλα καὶ αὐτὸς λέγει πρὸς τὸν θεόν· Ἐλέησόν με, ὁ θεός, κατὰ τὸ μέγα
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, Abraham 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
ΤHE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

ἐλεός σου, καὶ κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν οἰκτιρμών σου εξάλειψον τὸ ἀνόμημα μου. 3. ἐπὶ πλείον πλῦνον μὲ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀνομίας μου, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀμαρτίας μου καθάρισον με· ὅτι τὴν ἀνομίαν μου ἔγω γινώσκω, καὶ ἡ ἀμαρτία μου ἐνώπιον μου ἐστὶν διαπαντός. 4. σοι μόνῳ ἠμαρτον, καὶ τὸ πονηρὸν ἐνώπιον σου ἐποίησα, ὅπως ἂν δικαιωθῆν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις σου, καὶ νικήσῃ ἐν τῷ κρίνεσθαι σε. 5. ἰδοὺ γὰρ ἐν ἀνομίαις συνελήμφθην, καὶ ἐν ἀμαρτίαις ἐκίσσησέν με ἡ μήτηρ μου. 6. ἰδοὺ γὰρ ἀλλήλειαν ἡγάπησε· τὰ ἁδηλα καὶ τὰ κρύφια τῆς σοφίας σου ἐδιήλωσας μου. 7. ῥαντιεῖς με ὑσσώριον, καὶ καθαρισθή σομαι· πλυνείς με, καὶ ὑπέρ χίλια λευκανθήσομαι. 8. ἀκοντιεῖς με ἀγαλλίασιν καὶ εὐφροσύνην. ἀγαλλιάσασται ὅστα τεταπεινωμένα. 9. ἀπόστρεψον τὸ πρὸς ὑμᾶς σου ἀπὸ τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν μου, καὶ πάσας τὰς ἀνομίας μου ἐξάλειψον. 10. καρδίαν καθαράν κτίσον ἐν ἐμοί, ὁ θεός, καὶ πνεῦμα εὐθές ἑγκαίνισον ἐν τοῖς ἐγκάτωσί μου. 11. μὴ ἀπορίσῃς με ἀπὸ τοῦ προσώπου σου, καὶ τὸ πνεῦμά μοι τὸ ἀγάμον σου μὴ ἀντανέλης ἀπ' ἐμοῦ. 12. ἀπόδοσο μοι τὴν ἀγαλλίασιν τοῦ σωτηρίου σου, καὶ πνεῦματι ἡγεμονικό στήρισον με. 13. διδάξω ἀνόμους τὰς ὁδοὺς σου, καὶ ἁσβείς ἐπιστρέψουσιν ἐπὶ σέ. 14. ῥύσαι με εξ ἁιμάτων, ὁ θεός, ὁ θεός τῆς σωτηρίας μου. 15. ἀγαλλιάστηκε ἡ γλῶσσα μου τὴν δικαιοσύνην σου. κύριε, τὸ στόμα μου ἀνοίξεις, καὶ τὰ χείλη μου ἀναγγέλει τὴν αἰνεῖν σου. 16. ὅτι εἰ ἡθέλησας θυσίαν, ἐδωκά ἄνολουκατώματα οὐκ εὐδοκήσεις. 17. θυσία τῷ θεῷ πνεῦμα συντετριμμένον· καρδίαν συντετριμμένην καὶ τεταπεινωμένην ὁ θεός οὐκ ἐξουθενώσει. 40
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 βελτίως ἐποίησεν, τούς τε καταδεξαμένους τὰ λόγια αὐτοῦ ἐν φόβῳ καὶ ἀληθείᾳ.

2. πολλῶν οὖν καὶ μεγάλων καὶ ἐνδόξων μετειληφότες πράξεων ἐπαναδράμωμεν ἐπὶ τὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς παραδεδομένου ἡμῶν τῆς εἰρήνης σκοποῦν, καὶ ἀνευσώμεν εἰς τὸν πατέρα καὶ κτίστην τοῦ σώματος κόσμου καὶ ταῖς μεγαλοπρεπεῖς καὶ ὑπερβαλλούσαις αὐτοῦ δωρεαῖς τῆς εἰρήνης εὐεργεσίαις τε κολληθῶμεν. 3. ἠδομέν αὐτῶν κατὰ διάνοιαν καὶ ἐμβλέψωμεν τοῖς ὁμμασιν τῆς ψυχῆς εἰς τὸ μακρόθυμον αὐτοῦ βούλημα· νοήσωμεν, πῶς ἀφργητος ὑπάρχει πρὸς πᾶσαν τὴν κτίσιν αὐτοῦ.

XX

1. Οἱ οὐρανοὶ τῇ διοικήσει αὐτοῦ σαλευόμενοι ἐν εἰρήνῃ ὑποτάσσονται αὐτῷ. 2. ἡμέρα τε καὶ νῦξ τοῦ τεταγμένου ὑπʼ αὐτοῦ δρόμου διανύουσιν, μηδὲν ἀλλήλους ἐμποδίζοντα. 3. ἦλιος τε καὶ σελήνη, ἀστέρων τε χοροὶ κατὰ τὴν διαταγήν αὐτοῦ ἐν ὁμοοία δίχα πάσης παρεκβάσεως ἐξελέσουσιν τοὺς ἐπιτεταγμένους αὐτοῦ ὀρισμοὺς. 4. γῆ κυνοφοροῦσα κατὰ τὸ θέλημα αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἰδίοις καιροῖς τὴν παντηλήν ἀνθρώπους τε καὶ θηρίων καὶ πᾶσιν τοῖς οὐσιν ἐπʼ αὐτῆς ἵπποις ἀνατέλλει τροφῆν, μὴ διχοστατούσα μηδὲ ἀλλοιωθά
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.

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
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τι τῶν δεδοματισμένων ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ. 5. ἀβύσσων τε ἀνεξίχνιστα καὶ νεφέρων ἀνεκδιήγητα κλίματα 1
toῖς αὐτῶν συνέχεται προστάγμασιν. 6. τὸ κύτος
tῆς ἀπείρου θαλάσσης κατὰ τὴν δημιουργίαν
αὐτοῦ συνταθὲν εἰς τὰς συναγωγὰς οὖ παρεκβαίνει
tὰ περιτεθειμένα αὐτῇ κλειδρα, ἀλλὰ καθὼς
dιέταξεν αὐτῇ, οὕτως ποιεῖ. 7. εἰπεν γάρ ’Εως
dῶδε ἡζεις, καὶ τὰ κύματά σου ἐν σοὶ συντριβή-
σεται. 8. ὥκεανός ἀπέραντος ἀνθρώποις καὶ οἱ
μετ’ αὐτῶν κόσμου ταῖς αὐταῖς ταγαῖς τοῦ δεσπότου
dιενθύνονται. 9. καίροι ἐαρινοὶ καὶ θερινοὶ καὶ
μετοπορινοὶ καὶ χειμερινοὶ ἐν εἰρήνη μεταπαρα-
διδόσων ἄλληλοις. 10. ἀνέμων σταθμοὶ κατὰ
tῶν ἔδων καιροῦ τῆς λειτουργίας αὐτῶν ἀπρο-
σκόπως ἐπιτελοῦσιν ἀέναιοι τε πηγαῖ, πρὸς
ἀπόλαυσιν καὶ ύγείαν δημιουργηθεῖσαι, δίχα
ἐκλείψεως παρέχονται τούς πρὸς ζωῆς ἀνθρώ-
ποις μαζούς τα τε ἐλάχιστα τῶν ζώων τὰς
συνελεύσεις αὐτῶν ἐν ὠμονοία καὶ εἰρήνη ποιοῦνται.
11. ταῦτα πάντα ὁ μέγας δημιουργός καὶ δεσπότης
tῶν ἀπάντων ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ ὠμονοίᾳ προσέταξεν
εἶναι, ἐνεργεῖτο τὰ πάντα, ὑπερεκπερισσῶς δὲ
ήμας τοὺς προσπέφευγότας τοῖς οἰκτιρμοῖς αὐτοῦ
diὰ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, 12. ἢ ἡ
dόξα καὶ ἡ μεγαλωσύνη εἰς τοὺς αἰώνας τῶν
αἰῶνων. ἁμήν.

1 κλίματα AC, qui situ (sic) L, “boundaries” K. The
emendation given in the text seems the most probable treat-
ment of the difficulty.
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 whom 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."
1. Ὄρατε, ἀγαπητοί, μὴ αἱ εὐεργεσίαι αὐτοῦ αἱ πολλαὶ γένονται εἰς κρίμα ἡμῶν, ἃν μὴ ἀξίως αὐτοῦ πολιτευόμενοι τὰ καλὰ καὶ εὐάρεστα ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ ποιῶμεν μεθ’ ὀρμονίας. 2. Ἑγεὶ γὰρ τοῦ· Πνεῦμα κύριον λύχνος ἐρευνῶν τὰ ταμεῖα τῆς γαστρὸς. 3. ἔδωκεν, πῶς ἐγγύς ἐστίν, καὶ ὅτι οὐδὲν λέληθεν αὐτὸν τῶν ἐννοιῶν ἡμῶν οὐδὲ τῶν διαλογισμῶν ὃν ποιοῦμεθα. 4. δίκαιον οὐν ἔστω μὴ λειποτακτεῖν ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ θελήματος αὐτοῦ. 5. μᾶλλον ἀνθρώποις ἄφροσι καὶ ἀνοίγεις καὶ ἐπαιρομένους καὶ ἐγκαυχώμενους ἐν ἀλαξονείᾳ τοῦ λόγου αὐτῶν προσκόψωμεν ἡ τῷ θεῷ. 6. τῶν κύριων Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν, ὥστε τὸ αἷμα ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐδόθη, ἐντραπώμεν, τοὺς προηγουμένους ἡμῶν αἰδευθῶμεν, τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους τιμῶμεν, τοὺς νέους παιδεύσωμεν τὴν παιδείαν τοῦ φῶς τοῦ θεοῦ, τὰς γυναῖκας ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τὸ ἀγαθὸν διορθοσώμεθα. 7. τὸ ἀξιώματον τῆς ἀγνείας ἰδοὺς ἐνδεικάθωσαν, τὸ ἀκέραιον τῆς πραύτητος αὐτῶν βούλημα ἀποδειξάτωσαν, τὸ ἐπειδὴ τῆς γλώσσης αὐτῶν διὰ τῆς συγηθής φανέρων ποιησάτωσαν, τὴν ἀγάπην αὐτῶν μὴ κατὰ προσκλίσεις, ἀλλὰ πάσιν τοῖς φοβουμένοις τοῦ θεοῦ ὁσίῶς ἐσημαρεχέτωσαν. 8. τὰ τέκνα ἡμῶν τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ παιδείας μεταλαμβανέτωσαν· μαθέτωσαν, τί ταπεινοφοροσύνη παρὰ θεῷ ἵσχυε, τί ἀγάπη ἡγή παρὰ θεῷ δύναται, πῶς ὁ φῶς αὐτῷ καλὸς καὶ μέγας καὶ

1 Α(C) read κρίμα πάσιν ἡμῶν.
2 L implies εἶδομεν (sciamus), “let us know.”
XXI

1. Take heed, beloved, lest his many good works 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, 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 ὅσιος ἀναστρεφο-
μένους ἐν καθαρᾷ διανοίᾳ. 9. ἐρευνηθής γὰρ ἐστὶν
ἐννοιών καὶ ἐνθυμήσεων οὗ ἡ πνοὴ αὐτοῦ ἐν ἡμῖν
ἐστίν, καὶ ὅταν θέλῃ, ἀνελεῖ αὐτὴν.

XXII

1. Ταῦτα δὲ πάντα βεβαιοὶ ἡ ἐν Χριστῷ πίστις:
καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου ὀφθαλμῶ
προσκαλεῖται ἡμᾶς. Δεῦτε, τέκνα, ἀκούσατε μοι,
φόβον κυρίου διδάξω ὑμᾶς. 2. τίς ἐστιν ἄνθρω-
πος ὁ θέλων ζωῆν, ἀγαπῶν ἡμέρας ἰδεῖν ἀγαθὰς;
3. παύσων τὴν γλῶσσάν σου ἀπὸ κακοῦ, καὶ χείλῃ
σοῦ τοῦ μὴ λαλῆσαι δόλου. 4. ἐκκλινὼν ἀπὸ
κακοῦ, καὶ ποίησον ἀγαθὸν. 5. ζήτησον εἰρήνην,
καὶ δῶξον αὐτῆν. 6. ὁφθαλμοῦ κυρίου ἐπὶ δικαί-
ους, καὶ ὃτα αὐτοῦ πρὸς δέησιν αὐτῶν πρόσωπον
δὲ κυρίου ἐπὶ ποιοῦντας κακά, τοῦ ἐξολεθρεύεσαι
ἐκ γῆς τὸ μυστήριον αὐτῶν. 7. ἐκεκραζέν ὁ
dikeios, καὶ ὁ κύριος εἰσήκουσεν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐκ
πασῶν τῶν θλίψεων αὐτοῦ ἔρυσεν αὐτὸν. 8. Πελλαὶ
αἱ μάστυγες τοῦ ἁμαρτωλοῦ, τοὺς δὲ ἐλπίζοντας ἐπὶ
cyrrion élleos kuklóssei.

XXIII

1. ὁ εἰκτίρμων κατὰ πάντα καὶ εὐεργετικὸς
πατὴρ ἔχει σπλάγχνα ἐπὶ τοὺς φοβοσπόμενους
αὐτῶν, ἄπιως ἐκαὶ προσημὸς τὰς χάριτας αὐτοῦ

2 S adds πελλαὶ αἱ θλίψεις τοῦ δικαίου, καὶ ἐκ πασῶν αὐτῶν
βροχεῖται αὐτῶν ὁ κύριος, but the evidence of ACL suggest 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 holy 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."

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

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."
ἀποδιδοὶ τοῖς προσερχομένοις αὐτῶ ὑπὸ διανοία.
2. διὸ μὴ διψυχῶμεν, μηδὲ ἴναπλάθωμεν ἡ ψυχὴ ἡμῶν ἐπὶ ταῖς ὑπερβαλλούσαις καὶ ἐνδόξοις δωρεαῖς αὐτοῦ. 3. πόρρω γενέσθω ἄφτη ἡμῶν ἡ γραφὴ αὐτή, ὅπως λέγων: Ταλαίπωροι εἰσίν οἱ δύσψυχοι, οἱ διστάζοντες τῇ ψυχῇ, οἱ λέγοντες: Ταῦτα ἦκούσαμεν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν, καὶ ἰδοῦ, γεγηράκαμεν, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἡμῖν τούτων συνβῆ-βηκεν. 4. οὐκ ἂν ὄρεθος, συμβαίλετε ἑαυτοῖς ξύλῳ λάβετε ἄμπελον πρὸ τοῦ μὲν φυλλορει, εἰτα βλαστῶς γίνεται, εἰτα φύλλα, εἰτα ἄνθος, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ὄμφαξ, εἰτα σταφυλὴ παρεστηκία, ὁράτη, ὅτι ἐν καιρῷ ὄλγῳ εἰς πέπειρον καταντά ὁ καρπὸς τοῦ ξύλου. 5. ἐπ' ἀληθείας ταχὺ καὶ ἐξαίφνης τελειωθῆσθαι τὸ βούλημα αὐτοῦ, συν-επιμαρτυροῦσι καὶ τῆς γραφῆς, ότι ταχὺ ἦξει καὶ οὐ χρονιεῖ, καὶ ἐξαίφνης ἦξει ὁ κύριος εἰς τὸν ναὸν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὁ ἄγιος, ὅν ύμεῖς προσδοκάτε.

XXIV

1. Κατανοήσωμεν, ἀγαπητοί, πῶς ὁ ἰδεποτὴς ἐπιδείκνυται διηνεκῶς ἡμῖν τὴν μέλλουσαν ἀνά-στασιν ἐσεσθαι, ὡς τὴν ἀπαρχὴν ἐποίησατο τὸν κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστήσας. 2. ἰδομεν, ἀγαπητοί, τὴν κατὰ καιρὸν γνωμένην ἀνάστασιν. 3. ἡμέρα καὶ νυξ ἀνάστασιν ἡμῖν δη-λοῦσιν κομμᾶτα ἡ νυξ ἀνίσταται ἡ ἡμέρα ἡ ἡμέρα ἀπεισιν, νυξ ἐπέρχεται. 4. λάβωμεν τοὺς καρποὺς.
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

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.
ο σπόρος πώς καὶ τίνα τρόπον γίνεται; 5. ἔξηλθεν ὁ σπείρων καὶ ἐβαλεν εἰς τὴν γῆν ἕκαστον τῶν σπερμάτων, ἀτινα πεσόντα εἰς τὴν γῆν ξηρὰ καὶ γυμνὰ διαλύται: εἰτ’ ἐκ τῆς διαλύσεως ἡ μεγαλειώτης τῆς προνοίας τοῦ δεσπότου ἀνίστηθιν αὐτὰ, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἐνὸς πλείονα αὔξει καὶ ἐκφέρει καρπόν.

XXV

1. ᾗ ἰδομεν τὸ παράδοξον σημεῖον τοῦ γενόμενον ἐν τοῖς ἀνατολικοῖς τόποις, τούτεστιν τοῖς περὶ τὴν Ἀραβίαν. 2. ὁ ὄρνεον γάρ ἐστιν, ὁ προσονομάζεται φοῖνιξ· τούτῳ μονογενές ὑπάρχον ἦν ἡ πεντακόσια, γενόμενον τε ἦδη πρὸς ἀπόλυσιν τοῦ ἀποβανεῖν αὐτό, σηκῶν ἑαυτῷ ποιεῖ ἐκ λιβάνου καὶ σμύρνης καὶ τῶν λουπῶν ἀρωμάτων, εἰς ὅν πληρωθέντος τοῦ χρόνου εἰσέρχεται καὶ τελευτά. 3. σηπομένης δὲ τῆς σαρκὸς σκόλης τις γεννᾶται, διὰ ἐκ τῆς ἰκμάδος τοῦ τετελευτηκότος ζῶον ἀνατρεφόμενος πτεροφυεῖ· εἶτα γενναίος γενόμενος αἴρει τὸν σηκὸν ἐκείνου, ὅπου τὰ ὅστα τοῦ προγεγονότος ἐστίν, καὶ ταῦτα βαστάζου διανύει ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀραβικῆς χώρας ἔως τῆς Δυσύττου εἰς τὴν λεγομένην Ἡλιούπολιν, 4. καὶ ἡμέρας, βλεπόντωι πάντως, ἐπιπτάσι ἐπὶ τὸν ἴλλον βωμὸν τίθησιν αὐτὰ καὶ οὕτως εἰς τοῦτο ἀφορμὰ. 5. οἱ οὖν ἱερεῖς ἐπισκέπτονται τὰς ἀναγραφὰς τῶν χρόνων καὶ εὐρίσκουσιν αὐτῶν πεντακοσιοστὸν 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

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. xcvii. 12, where there is a confusion between φωινξ=phoenix, and φάτμα=plum tree.
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XXVI

1. Μέγα καὶ θαυμαστὸν οὖν νομίζομεν εἶναι, εἰ ὁ δημιουργὸς τῶν ἀπάντων ἀνάστασιν ποιήσεται τῶν ὁσίως αὐτῶ δουλευσάντων ἐν πεποιθήσει πίστεως ἀγαθῆς, ὅπου καὶ δι’ ὄρνεου δείκνυσιν ἥμων τὸ μεγαλεῖον τῆς ἐπαγγελίας αὐτοῦ; 2. λέγει γὰρ τοῦ· Καὶ ἐξαναστήσεις με, καὶ ἐξωμολογήσομαι σοι, καὶ Ἦκοιμήθην καὶ ὑπνώσα, ἐξηγέρθην, ὅτι σὺ μετ’ ἐμοῦ εἰ. 3. καὶ πάλιν Ἰῶβ λέγει· Καὶ ἀναστήσεις τὴν σάρκα μου ταῦτα τὴν ἀναντλήσασαν ταῦτα πάντα.

XXVII

1. Ταύτην οὖν τῇ ἐπίδει προσδεδέσθωσαν ἁίς ψυχαί ἡμῶν τῷ πιστῷ ἐν ταῖς ἐπαγγελίαις καὶ τῷ δικαίῳ ἐν τοῖς κρίμασιν. 2. ὁ παραγγελίας μὴ ψεύδεσθαι, πολλῷ μᾶλλον αὐτὸς οὐ ψεύσεσαι; οὐδὲν γὰρ ἀδύνατον παρὰ τῷ θεῷ εἰ μὴ τὸ ψεύσασθαι. 3. ἀναξωπυρησάτω σοὶ ἡ πίστις αὐτοῦ ἐν ἡμῖν, καὶ νοήσωμεν ὅτι πάντα ἑγγὺς αὐτῷ ἐστιν. 4. ἐν λόγῳ τῆς μεγαλωσύνης αὐτοῦ συνεστήσατο τὰ πάντα, καὶ ἐν λόγῳ δύναται αὐτὰ καταστρέψαι. 5. Τὸς ἔρει αὐτῷ. Τί ἐποίησας; ἢ τὸ ἀντιστήσεται τῷ κράτει τῆς ἵσχύος αὐτοῦ; ὅτε θέλει καὶ ὁς θέλει ποιήσει πάντα, καὶ οὐδὲν μὴ παρ- ἐλθῃ τῶν δεδοματισμένων ὑπὸ αὐτοῦ. 6. πάντα ἐνόπιον αὐτοῦ εἰσίν, καὶ οὐδὲν λέλειθεν τὴν βουλὴν αὐτοῦ, 7. εἰ οἱ οὐρανοὶ διηγοῦνται δόξαν θεοῦ,
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.”

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
ποίησιν δὲ χειρῶν αὐτοῦ ἀναγγέλλει τὸ στερέωμα· ἡ ἡμέρα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐρεύνηται ρῆμα, καὶ νῦν νυκτὶ ἀναγγέλλει γνῶσιν· καὶ οὐκ εἰσὶν λόγοι οὐδὲ λαλιαὶ, ὥν οὐχὶ ἀκούονται αἱ φωναὶ αὐτῶν.

XXVIII

1. Πάντων οὖν βλεπομένων καὶ ἀκουομένων, φοβηθόμεν αὐτῶν, καὶ ἀπολύπωμεν φαυλωνέργων μιαρὰς ἐπιθυμίας, ἵνα τὸ ἔλεει αὐτοῦ σκεπασθῶμεν ἀπὸ τῶν μελλόντων κριμάτων. 2. ποῦ γὰρ τις ἥμων δύναται φυγεῖν ἀπὸ τῆς κραταίας χειρὸς αὐτοῦ; ποῖος δὲ κόσμος δέξεται τίνα τῶν αὐτομολούντων ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ; 3. λέγει γὰρ ποῦ τὸ γραφεῖον. Ποῦ ἀφήξω καὶ ποῦ κρυβήσομαι ἀπὸ τοῦ προσώπου σου; εὰν ἀναβῶ εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν, σὺ ἐκεῖ εἰς ἐὰν ἀπέλθω εἰς τὰ ἐσχάτα τῆς γῆς, ἐκεῖ ἡ δεξιά σου· εὰν καταστρώσω εἰς τὰς ἀβύσσους, ἐκεῖ τὸ πνεῦμά σου. 4. ποῦ οὖν τις ἀπέλθη ἢ ποῦ ἀποδράσῃ ἀπὸ τοῦ τὰ πάντα ἐμπεριέχοντος;

XXIX

1. Προσέλθωμεν οὖν αὐτῷ ἐν ὑσιότητι ψυχῆς, ἀγνάς καὶ ἀμάντους χείρας αἱροῦτες πρὸς αὐτῶν, ἀγαπῶντες τὸν ἐπιεικῆ καὶ εὐσπλαγχνὸν πατέρα ἡμῶν, ὃς ἐκλογῆς μέρος ἡμᾶς ἐποίησεν ἐαυτῷ. 2. οὕτω γὰρ γέγραπται· ἦσε διεμέριζεν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἁγίου.
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 Writing\(^1\) 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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έθνη, ὃς διέσπειρεν νῦν ὑμᾶς Ἀδαμ, ἔστησεν ὅρια ἐθνῶν κατὰ ἀρίθμου ἀγγέλων θεοῦ. ἐγενήθη μερίς κυρίου λαὸς αὐτοῦ Ἰακώβ, σχούνισμα κληρονομίας αὐτοῦ Ἰσραήλ. 3. καὶ ἐν ἔτερῳ τόπῳ λέγει: Ἰδοὺ, κύριος λαμβάνει ἑαυτὸν ἔθνος ἐκ μέσου ἐθνῶν, ὡσπερ λαμβάνει ἄνθρωπος τὴν ἀπαρχήν αὐτοῦ τῆς ἀλως καὶ ἐξελεύσεται ἐκ τοῦ ἐθνοῦς ἐκείνου ἅγια ἄγιων.

XXX

1. Αγίων  ὁν μερίς ὑπάρχοντες ποιήσωμεν τὰ τοῦ ἁγιασμοῦ πάντα, φεύγοντες καταλαλιᾶς, μιμάς τε καὶ ἁμάρτουσι συμπλοκὰς, μεθανόμενοι καὶ νεωτερισμοῦ καὶ βδελυκτὰς ἐπιθυμίας, μυστικά μοιχεῖαν, βδελυκτὴν ὑπερφανιάν. 2. Θεός γάρ, φησίν, ὑπερφάνοις ἀντιτάσσεται, ταπεινοῖς δὲ δίδωσιν χάριν. 3. κολληθῶμεν οὖν ἐκείνοις, οἷς ἐκεῖς ἁρίζοντες ἐν τούθεον δέδοται: ἐνυδατώμεθα τὴν ὁμονοίαν ταπεινοφρονοῦντες, ἐγκρατεύομενοι, ἀπὸ παντὸς ἡθυρίσμοι καὶ καταλαλιᾶς πόρρω ἐαυτοὺς ποιοῦντες, ἔργοις δικαιοῦμενοι, μὴ λόγοις.

4. λέγει γάρ: ὁ τὰ πολλὰ λέγων καὶ ἀντακούσεται: ἢ εὐθαλάσσοι εἶναι εἶναι δίκαιοι; 5. εὐλογημένοις γεννητῶς γνωρίζως ὁλογράφοις. μὴ πολὺς ἐν ῥήμασιν γίνον. 6. ὁ ἐπαινοὺς ἡμῶν ἐστὶν ἐν θεῷ καὶ μὴ ἐξ αὐτῶν αὐτεπαίνετους γὰρ μισεῖ ὁ

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

2 μὴ CLK, καὶ μὴ AS.

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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.”

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

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 ταπεινοφορσύνη καὶ πραῦτης παρὰ τοῖς ἡμοῦ γεμένοις ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ.

XXXI

1. Κολληθώμεν οὖν τῇ εὐλογίᾳ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἱδὼμεν, τίνες αἱ ὁδοὶ τῆς εὐλογίας, ἰματυλιξόμεν τὰ ὑπ’ ἄρχῃς γενόμενα. 2. τίνος χάριν ἡμοὶ ἥνωσίν, ὅ πατὴρ ἡμῶν Ἀβραάμ, οὐχὶ δικαιοσύνην καὶ ἀλήθειαν διὰ πίστεως ποιήσας; 3. Ἰσαάκ μετὰ πεποιθήσεως γινώσκον τὸ μέλλον ἠδέως προσήγγετο θυσία. 4. Ἰακώβ μετὰ ταπεινοφορσύνης ἔξε· χώρησεν τῆς γῆς αὐτοῦ δι’ ἰδελφῶν καὶ ἐπορεύθη πρὸς Δαβὰν καὶ ἐδούλευσεν, καὶ ἐδόθη αὐτῷ τὸ δωδεκάσκηντρον τοῦ Ἰσραήλ.

XXXII

1. ὁ δὲ τῷ καθ’ ἐν ἔκαστον εἰλικρινὸς κατανοήσῃ, ἐπηνιστεῖται μεγαλεία τῶν ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ δεδομένων δωρεῶν. 2. εὖ αὐτοῦ γὰρ ἱερεῖς καὶ Δεῦται πάντες οἱ λειτουργοῦντες τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ
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.

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 him come the priests and all the Levites, who serve the altar

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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φοιτώντα τῇ ἐαυτοῦ διατάξει ἐκέλευσεν εἰναὶ θάλασσαν καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ ἥξοι προετοιμᾶσας ἐνέκλεισεν τῇ ἐαυτοῦ δυνάμει. 4. ἐπὶ πᾶσι τὸ ἔξοχότατον καὶ παρμέγιεθες κατὰ διάνοιαν, ἀνθρωπον, ταῖς ἰεραῖς καὶ ἀμώμοιον χερσὶν ἐπλάσαεν τῆς ἐαυτοῦ εἰκόνος χαρακτῆρα. 5. οὕτως γὰρ φησιν ὁ θεός. Ποιήσωμεν ἀνθρωπον καὶ εἰκόνα καὶ καθ’ ὁμοίωσιν ἡμετέραν καὶ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἀνθρωπον, ἄρσεν καὶ δήλῳ ἐποίησεν αὐτοῦ. 6. ταύτα οὖν πάντα τελειώσας ἐπήνευσεν αὐτὰ καὶ ἡμλόγησεν καὶ εἶπεν: Δύνανσθε καὶ πληθύνεσθε. 7. Ἰδοὺ μεν, ὅτι ἐν ἔργοις ἐγαθοΐς πάντες ἐκοσμήθησαν οἱ δίκαιοι, καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ κύριος ἐργοῖς ἐγαθοΐς ἐαυτοῦ κοσμήσας ἔχαρη. 8. ἐχούμεν οὖν τούτων τῶν ὑπογράμμων ἁόκνως προσέλθωμεν τῷ θελήματι αὐτοῦ· εἰς ἄλης τῆς ἱσχύος ἡμῶν ἐργασώμεθα ἐργον δικαιοσύνης.

XXXIV

1. Ὡ ἐγαθὸς ἐργάτης μετὰ παρρησίας λαμβάνει τὸν ἀρτον τοῦ ἐργον αὐτοῦ, ὁ νωθρός καὶ παρειμένος οὐκ ἀντοφθαλμεῖ τῷ ἐργοπαρέκτῃ αὐτοῦ. 2. δὲν οὖν ἐστὶν προθύμως ἡμᾶς εἶναι εἰς ἐγαθοποιίαν εἰς αὐτοῦ γὰρ ἐστὶν τὰ πάντα. 3. προλέγει γὰρ ἡμῖν Ἰδοὺ ὁ κύριος, καὶ ὁ μυσθὸς αὐτοῦ πρὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ, ἀποδοθήκην ἐκάστῳ κατὰ τὸ ἐργον αὐτοῦ. 4. προτρέπεται οὖν ἡμᾶς πιστεύωντάς εἰς ἄλης τῆς καρδίας επὶ αὐτῷ, μὴ ἄργοις μηδὲ παρειμένουσι εἶναι ἐπὶ πᾶν ἐργον ἐγαθόν. 5. τὸ
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.”

¹ Or perhaps “did he form in accordance with his intellect.”
καύχημα ἡμῶν καὶ ἡ παρρησία ἐστῶ ἐν αὐτῷ· ὑποτασσόμεθα τῷ θελήματι αὐτοῦ· κατανοήσωμεν τὸ πᾶν πλήθος τῶν ἀγγέλων αὐτοῦ, πῶς τῷ θελήματι αὐτοῦ λειτουργοῦσιν παρεστῶτες. 6. λέγει γὰρ ἡ γραφὴ· Μούρια μυριάδες παρειστήκεισαν αὐτῷ, καὶ χίλια χιλιάδες ἑλειτούργουν αὐτῷ, καὶ ἐκέκραγον, "Ἄγιος, ἅγιος, ἅγιος κύριος σαβαώθ, πλῆρης πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ. 7. καὶ ἡμεῖς, οὖν, ἐν ὅμοιοι ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συναχθέντες τῇ συνείδησι, ὡς εἰς ἐνός στόματος βοήσωμεν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκτενῶς εἰς τὸ μετόχους ἡμᾶς γενέσθαι τῶν μεγάλων καὶ ἐνδόξων ἐπαγγελμάτων αὐτοῦ. 8. λέγει γὰρ· Ὁ διά οὐκ εἴδεν, καὶ οὐκ έκκουσεν, καὶ ἐπὶ καρδιάν ἀνθρώπων οὐκ ἀνέβη, ὡς ἡτοίμασεν κύριος τῷ ὑπομένουσιν αὐτῶν.

XXXV

1. Ὅσοι μακάρια καὶ θαυμαστὰ τὰ δῶρα τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀγαπητοί. 2. ξυῖς ἐν ἀθανασίᾳ, λαμπρότης ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ, ἀληθεία ἐν παρρησίᾳ, πίστις ἐν πεποιθήσει, ἐγκράτεια ἐν ἀγίασμοῖ· καὶ ταῦτα ὑπέπιπτεν πάντα ὑπὸ τὴν διάνοιαν ἡμῶν. 3. τίνα οὖν ἀρα ἐστὶν τὰ ἔτοιμαζόμενα τοῖς ὑπομένοισιν; οἱ δημιουργοὶ καὶ πατὴρ τῶν αἰῶνων οἱ πανάγιοι αὐτῶν γενώσκει τὴν ποσότητα καὶ τὴν καλλονὴν αὐτῶν. 4. ἡμεῖς οὖν ἀγωνισόμεθα εὑρεθῆναι ἐν τῷ ἁριθμῷ τῶν ὑπομενόντων, ὡς μεταλάβωμεν τῶν ἐπηγγελμένων δωρεῶν. 5. πῶς δὲ

1 Κύριος CLS, ὁ θεός Clem. (so Μούρια CLS). A omits.
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 conscience 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

1 Others translate “in concord and a good conscience”; but it is not certain that συνείδησις can be the synonym of ἄγαθη συνείδησις.
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ἔσται τότε, ἀγαπητοί; ἐὰν ἐστηρυγμένη ἢ ἢ διάνοια ἡμῶν πιστῶς πρὸς τὸν θεὸν, ἐὰν ἐκξητήσωμεν τὰ εὐάρεστα καὶ εὐπρόσδεκτα αὐτῷ, ἐὰν ἐπιτελέσωμεν τὰ ἀνήκοντα τῇ ἄμωμῳ βουλήσει αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἀκολουθήσωμεν τῇ ὁδῷ τῆς ἀληθείας, ἀπορρηταστέας ἢ ἢ ἑαυτῶν πᾶσαν ἀδικίαν καὶ πονηρίαν, πλεονεξίαν, ἔρεις, κακοθείας τε καὶ δόλους, ψυχρισμοὺς τε καὶ καταλαλίας, θεοστυγίαν, ύπερηφανίαν τε καὶ ἀλαξονείαν, κενοδοξίαν τε καὶ ἀφιλοξενίαν. 1 Ὁ ταῦτα γὰρ οἱ πράσσοντες στυγνητοὶ τῷ θεῷ ὑπάρχουσιν οὐ μόνον δὲ οἱ πράσσοντες αὐτά, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ συνευδοκούντες αὐτοὺς. 7. λέγει γὰρ ἡ γραφή: Τῷ δὲ ἄμαρτωλῷ εἶπεν ὁ θεός· ἐματί σὺ διηγῇ τὰ δικαιώματά μου, καὶ ἀναλαμβάνεις τὴν διαθήκην μου ἐπὶ στόματός σου; 8. σὺ δὲ ἐμώσηςα παιδείαν καὶ ἐξέβαλες τοὺς λόγους μου εἰς τὰ ὁπίσω. εἰ ἐθεώρεις κλέπτην, συνέτρεχες αὐτὸ, καὶ μετὰ μοῖχῶν τὴν μερίδα σου ἐπίθετες. τὸ στόμα σου ἐπλεόνασεν κακίαν, καὶ ἡ γλῶσσά σου περιέπλεκεν δολιότητα. καθήμενος κατὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου κατελάλεις, καὶ κατὰ τοῦ νιὸν τῆς μητρὸς σου ἐπίθεις σκάνδαλον. 9. ταῦτα ἐποίησας, καὶ ἐσίγνησα· ὑπέλαβες, ἀνομε, ὅτι ἐσομαὶ σοι ὁμοίοις. 10. ἐλέγξω σε καὶ παραστήσω σε κατὰ πρόσωπον σου. 11. σύνετε δὴ ταῦτα, οἱ ἐπιλανθανόμενοι τοῦ θεοῦ, μὴ ποτὲ ἀρπάσῃ ὡς λέων, καὶ μὴ ἢ ὁ ρυόμενος. 12. θυσία αἰνέσεως δοξάσει με, καὶ ἐκεῖ ὁδός, ἢ δείξω αὐτῷ τὸ σωτήριον τοῦ θεοῦ.

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

2 ἢ L (in quae) ἢν ACS with later LXX MSS.
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. 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.
XXXVI

1. Ἀύτῃ ἡ ὁδὸς, ἀγαπητοί, ἐν ᾗ εὑρομεν τὸ σωτηρίου ἡμῶν, Ἰησούν Χριστὸν, τὸν ἁρχιερέα τῶν προσφορῶν ἡμῶν, τὸν προστάτην καὶ βοηθὸν τῆς ἀσθενείας ἡμῶν. 2. διὰ τούτου ἀτενίζομεν ἐν τῇ ύψῃ τῶν οὐρανῶν, διὰ τούτου ἐνοπτηρίζομεθα τὴν ἁμώμον καὶ ὑπερτάτην ὅψιν αὐτοῦ, διὰ τούτου ἡμεῖς χθεσαν ἡμῶν οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ τῆς καρδίας, διὰ τούτου ἡ ἀσύνετα καὶ ἐσκοτωμένη διάνοια ἡμῶν ἀναβάλλει εἰς τὸ φῶς, διὰ τούτου ἢθελήσων ὁ δεσπότης της ἀθανάτου γυναῖκος ἡμᾶς γενέσθαι, ὅτι ἔνωσαμαι τῆς μεγαλωσύνης αὐτοῦ, τοσοῦτοι μείζων ἐστὶν ἀγγέλων, ὅσοι διαφορώτεροι οἴσμα κεκληρονομήκεν. 3. γέγραπται γὰρ οὕτως ὁ ποιῶν τοὺς ἀγγέλους αὐτοῦ πνεῦμα καὶ τοὺς λειτουργοὺς αὐτοῦ πυρὸς φλόγα. 4. ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ νῦν αὐτοῦ οὕτως ἐπεν ὁ δεσπότης. Τίς μου εἰ σὺ, ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγένηκά σε αὐτησαι παρ’ ἐμοῦ, καὶ δώσω σοι ἔθνη τὴν κληρονομίαν σου καὶ τὴν κατάσχεσιν σου τὰ πέρατα τῆς γῆς. 5. καὶ πάλιν λέγει πρὸς αὐτοῦ: Κάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν μου, ἔως ἂν θῶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς σου ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν σου. 6. τίνες οὐν οἱ ἐχθροί; οἱ φαύλοι καὶ ἀντιπασσόμενοι τῷ θελήματι αὐτοῦ.

XXXVII

1. Στρατευσόμεθα οὖν, ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί, μετὰ πάσης ἐκτενείας ἐν τοῖς ἁμώμοις προστάγμασιν αὐτοῦ. 2. κατανοήσωμεν τοὺς στρατευομένους Ἄτενίζωμεν Α “let us fix our gaze.”

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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. 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. 2. Let us consider those who serve our generals, with
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tois ηγουμένωις ἡμῶν, πώς εὐτάκτως, πώς ἐκτικῶς,1 πώς ὑποτεταγμένως ἐπιτηδεύσω τα διατασσόμενα. 3. οὗ πάντες εἰσάγω ἐπαρχοί οὓδε χιλιάρχοι οὓδε ἐκα-
τόνταρχαι οподобε πεντηκόνταρχοι οὓδε τὸ καθεξῆς, ἀλλ' ἐκαστὸς ἐν τῷ ἱδίῳ τάγματι τα ἐπιτασσόμενα ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τῶν ηγουμένων ἐπιτελεῖ. 4. οἱ μεγάλοι δίγα τῶν μικρῶν οὐ δύνανται εἶναι, οὔτε οἱ μικροὶ δίγα τῶν μεγάλων σύγκρασις τῆς ἑστιν ἐν πάσιν, καὶ ἐν τούτοις 2 χρῆσις. 5. λάβωμεν τὸ σῶμα ἡμῶν η κεφαλὴ δίγα τῶν ποδῶν οὐδέν ἑστιν, οὕτως οὓδε οἱ πόδες δίγα τῆς κεφαλῆς τὰ δὲ ἐλάχιστα μέλη τοῦ σώματος ἡμῶν ἀναγκαῖα καὶ εὐχρηστά εἰσι τῷ σῶματι ἀλλὰ πάντα συνυπεί καὶ ὑποταγῇ μᾶ χρῆται εἰς τὸ σώζεσθαι ὅλον τὸ σῶμα.

XXXVIII

1. Σωζέσθω οὖν ἡμῶν ὅλον τὸ σῶμα ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, καὶ ὑποτασσέσθω ἐκαστὸς τῷ πλησίον αὐτοῦ, καθὼς ἐτέθη ἐν τῷ χαρίσματι αὐτοῦ. 2. ὁ ἰσχυρὸς τημελεῖτω3 τῶν ἁσθενῶν, ὁ δὲ ἁσθενὴς ἐντρέπεσθω τῶν ἰσχυρῶν ὁ πλούσιος ἐπιχορηγεῖτῳ τῷ πτωχῷ, ὁ δὲ πτωχὸς εὐχαριστεῖτῳ τῷ θεῷ, ὅτι ἐδωκεν αὐτῷ, δι' οὗ ἀναπληρώθη αὐτοῦ τὸ υπότηρμα· ὁ σοφὸς ἐνεκικύρωσθω τὴν σοφίαν αὐτοῦ μη ἐν

1 A reads εἰεκτ... (the rest of the word has disappeared, though there is a trace either of ὃ... or of ἢ.) A1 has εἰεκτ...

2 L seems to imply ἀλλ' ἁλ' ἃ... "and one makes use of the other," which may be the original text.

3 A has μὴ τημελεῖτω. This is perhaps a corruption of μὴ ἀναπληρωθῇ αὐτοῦ "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;
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λόγους, ἀλλ' ἐν ἔργοις ἀγαθοῖς· ὁ ταπεινοφρονῶν μὴ ἐαυτῷ μαρτυρεῖτω, ἀλλ' ἐάν τω ύπ' ἔτέρον ἐαυτὸν μαρτυρεῖσθαι· ὁ ἀγνὸς ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ μὴ ἀλαξονεύσθω, γινώσκων ὅτι ἔτερος ἐστίν ὁ ἐπιχορηγῶν αὐτῷ τὴν ἐγκράτειαν. 3. ἀναλογισῶμεθα σὺν, ἅδελφοί, ἐκ ποιας ὑλης ἐγεννηθημεν, ποιοι καὶ τίνες εἰσήλθαμεν εἰς τὸν κόσμον, ἐκ ποιον τάφου καὶ σκότους ὁ πλάσας ἡμᾶς καὶ δημιουργήσας εἰσήγαγεν εἰς τὸν κόσμον αὐτοῦ, προετοιμάσας τὰς εὐεργεσίας αὐτοῦ, πρὸν ἡμᾶς γεγενήθηναι. 4. ταῦτα οὖν πάντα ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐγοντες ὄφειλομεν κατὰ πάντα εὐχαριστεῖν αὐτῷ· οἳ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰῶνων. ἀμήν.

XXXIX

1. Ἀφρονεῖς καὶ ὑσύνετοι καὶ μωροὶ καὶ ἀπαιδευτοὶ χλευάζουσιν ἡμᾶς καὶ μυκτηρίζουσιν, ἐαυτοὺς βουλόμενοι ἐπαίρεσθαι ταῖς διανοίασις αὐτῶν. 2. τι γὰρ δύναται θητός; ἢ τὶς ἱσχύς γεγεννοῦσ; 3. γέγραπται γὰρ. Ὅνη ἤ τιν μορφῇ πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν μου, ἀλλ' ἢ αὕραν καὶ φωνῇ ἢκουν· 4. τι γὰρ; μὴ καθαρὸς ἐσται βροτὸς ἐναντίον κυρίου; ἢ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐργῶν αὐτοῦ ἀμεμπτός ἂνηρ, εἰ κατὰ παῖδων αὐτοῦ οὐ πιστευεῖ, κατὰ δὲ ἀγγέλων αὐτοῦ σκολιόν τί ἐπενόησεν; 5. οὗρανός δὲ οὗ καθαρὸς ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ· ἢ οὗ, οἵ κατοικοῦντες οἰκίας τηλῆνας, εἰς δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐκ τοῦ

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

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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
αὐτὸν πηλοῦ ἔσμεν· ἐπαισεν αὐτοὺς σητὸς τρόπον, καὶ ἀπὸ προϊθεν ἔως ἐσπέρας οὐκ ἔτι εἰσίν· παρὰ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι αὐτοὺς ἕαυτοῖς βοηθῆσαι ἀπώλοντο. 6. ἐνεφύσησεν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἐτελεύτησαν παρὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν αὐτοὺς σοφίαν. 7. ἔπικάλεσαι δὲ, εἰ τίς σοι ὑπακούσεται, ἢ εἰ τίνα ἁγίων ἁγιέλων ὑψῆ καὶ γὰρ ἄφρωνα ἀναιρεῖ ὅργῃ, πεπλανημένων δὲ θανατοῖς ζῆλος. 8. ἡ γὰρ δὲ ἐφάρακα ἄφρωνας ρίζας βάλλοντας, ἀλλ' εὐθέως ἐβρώθη αὐτῶν ἡ δίαστα. 9. πόρρω γένοιτο οἱ νῖοι αὐτῶν ἀπὸ σωτηρίας κολαβρισθείσαν ἐπὶ θύραις ἕσσονον, καὶ οὐκ ἔσται ὁ ἔξαιρούμενος· ἢ γὰρ ἐκείνοις ἡτοίμασται, δικαίοι ἔσονται, αὐτοῖ δὲ ἐκ κακῶν οὐκ ἔξαιρετοι ἔσονται.
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
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μακάριοι τοῖς γὰρ νομίμωις τοῦ δεσπότου ἀκολουθοῦντες οὕς διαμαρτάνουσιν. 5. τῷ γὰρ ἀρχιερεῖ ἑνὶ λειτουργῇ δεδομέναι εἰσίν, καὶ τοῖς ἱερείσιν ἑνὶς ὁ τόπος προστέτακται, καὶ Δεινόταις ἑνὶ διακονεῖ ἐπίκεινταῖ ὁ λαῖκὸς ἀνθρώπος τοῖς λαίκοις προστάγμασιν δέδεται.¹

XLI

1 Cor. 15, 28 1. "Εκαστὸς ἦμῶν, ἀδελφοί, ἐν τῷ ἴδιῳ τῶρματι εὐαριστεῖτως ἐκεῖνος τῷ θεῷ ἐν ἀγαθῇ συνειδήσει ὑπάρχουν, μὴ παρεκβάλλων τὸν ὄρισμένον τῆς λειτουργίας αὐτοῦ κανόνα, ἐν σεμνότητι. 2. οὐ πανταχοῦ, ἀδελφοί, προσφέρονται θυσίαι ἐνδελεχομοῦ ἡ εὐχὰς ή περὶ ἁμαρτίας καὶ πλημμελείας, ἄλλα οὖν ἤπειρον ἁμαρτίας καὶ πλημμελείας, κακεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἐν πάντι τῷ προσφέρεται, ἐν πάντως ἐμπροσθεν τοῦ θεοῦ πρὸς τὸ θυσιαστήριον, μωμοσκοτθεὶσα ντὸ προσφέρομεν διὰ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως καὶ τῶν προειρήμενον λειτουργῶν. 3. οἱ οὖν πρὸς τὸ καθήκον τῆς βουλής αὐτοῦ ποιούντες τὰ θάνατον τὸ πρόστιμον ἔχουσιν. 4. ὁρᾶτε, ἀδελφοί, ὅσον πλείονος κατηχοῦμεν γνώσεως, τοσοῦτοι μᾶλλον ὑποκείμεθα κινδύνῳ.

XLII

1. Οἱ ἀπόστολοι ἦμῶν εὐχαγελίσθησαν ἀπὸ τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, Ἰησοῦς ο Ἰησοῦς ἄπο

¹ δέδεται A, δέδεται CLS.
² A reads εὐαριστεῖτως, "join in the Eucharist," or less probably, "give thanks." ³ ο reads προσευχὰς.
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.

XLII

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

¹ If the reading of  be adopted, "Sacrifices of prayers."
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τοῦ θεοῦ ἔξεπτέμψθη. 2. ὁ Χριστὸς οὖν ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ οἱ ἀπόστολοι ἀπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ· ἐγένοντο οὖν ἀμφότερα εὐτάκτως ἐκ θελήματος θεοῦ.
3. παραγγελίας οὖν λαβόντες καὶ πληροφορθέντες διὰ τῆς ἀναστάσεως τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ πιστωθέντες ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τοῦ θεοῦ, μετὰ πληροφορίας πνεύματος ἠγίου ἐξήλθον εὐαγγελιζόμενοι, τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ μέλλειν ἔρχεσθαι. 4. κατὰ χῶρας οὖν καὶ πόλεις κηρύσσοντες ἵνα καθίσαντο τὰς ἁπαρχὰς αὐτῶν, δοκιμασαντες τῷ πνεύματι, εἰς ἐπισκόπους καὶ διακόνους τῶν μελλόντων πιστεύειν. 5. καὶ τοῦτο οὐ καὶνοῦ, ἐκ γὰρ ἡ πολλὰς χρόνων ἐγέραμπτο περὶ ἐπισκόπων καὶ διακόνων. οὕτως γάρ ποιοῦ ἡ γραφὴ: Καταστήσω τοὺς ἐπισκόπους αὐτῶν ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ τοὺς διακόνους αὐτῶν ἐν πίστει.

XLIII

Num. 12, 7; Heb. 3, 5

1. Καὶ τὶ θαυμαστὸν, εἰ δὲ ἐν Χριστῷ πιστευθέντες παρὰ θεοῦ ἔργον τοιοῦτο κατέστησαν τοὺς προερημένους; ὅτου καὶ ὁ μακάριος πιστὸς θεράπτων ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ οἶκῳ Μωυσῆς τὰ διατεταγμένα αὐτῷ πάντα ἐσημειώσατο ἐν ταῖς ἑραίς βίβλοις, ὥς καὶ ἐπηκολουθήσαν οἱ λοιποὶ προφήται, συνεπαιμαρτυροῦντες τοὺς ὑπὲ αὐτῶν νευμοδημένους.

2. ἑκεῖνος γὰρ, ζῆλου ἐμπεσόντος περὶ τῆς ἱερωσύνης καὶ στασιακουσῶν τῶν φυλῶν, ὅποια αὐτῶν εἰλ τῷ ἐνδόξῳ ὑνόματι κεκοσμημένη, ἐκέλευσεν

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

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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

¹ ἀμφότερα “both” is probably adverbial rather than the subject of ἐγένοντο.
τοὺς δώδεκα φυλάρχους προσευχηκεὶν αὐτῷ ράβδους ἐπιστημονικῶς ἐκατέτησις φυλῆς καὶ ὅνωμα· 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 ὁσαύτως καὶ τὰς ράβδους, 4. καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· ὁ ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί, ἦσαν φυλῆς ἡ ράβδος βλαστήσῃ, ταύτην ἐκλέξεσθαι ὁ θεὸς εἰς τὸ ἱερατεύειν καὶ λειτουργεῖν αὐτῇ. 5. προώθηε δὲ γενομένης συνεκάλεσω πάντα τὸν Ἰσραὴλ, τὰς ἐξαισθασίας χιλιάδας τῶν ἄνδρων, καὶ ἐπεδείξατο τοῖς φυλάρχοις τὰς σφραγίδας, καὶ ἤμουξεν τὴν σκηνὴν τοῦ μαρτυρίου καὶ προειλεῖ τὰς ράβδους· καὶ εὐρέθη ἡ ράβδος Ἁρων οὐ μόνον βεβλαστηκεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ καρπὸν ἔχονσα. 6. τί δοκεῖτε, ἀγαπητοί; οὐ προῆλθε Μωϋσῆς τούτο γελεῖν ἔσεσθαι; μᾶλιστα ἤδει; ἀλλ' ἵνα μὴ ἄκαταστασία γένηται ἐν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ, οὕτως ἐποίησεν, εἰς τὸ δοξασθῆναι τὸ όνοµα τοῦ ἄληθινον καὶ μόνον θεοῦ. 1 οὗτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰῶνων. ἀμήν.

**XLIV**

1. Καὶ οἱ ἀπόστολοι ἠµῶν ἐγνώσαν διὰ τοῦ κυρίου ἠµῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὅτι ἔρις ἔσται ἐπὶ τοῦ ὁνόματος τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς. 2. διὰ ταύτην οὗν τὴν αἵτινα πρόγνωσιν εἰληφότες τελειῶν κατέστησαν

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

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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 whichever 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
τοὺς προειρημένους, καὶ μεταξὺ ἐπινομῆς ἅ ἐδώκασιν, ὡς καὶ κοιμηθῶσιν, διαδέξωνται ἐτέροι δεδοκιμασμένοι ἄνδρες τῆς λειτουργίας αὐτῶν. 3. τοὺς οὓς καταστάθηντας ὑπ’ ἐκείνου ἡ μεταξὺ ὕφ’ ἐτέρων ἐλλογίμων ἄνδρῶν συνευδοκησάσθη τῆς ἐκκλησίας πάσης, καὶ λειτουργήσαντας ἀμέμπτως τῷ ποιμνίῳ τοῦ Χριστοῦ μετὰ ταπεινοφροσύνης, ἀσύχως καὶ ἀβανάνως, μεμαρτυρημένους τε πολλοῖς χρόνοις ὑπὸ πάντων, τούτοις οὐ δικαίως νομίζομεν ἀποβίλλεσθαι τῆς λειτουργίας. 4. ἀμαρτία γὰρ οὐ μικρὰ ἡμῖν ἔσται, εἰ τοὺς ἀμέμπτους καὶ ὅσιους προσενεγκόντας τὰ δόρα τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ἀποβάλλωμεν. 5. μακάριοι οἱ προοδοποιησάντας πρεσβύτερους, οὕτως ἐγκαρτον καὶ τελείαν ἐσχόν τὴν ἀνάλυσιν οὐ γὰρ εὐλαβοῦνται μὴ τις αὐτοὺς μεταστήσῃ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱδρυμένου αὐτοῖς τόπου. 6. ὁρῶμεν γὰρ, ὅτι ἐνίοις ὑμεῖς μετηγώγητε καλῶς πολεμευμένους ἐκ τῆς ἀμέμπτους αὐτοῖς τετηρημένης λειτουργίας.

XLV

1. Φιλόνεικοι ἔστε, ἀδελφοί, καὶ ξηλωταὶ περὶ τῶν ἁνηκόντων εἰς σωτηρίαν. 2. ἐγκεκύφατε εἰς τὰς ἱερὰς γραφάς, τὰς ἀληθείς, τὰς διὰ τοῦ

1 ἐπινομῆς Α, ἐπιδοκίμης Β, λέγεται Λ (= ἡ τυχόν;), the equivalent of ἐπιδοκίμης Σ, “And gave to those who were after them.” K. ἐπινομῆς seems to be the most probable reading as L more or less supports the -νομῆς and CS support the ἐπι-, but the translation is doubtful, as it is difficult to obtain any sense unless it be supposed that ἐπινομῆς has the meaning “codicil” which usually belongs to the cognate word ἐπιμολ. Lightfoot emends to ἐπιμολή, “permanence.”
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

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

2 Or possibly, "Be contentious."
πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου. 3. ἐπέστασθε, ὅτι οὐδὲν ἄδικον οὐδὲ παραπεποιημένον γέγραπται εἰς αὐτάς. οὐχ εὑρίσκετε δικαίους ἀποβεβλημένους ἀπὸ ὅσιων ἁνδρῶν. 4. ἐδιώχθησαν δίκαιοι, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ ἀνόμων· ἐφυλακίσθησαν, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ ἀνοσίων· ἐμθάσθησαν ὑπὸ παρανόμων· ἀπεκτάνθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν μιαρῶν καὶ ἄδικων ζηλοῦν ἀνειληφότων. 5. ταῦτα πάσχοντες εὐκλεῶς ἦγεγκαν. 6. τῇ γὰρ εἶπομεν, ἀδελφοί; Δανίηλ ὑπὸ τῶν φοβουμένων τὸν θεὸν ἐβλήθη εἰς λάκκων λειτουργιῶν; 7. ἡ Ἁνανίας καὶ Ἁζαρίας καὶ Μισαήλ ὑπὸ τῶν θρησκευόντων τὴν μεγαλοπρεπὴ καὶ ἕνδοξον θρησκείαν τὸν ύψιστον κατείρθησαν εἰς κάμων πυρὸς; μηθαμός τοῦτο γένοιτο. τίνες οὖν οἱ ταῦτα δράσαντες; οἱ στυγνοὶ καὶ πάσης κακίας πλήρεις εἰς τοσοῦτο ἐξηρίσαν θυμοῦ, ὡστε τοὺς ἐν ὅσια καὶ ἁμόμωροι προθέσει δουλεύοντας τῷ θεῷ εἰς αἰκίαν περιβαλεῖν, μὴ εἴδοτες ὅτι ὁ ύψιστος ύπέρμαχος καὶ υπερασπιστὴς ἐστὶν τῶν ἐν καθαρὰ συνειδησίας λατρευόντων τῷ παναρέτῳ ὑπόματι αὐτοῦ· ὅ ὡς δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰώνας τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν. 8. οἱ δὲ ὑπομένοντες ἐν πεπιθήσει δόξαι καὶ τιμῆν ἐκληρούμενοι, ἐπηρθῆσαν τε καὶ ἐγγράφοις ἐγένοντο ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν τῷ μνημοσύνῳ αὐτοῦ ἕνα τῶν αἰώνων τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν.

XLVI

1. Τοιοῦτοις οὖν ὑποδείγμασι κολληθήναι καὶ ἡμᾶς δει, ἀδελφοί. 2. γέγραπται γὰρ: Κολλᾶσθε τοῖς ἁγίοις, ὅτι οἱ κολλώμενοι αὐτοῖς ἀγιασθή-

1 μνημοσύνῃ αὐτῶν Α, "their memorial."
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

1 The source of this quotation is unknown.
Ps. 17, 26 f.

Eph. 4, 4-6

Mt. 26, 24
(Mt. 14, 21; Luke 22, 22; Luke 17, 3
(Mt. 18, 6; Mk. 9, 42)

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σουταί. 3. καὶ πάλιν ἐν ἔτερῳ τόπῳ λέγειν: Μετὰ ἄνδρός ἄθροι ἄθροις ἔσῃ καὶ μετὰ ἐκλεκτῶν ἐκλεκτοῖς ἐσῃ, καὶ μετὰ στρεβλῶν διαστρέψεις. 4. κολληθῶμεν σὺν τοῖς ἄθροις καὶ δικαιώσις: εἰς ὅποιον ἐκλεκτὸς τοῦ θεοῦ. 5. ἵνα τί ἔρεις καὶ θυμοὶ καὶ διχοστάσαι καὶ σχίσματα πόλεμός τε ἐν ὑμῖν; 6. ἢ ὑψίλοι ἑνα θεόν ἔχομεν καὶ ἕνα Χριστόν καὶ ἑνα πνεῦμα τῆς χάριτος τὸ ἐκχυθὲν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς; καὶ μία κλησις ἐν Χριστῷ; 7. ἵνα διέλκομεν καὶ διαστάσωμεν τὰ μέλη τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ στασιάζομεν πρὸ τοῦ σώμα τὸ ἑδον, καὶ εἰς τοσάττη σᾶς ἀπόνοιαν ἐρχόμεθα, ὡστε ἐπιλαβέσθαι ἡμᾶς, ὅτι μέλη ἐσμέν ἄλλη λόγων; μνησθείτε τῶν λόγων τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ. 8. εἶπεν γάρ. Οὐκ ἔχω ἄνθρωπον ἐκείνῳ καλὸν ἣν ἄρτῳ, εἰ ὑμίκ ἐγεννηθῇ, ἡ ἕνα τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν μου σκανδάλισαι· κρείττον ἥν αὐτῷ περιτεθήναι μύλον καὶ καταποι- τισθήναι εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν, ἢ ἕνα τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν μου διαστρέψας. 9. τὸ σχίσμα ὑμῶν πολλοὺς διεστρέψει, πολλοὺς εἰς ἀθυμίαι ἔβαλεν, πολλοὺς εἰς δισταγμόν, τοὺς πάντας ἡμᾶς εἰς λύπην καὶ ἐπίμονος ὑμῶν ἐστιν ἡ στάσις.

XLVII

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

1 Ἰησοῦ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Α., τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ CSK, domini Iesu (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 σκανδάλισαι "offend one of my little ones" AC.
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." 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

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.
ἀρχῇ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ἐγραψεν; 3. ἐπ’ ἀληθείας πνευματικῶς ἐπέστειλεν ὡμᾶν περὶ ἑαυτοῦ τε καὶ Κηφᾶ τε καὶ Ἀπολλών, διὰ τὸ καὶ τότε προσκλίσεις ὡμᾶς πεποιήσατο. 4. ἀλλ’ ἡ πρόσκλησις ἑκείνη ἤττονα ἄμαρτίαν ὡμᾶν προσήγγευκεν προσεκλίθητε γὰρ ἀποστόλους μεμαρτυρημένους καὶ ἀνδρὶ δεδοκιμασμένῳ παρ’ αὐτοῖς. 5. νυνὶ δὲ κατανοήσατε, πῖνες ὡμᾶς διέστρεψαν καὶ τὸ σεμνὸν τῆς περιβοήτου φιλαδελφίας ὡμῶν ἐμείωσαν. 6. αἰσχρά, ἀγαπητοὶ, καὶ ψευδάμενοι, καὶ ἀνάξια τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ ἁγιογνώσεως ἀκούοντες, τῇ ἐβεβαιωτᾷ την καὶ ἀρχαίαν Κορινθίων ἐκκλησίαν δι’ ἐν ἣ δύο πρόσωπα στασιάξαν πρὸς τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους· 7. καὶ αὕτη ἡ ἐκοίμησεν καὶ μόνην εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐχώρησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἐπεκλιμνεῖς ὑπάρχοντας ἄφ’ ἡμῶν, ὅστε καὶ βλασφημίας ἐπιφέρεσθαι τῷ ὁνόματι κυρίου διὰ τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀφροσύνην, ἑαυτοῖς δὲ κίνδυνον ἐπεξεργάζεσθαι.

XLVIII

1. Ἐξάρωμεν οὖν τούτο ἐν τάχει καὶ προσπέσωμεν τῷ δεσπότῃ καὶ κλαύσωμεν ἰκετεύοντες αὐτόν, ὡς ἠλέος γενόμενος ἐπικαταλαγῆ ἡμῶν καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν σεμνήν τῆς φιλαδελφίας ἡμῶν ἀγνήν ἀγωγῆν ἀποκαταστήσῃ ἡμᾶς. 2. τύλη γὰρ δικαιοσύνης ἀνεφυές εἰς ζωήν αὕτη, καθὼς γέγραπται· Ἀνοίξατε μοι τύλας δικαιοσύνης, ὦνα εἰσελθὼν ἐν αὐταῖς ἔξομολογήσωμαι 1 τῷ κυρίῳ. 3. αὕτη ἡ

1 ὦνα εἰσελθὼν... ἔξομολογήσωμαι SK. Clem., εἰσελθὼν... ἔξομολογήσωμαι (I will enter... and praise) ACL.
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 steadfast 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 Exhortation us fall down before the Master, and beseech him to be reconciled 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;
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πῦλη τού κυρίου δίκαιοι εἰσελεύσονται ἐν αὐτῇ. 4. πολλῶν οὖν πυλῶν ἀνεφρυγών ἢ ἐν δικαιοσύνη ἀυτῇ ἐστὶν ἢ ἐν Χριστῷ ἐν ἧ μακάριοι πάντες οἱ εἰσελθόντες καὶ κατευθύνοντες τὴν πορείαν αὐτῶν ἐν ὀσιότητι καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ, ἀταράχως πάντα ἐπιτελοῦντες. 5. ἢτω τις πιστός, ἢτω δυνατός γνῶσιν ἐξειπεῖν, ἢτω σοφὸς ἐν διακρίσει λόγων, ἢτω ἁγνὸς ἐν ἔργοις. 6. τοσούτω γὰρ μᾶλλον ταπεινοφρονεῖν ὁφείλει, ὡσφ δοκεῖ μᾶλλον μεῖζων εἶναι, καὶ ξητείν τὸ κοινωφελὲς πάσιν, καὶ μὴ τὸ ἔαυτον.

XLIX

1. ὁ ἔχων ἁγάπην ἐν Χριστῷ ποιησάτω τὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ παραγγέλματα. 2. τὸν ἔσμον τῆς ἁγάπης τοῦ θεοῦ τῆς δύναται ἐξηγήσασθαι; 3. τὸ μεγαλεῖον τῆς καλλουνῆς αὐτοῦ τῆς ἀρκετὰς ἐξειπεῖν; 4. τὸ ὑψος, εἰς δ.ἀνάγει ἢ ἁγάπη, ἀνεκδεήγητον ἐστὶν. 5. ἁγάπη κολλά ἡμᾶς τῷ θεῷ, ἁγάπη καλύπτει πλῆθος ἀμαρτιῶν, ἁγάπη πάντα ἀνέχεται, πάντα μακροθυμεῖ, οὐδὲν βάναυσον ἐν ἁγάπῃ, οὐδὲν ὑπερήφανον ἁγάπη σχίσμα οὐκ ἔχει, ἁγάπη οὐ στασιάζει, ἁγάπη πάντα ποιεῖ ἐν ὁμονοίᾳ. εἰς τῇ ἁγάπῃ ἐτελεῖοθησαν πάντες οἱ ἐκλεκτοί τοῦ θεοῦ, δίχα ἁγάπης οὐδὲν εὑρεστόν ἔστιν ἡμῶν τῷ θεῷ. 6. ἐν ἁγάπῃ προσελάβετο ἡμᾶς ὅ δεσπότης· διὰ τὴν ἁγάπην, ἢν ἐσχεν πρὸς ἡμᾶς.

1 Clement twice quotes this passage with ἁγνὸς (energetic) instead of ἁγνός before ἐν ἔργοις, but the second time he adds ἢτω ἁγνὸς as well.

2 ἢτω om. L. Clem.
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

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.
τὸ ἀἷμα αὐτοῦ ἐδοκεν 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. Ὢρατε, ἀγαπητοί, πῶς μέγα καὶ θαυμαστὸν ἐστὶν ἡ ἀγάπη, καὶ τῆς τελειωτής αὐτῆς οὐκ ἐστιν ἐξήγησις. 2. τὸς ἰκανὸς ἐν αὐτῇ εὑρέθηναι, εἰ μὴ οὐσὶ ἂν καταξιώσῃ ὁ θεὸς; δεόμεθα οὖν καὶ αἰτῶμεθα ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔλεους αὐτοῦ, ἵνα ἐν ἀγάπῃ εὑρεθῶμεν δύχα προσκλίσεως ἀνθρωπίνης, ἄμωμοι. 3. αἱ γενεαὶ τῶν Πόλις ἦσσα τῆς ἡμέρας παρῆλθον, ἀλλ' οἱ ἐν ἀγάπῃ τελειωθέντες κατὰ τὴν θεοῦ χάριν ἔχουσιν χῶρον εὐσεβῶν, οἱ φανερωθήσονται ἐν τῇ ἐπισκοπῇ τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ Χριστοῦ. 4. γέγραπται γὰρ, Εἰσέλθητε εἰς τὰ ταμεῖα μικρὸν ὅσον ὅσον, ἐώς οὐ παρέλθῃ ἡ ὀργὴ καὶ ο θυμὸς μου, καὶ μνησθήσομαι ἡμέρας ἀγαθῆς, καὶ ἀναστήσω ὑμᾶς ἐκ τῶν θηκῶν ὑμῶν. 5. μακάριοι ἐσμεν, ἀγαπητοί, εἰ τὰ προστάγματα τοῦ θεοῦ ἐποιούμεν ἐν ὀμονοίᾳ ἀγάπης, εἰς τὸ ἀφε- θῆναι ἡμῖν δι' ἀγάπης τὰς ἀμαρτίας. 6. γέγραπται γὰρ, Μακάριοι, ὅπως ἀφέθησαν αἱ ἀνομίαι καὶ ὅπως ἐπεκαλύφθησαν αἱ ἀμαρτίαι, μακάριοι ἀνήρ, οὐ οὐ μὴ λογίσηται κύριος ἀμαρτίαν, οὔτε ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ δόλος. 7. οὗτος ὁ μακαρι

Χριστοῦ (A)LK Clem., θεοῦ CS.

2 This seems corrupt: a present is required.
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 soul\textsuperscript{1} for our souls.”

L

1. See, beloved, how great and wonderful is 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.”

\textsuperscript{1} Or, perhaps “life for our lives”; but there seems to be an antithesis in the Greek between \textit{σάρξ}, flesh, and \textit{ψυχή}, soul.
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σμὸς ἐγένετο εἴπτ θεοῦ τούτου ἐκλελεγμένος ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν, ᾧ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν.

LI

1. "Οσα οὖν παρεπέσαμεν καὶ ἐποιήσαμεν διὰ τινὰς παρεμπτώσεις τοῦ ἀντικειμένου, αξιώσαμεν ἀφεθῆναι ἡμῖν. καὶ ἐκεῖνοι δὲ, οἵτινες ἄρχηγοι στάσεως καὶ διχοστασίας ἐγενήθησαν, ὄφελον οὐ τὸ κοινὸν τῆς ἐλπίδος σκοτεῖν. 2. οἱ γὰρ μετὰ φόβου καὶ ἀγάπης πολυτενοῦσαι ἐαυτοὺς θέλοντος μᾶλλον αἰκίας περιπλήκτειν ἢ τοὺς πλησίον μᾶλλον δὲ ἐαυτῶν κατάγνωσιν φέρουσιν ἢ τῆς παραδοσίας ἡμῶν καὶ δικαιώς ὁμοφωνίας, 3. καλὸν γὰρ ἀνθρώπων ἐξομολογεῖσθαι περὶ τῶν παραπτωμάτων ἡ σκληροῦσα τὴν καρδίαν αὐτοῦ, καθὼς ἐσκληρύνθη ἡ καρδία τῶν στασιαζόντων πρὸς τὸν θεράποντα τοῦ θεοῦ Μωϋσῆν, ἓν τὸ κρίμα πρόδηλον ἐγενήθη. 4. κατεβηκαν γὰρ εἰς ἄδου ζῶντες, καὶ θάνατος ποιμανεὶ αὐτοὺς. 5. Παρακαλῶ καὶ ἡ στρατιά αὐτοῦ καὶ πάντες οἱ Ἰσραήλεωι Αἰγύπτου, τὰ τε ἄρματα καὶ οἱ ἀνάβασαι αὐτῶν οὗ δὲ ἄλλην τινὰ αἰτίαν ἐβυθίσθησαν εἰς τάλασσαν ἐρυθρᾶν καὶ ἀπώλοντο, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ σκληρυνθῆναι αὐτῶν τὰς αὐστηρὰς καρδίας μετὰ τὸ γενέσθαι τὰ σημεῖα καὶ τὰ τέρατα ἐν γῇ Αἰγύπτου διὰ τοῦ θεράποντος τοῦ θεοῦ Μωϋσέως.

Num. 16

Ps. 49, 14

Exod. 14, 23

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

96
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 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.
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LII

1. Ἀπροσδεητικός ἀδελφε, ὁ δεσπότης ὑπάρχει τῶν ἀπάντων ὁ ὑδεῖν ὁ ὑδεῖν ὁ χρήσκει εἰ μὴ τὸ ἐξομολογεῖσθαι αὐτῷ. 2. φησίν γὰρ ὁ ἐκλεκτὸς
Ps. 69, 90-92
Δανείδ. Ἐξομολογήσομαι τῷ κυρίῳ, καὶ ἀρέσει αὐτῷ ὑπὲρ μόσχου νέου κέρατα ἐκφέροντα καὶ ὀπλάς ἰδέτωσαν πτωχοὶ καὶ εὐφραυμήτωσαν.
Ps. 50, 14, 15
3. καὶ πάλιν λέγει. Θύσον τῷ θεῷ θυσίαν αἰνέσεως καὶ ἀπόδος τῷ ὑψίστῳ τὰς εὐχὰς σου καὶ ἐπικάλεσαι με ἐν ἡμέρᾳ θλίψεως σου, καὶ
Ps. 51, 17
ἐξελούμαι σε, καὶ δοξάσεις με. 4. θυσία γὰρ τῷ θεῷ πνεῦμα οὐντετριμμένων.

LIII

1. Ἐπίστασθε γὰρ καὶ καλῶς ἐπίστασθε τὰς ἱερὰς γραφάς, ἀγαπητοί, καὶ ἐγκεκύφατε εἰς τὰ λόγια τοῦ θεου, πρὸς ἀνάμνησιν οὖν ταῦτα γράφομεν.
2. Μωυσέως γὰρ ἀναβάντος εἰς τὸ ὄρος καὶ πονήσαντος τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέρας καὶ τεσσαράκοντα νύκτας ἐν νηστείᾳ καὶ ταπεινώσει, ἐπεν πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ θεός. Κατάβηθι ὁ τάχος ἐντεῦθεν, ὅτι ἡμόμησεν ὁ λαὸς σου, οὐδὲ ἐξήγαγες ἐκ γῆς Διόνυσου παρέβησαν ταχῦ ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ ἢς ἐνετείλα αὐτοῖς, ἐποίησεν ἑαυτοῖς πανεύματα.
3. καὶ ἐπεν κύριος πρὸς αὐτὸν. Δειλάλημα πρὸς σε ἀπαξ καὶ δις λέγων. Ἐφοράκα τὸν λαὸν τοῦτον, καὶ ἵδοι ἐστιν σκληροτράχηλος ἐστὸν

Deut. 9, 12
(Bxod. 32, 7-8)

Deut. 9, 13, 14
(Bxod. 32, 9-10)

1 Μωυσῆ, Μωυσῆ κατάβηθι Δ(Ο) οτι. Μωυσῆ, Μωυσῆ LSK.
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 growth 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.”

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
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με ἑξολεθρεύσαι αὐτοὺς, καὶ ἐξαλείψω τὸ ὄνομα αὐτῶν ὑποκάτωθεν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ ποιήσω σε εἰς ἐθνὸς μέγα καὶ θαυμαστὸν καὶ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢ τούτο. 4. καὶ εἴπειν Μωϋσῆς· Μηδαμῶς, κύριε ἄφες τὴν ἀμαρτίαν τῷ λαῷ τούτῳ, ἢ καὶ μὲ ἑξαλείψων ἐκ βίβλου ζῶντων. 5. ὃ μεγάλης ἀγάπης, ὃ τελειότητος ἀνυπερβλήτου. παρρησιάζεται θεράπων πρὸς κύριον, αἰτεῖται ἄφεσιν τῷ πλήθει, ἢ καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἑξαλειφθῆναι μετ’ αὐτῶν ἄξιοι.

LIV

1. Τὸς οὖν ἐν ὑμῖν γενναίος, τὸς εὐσπλαγχνός, τὸς πεπληροφοριμένος ἀγάπης; 2. εἰπάτω· Εἰ δὲ ἐμὲ στάσις καὶ ἔρις καὶ σχίσματα, ἐκχωρῶ, ἀπειμω, οὐ έαν βούλησθε, καὶ ποιῶ τὰ προστασσόμενα ὑπὸ τοῦ πλῆθους· μόνω τὸ πολίμιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰρημενέτω μετὰ τῶν καθεσταμένων πρεσβυτέρων. 3. τούτῳ ο θεοί έαντῷ μέγα κλέος ἐν Χριστῷ περιποιήσεται, καὶ πᾶς τόπος δέξεται αὐτοῦ, τοῦ γὰρ κύριου ή γη καὶ τὸ πλήρωμα αὐτῆς. 4. ταῦτα οἱ πολιτεύμενοι τὴν ἀμεταμελήτον πολιτείαν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐποίησαν καὶ ποιήσουσιν.

LV

1. Ἰνα δὲ καὶ ὑποδείγματα ἑθνῶν ἐνέγκωμεν. πολλοί βασιλεῖς καὶ ἡγούμενοι, λοιμικοὶ τινος ἐνστάντος καιροῦ, χρησμοδοτηθέντες παρέδωκαν ἑαυτοὺς εἰς θάνατον, ἴνα ρύσωνται διὰ τοῦ ἑαυτῶν αἵματος τοὺς πολίτας· πολλοὶ ἑξεχώρησαν ἰδίων 100
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.

LV

1. Who then among you is noble, who is compassionate, 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.

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.
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πόλεων, ἵνα μὴ στασιάζωσιν ἐπὶ πλείον. 2. ἐπι-
stάμεθα πολλοὺς ἐν ἡμῖν παραδεδωκότας εαυτοὺς
eἰς δεσμά, ὅπως ἐτέρους λυτρώσονται πολλοὶ
eαυτοὺς παρέδωκαν εἰς δούλειαν, καὶ λαβόντες
tὰς τιμὰς αὐτῶν ἐτέρους ἐψώμασαν. 3. πολλαὶ
gυναῖκες ἐνδυναμωθεὶσαι διὰ τῆς χάριτος τοῦ
θεοῦ ἐπετελέσαντο πολλὰ ἀνδρεῖα. 4. Ἰουδίθ ἡ
μακρία, ἐν συγκλεισμῷ οὕσης τῆς πόλεως,
ητήσατο παρὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων εαὐθῆναι αὐτὴν
ἐξελθεῖν εἰς τὴν παρεμβολὴν ἐκ τῆς
5. παραδοθῆναι οὖν ἐαυτὴν τῷ κυνδύνῳ ἐξῆλθεν δὴ
ἀγάπην τῆς πατρίδος καὶ τοῦ λαοῦ τοῦ ὄντος ἐν
συγκλεισμῷ, καὶ παρέδωκεν κύριος Ὁλοφέρνην ἐν
χειρὶ θηλείας. 6. οὐχ ἦττον καὶ ἡ τελεία κατὰ
πίστιν Ἕσθηρ κυνδύνῳ ἐαυτὴν παρέβαλεν, ἵνα
τὸ ἔθνος τοῦ Ἰσραήλ μέλλον ἀπολέσθαι ρύσηται·
diὰ γὰρ τῆς υποτελείας καὶ τῆς ταπεινώσεως αὐτῆς
νεῖσσεν τῶν παντεπόπτων δεσπότην τῶν αἰώνων·
ὅς ἵδον τὸ ταπεινὸν τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτῆς ἐρύσατο τὸν
λαὸν, ὅν χάριν ἐκυιδύνευσεν.

LVI

1. Καὶ ἥμεις οὖν ἐντύχωμεν περὶ τῶν ἐν τινὶ
παραπτώματι ὑπαρχόντων, ὅπως δοθῆ αὐτοῖς
ἐπιείκεια καὶ ταπεινοφροσύνη εἰς τὸ εἰξαί αὐτοὺς
μὴ ἡμῖν ἀλλὰ τῷ θελήματι τοῦ θεοῦ οὕτως γὰρ
ἐσται αὐτοῖς ἐγκάρπος καὶ τελεία ἡ πρὸς τὸν θεοῦ

1 ἦττον CSK, ἦττοι A ("to no less danger").
2 ἔθνοι LSK, δωδεκάφυλον ("the twelve tribes") AC.
3 δεσπότην LK, δεσπότην θεόν A, θεόν C (S also inserts θεόν
but after τῶν αἰώνων).

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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.
καὶ τοὺς ἁγίους μετ’ ὅλικτιρμῶν μνεία. 2. ἀναλάβωμεν παιδείαν, ἐφ’ ἣ οὗδεις ὀφείλει ἁγανακτεῖν, ἁγαπητοί. ἡ νοουθετησις, ἣν ποιούμεθα εἰς ἀλλήλους, καλὴ ἐστιν καὶ ὑπεράγαν ὄφελιμος· κολλᾶ γὰρ ἥμας τῷ θελῆματι τοῦ θεοῦ. 3. οὕτως γὰρ φησιν ὁ ἁγιος λόγος. Παιδεύων ἐπαιδευσένε με ὁ κύριος, καὶ τῷ θανάτῳ οὐ παρέδωκένε με. 4. ὅν γὰρ ἁγαπᾷ κύριος παιδεύει, μαστυγοὶ δὲ πάντα νῦν δὲν παραδέχεται. 5. Παιδεύσει με γὰρ, φησίν, δίκαιος ἐν ἑλείει καὶ ἑλεγξει με, ἔλαιον δὲ ἀμαρτωλῶν μὴ λυπανάτω τὴν κεφαλὴν μου. 6. καὶ πάλιν λέγειν Μακάριος ἀνθρώπος, δὲν ἑλεγξέν τὸν κύριος· νουθετημα δὲ παντοκράτορος μὴ ἀπαναίνου· αὐτὸς γὰρ ἄλγειν ποιεῖ, καὶ πάλιν ἀποκαθίστησιν. 7. ἔπαισεν, καὶ αἱ χεῖρες αὐτοῦ λάσαντο. 8. ἐξάκις εἰς ἀναγκῶν ἐξελείταί σε, ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐβδομῷ οὐχ ἀφεται σου κακόν. 9. ἐν λιμῷ ῥύσεται σε ἐκ θανάτου, ἐν πολέμῳ δὲ ἐκ χειρὸς σιδήρου λύσει σε. 10. καὶ ἀπὸ μάστυγος γλώσσῃς σε κρύψει, καὶ οὐ μὴ φοβηθήσῃ κακῶν ἐπερχομένων. 11. ἀδίκων καὶ ἀνόμων καταγελάσῃ, ἀπὸ δὲ θηρίων ἄγριων οὐ μὴ φοβηθῆς. 12. θῆρες γὰρ ἄγριοι εἰρηνεύσουσιν σου. 13. εἰς γνώση, ὅτι εἰρηνεύσει σου οἱ οίκος, ἡ δὲ δίαιτα τῆς σκηνῆς σου οὐ μὴ ἁμάρτῃ. 14. γνώση δὲ, ὅτι πολύ τὸ σπέρμα σου, τὰ δὲ τεκνα σου ὅσπερ τὸ παμβόταυν τοῦ ἄγρου. 15. ἐλεύσῃ δὲ ἐν τάφῳ ὅσπερ σήτως ὅριμος κατὰ καιρὸν θεριζόμενος, ἦ
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
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ώσπερ θημωνιὰ ἄλωνος καθ' ὅραν συγκομισθείσα. 16. βλέπετε, ἀγαπητοῖ, πόσος ὑπερασπισμός ἔστιν τοῖς παιδευμένοις ὑπὸ τοῦ δεσπότου· πατὴρ γὰρ ἀγαθὸς ὃν παιδεύει εἰς τὸ ἐλεηθῆναι ἡμᾶς διὰ τῆς ὁσίας παιδείας αὐτοῦ.

LVII

1. 'Τμεῖς 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 ὑπερῆφανον τῆς γλώσσης ὑμῶν αὐθάδειαν· ἀμείνον γὰρ ἐστὶν ὑμῖν, ἐν τῷ ποιμνίῳ τοῦ Χριστοῦ μικροῦς καὶ ἐλλογίμους εὑρεθῆναι, ἣ καθ' ὑπεροχὴν δοκοῦντας ἐκριφῆναι ἐκ τῆς ἐλπίδος αὐτοῦ. 3. οὕτως γὰρ λέγει ἡ πανάρετος σοφία· 'Ἰδοὺ, προῆσομαι ὑμῖν ἐμής πνοῆς ρῆσιν, διδάξω δὲ ὑμᾶς τὸν ἐμὸν λόγον. 4. ἐπειδὴ ἐκάλουν καὶ οὐχ ὑπηκοοῦσαι, καὶ ἐξέτεινον λόγους καὶ οὐ προσεῖχετε, ἀλλὰ ἀκόρους ἐποιεῖτε τὰς ἐμὰς βουλὰς, τοῖς δὲ ἐμοῖς ἔλεγχοι ἡπειθήσατε· τογαροῦν κἀγὼ τῇ υμετέρᾳ ἀπωλείᾳ ἐπυγελάσομαι, καταχαροῦμαι δὲ ἡνίκα ἄν ἔρχηται ὑμῶν ὀλεθρός καὶ ὡς ἄν ἀφίκηται ὑμῖν ἀφ' θόρυ-βος, ἢ δὲ καταστροφῇ ὁμοίᾳ κατανύσαν παρῇ, ἢ ὅταν ἔρχηται ὑμῶν θλίψις καὶ πολυμορφία. 5. ἔσται γὰρ ὅταν ἐπικαλέσησθέ με, ἐγὼ δὲ οὐκ εἰσακούσομαι

Prov.1,23-33

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I. CLEMEN T, 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.

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 preeminent 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, 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

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.
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υμῶν. ζητήσουσίν με κακοί, καὶ οὐχ εὑρήσουσιν. ἐμύςησαν γὰρ σοφίαν, τὸν δὲ φόβου τοῦ κυρίου οὐ προεδραντο, οὐδὲ ἦθελον ἐμαῖς προσέχειν βουλαίς, ἐμυκτήριζον δὲ ἐμούς ἐλέγχους. 6. τοι-γαροῦν ἐδονται τῆς ἑαυτῶν ὀδοῦ τοὺς καρποὺς, καὶ τῆς ἑαυτῶν ἀσεβείας πλησθήσονται. 7. ἀνθ’ ὅν γὰρ ἡδίκονι νηπίους φονευθήσονται, καὶ ἕξετασμός ἀσεβείς ὀλευ. δὲ ἐμοῦ ἀκούων κατασκηνώσει ἐπ’ ἐλπίδι πεποιθῶς καὶ ἱσυχάσει ἀφόβως ἀπὸ παντὸς κακοῦ.

LVIII

1. Ἐπακούσωμεν οὖν τῷ παναγίῳ καὶ ἐνδόξῳ δινόματι αὐτοῦ φυγόντες τὰς προειρημένας διὰ τῆς σοφίας τοῖς ἀπεθούσιν ἀπειλᾶς, ἵνα κατασκηνώσωμεν πεποιθότες ἐπὶ τὸ ὀσιώτατον τῆς μεγαλωσύνης αὐτοῦ ὄνομα. 2. δέξασθε τὴν συμβουλὴν ἡμῶν, καὶ ἔσται ἀμεταμελήτα ὑμῖν. ξηγὰρ ὁ θεὸς καὶ ξη2 ὁ κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ἢ τε πίστες καὶ ἢ ἐλπὶς τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν, ὅτι ὁ ποιήσας ἐν ταπεινοφροσύνῃ μετ’ ἐκτενοὺς ἐπιεικείας ἀμεταμελήτως τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ δεδομένα δικαιώματα καὶ προστάγματα, οὔτος ἐντεταγμένος καὶ ἔλλογος ἔσται εἰς τὸν ἁριθμὸν τῶν σωζομένων διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, δι’ οὗ ἐστὶν αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν.

1 A is missing from here to the beginning of Chapter LXIV.
2 ξη 2ο CS, om. LK and quotation by Basil.
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.
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LIX

1. 'Εκαν δὲ τινες ἀπειθήσωσιν τοῖς ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ δι’ ἡμῶν εἰρημένοις, γυνασκέτωσαν ὅτι παραπτώσει καὶ κινδύνῳ οὐ μικρῷ έαυτοῦς ἐνδήσουσιν. 2. ἡμεῖς δὲ ἄθαντο εσόμεθα ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς ἀμαρτίας καὶ αὐτησύμεθα ἐκτενῇ τῇ δέσην καὶ ἱκεσίαι ποιούμενοι, ὅπως τὸν ἀριθμὸν τὸν κατηριθμημένου τῶν ἐκλέκτων αὐτοῦ ἐν ὀλῷ τῷ κόσμῳ διαφυλάξη ἄθραυστον ὁ δημιουργὸς τῶν ἀπάντων διὰ τοῦ ἡγαπημένου παιδὸς αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, δι’ αὐτοῦ ἐκάλεσεν ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ σκότους εἰς φῶς, ἀπὸ ἀγνωσίας εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν δόξης ὑμόματος αὐτοῦ. 3. . . . ἐκπλήξειν ἐπὶ τὸ ἀρχεγόνον πάσης κτίσεως ὑνωμά σου, ἀνοίξας τοὺς φθαλμοὺς τῆς καρδίας ἡμῶν εἰς τὸ γυνώσκειν σε τὸν μόνον ὑψιστὸν ἐν ὑψίστοις, ἁγιον εἰς ἀγίοις ἀναπαυμένοι. τὸν ταπεινοῦντα ὑβριν ὑπερηφάνουν, τὸν διαλύοντα λογισμούς ἑθνῶν, τὸν ποιοῦντα ταπεινοῦντα εἰς ὑψός καὶ τους ὑψηλοὺς ταπεινοῦντα, τὸν πλουτίζοντα καὶ πτω- χίζοντα, τὸν ἀποκτείνοντα καὶ ξῆν ποιοῦντα, μόνον εὐρέτην πνευμάτων καὶ θεόν πάσης σαρ- κός τὸν ἐπιβλέποντα εν τοῖς ἀβύσσοις, τὸν ἐπόπτω ἀνθρωπίνων ἔργων, τὸν τῶν κινδυνευόντων

1 There appears to be a lacuna in the Greek: Lightfoot supplies ἐξ ἡμῖν, κόριε.
2 καὶ σώζοντα appears to be inserted before καὶ ζῆν by SL, but is omitted by CK.
3 eὐθέτην ("benefactor") C, "creator" K; the text is doubtful but eὐθέτην (LS) seems more likely to be implied by K than eὐθέτην, and is therefore slightly more probable.

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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.

3. Grant us 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

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1 Some such addition, though not in any authority for the text, appears to be necessary.
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Dan. 3, 31
(Vulg. 8, 55); cf. Sirach 16, 18, 19
Judith 9, 11

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

βοηθῶν, τῶν τῶν ἀπηλπισμένων σωτῆρα, τῶν παντὸς πνεύματος κτίστην καὶ ἐπίσκοπον τῶν πληθύνοντα ἔθνη ἐπὶ γῆς καὶ ἐκ πάντων ἐκλεξα-μενον τοὺς ἁγαπῶντας σε διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ ἁγαπημένου παιδὸς σου, δι’ οὗ ἡμᾶς ἐπαίδευσας, ἡγίασας, ἐτίμησας. 4. ἀξιόωμεν σε, δέσποτα, βοηθῶν γενέσθαι καὶ ἀντιλήπτορα ἡμῶν. τοὺς ἐν θλίψει ἡμῶν σῶσον, τοὺς ταπεινοὺς ἐλέησον, τοὺς πεπτωκότας ἐγείρον, τοὺς δεσμεύσοις ἐπιφάνῃ, τοὺς ἀσθενεῖς ἱσαί, τοὺς πλανωμένους τοῦ λαοῦ σου ἐπιστρεφον χόρτασον τοὺς πεινῶντας, λύ-τρωσαι τοὺς δεσμίους ἡμῶν, ἐξανάστησον τοὺς ἀσθενοῦντας, παρακάλεσον τοὺς ὀλυγοψιχοῦντας: γνώτωσιν σε ἀπαντά τὰ ἔθνη, ὅτι σὺ εἶ ὁ θεὸς μόνος καὶ Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὁ παῖς σου καὶ ἡμεῖς λαὸς σου καὶ πρόβατα τῆς νομῆς σου.

LX

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 ἰσχύι καὶ μεγαλοπρεπείᾳ, ὁ σοφὸς ἐν τῷ κτίσει καὶ συνετός ἐν τῷ τὰ γενόμενα ἔδρασαι, ὁ ἀγαθὸς ἐν τοῖς ὄρωμαῖς καὶ χριστὸς ἐν τοῖς πεποιθόσιν ἐπὶ σε, ἐλεήμον καὶ οἰκτίρμον, ἀφες ἡμῖν τὰς ἀνωμίας ἡμῶν καὶ τὰς ἀδικίας καὶ τὰ παραπτώ-ματα καὶ πλημμελείας. 2. μὴ λογίσῃ πάσαν ἀμαρτίαν δοῦλον σου καὶ παιδισκῆν, ἀλλὰ καθάρ-μισον ἡμᾶς τὸν καθαρισμὸν τῆς σῆς ἀληθείας, καὶ

Joth 2, 15; Sirach 2, 11; II Chron. 80, 9

Ι12
I. CLEMENT, LIX. 3–LX. 2

creator and watch 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
κατεύθυνον τὰ διαβήματα ἡμῶν ἐν ὁσιότητι καρ
dιας πορεύεσθαι καὶ ποιεῖν τὰ καλὰ καὶ εὐάρεστα
ἐνώπιον σου καὶ εὐόπιον τῶν ἄρχοντων ἡμῶν.

3. ναὶ, δέσποτα, ἐπίφανον τὸ πρόσωπόν σου ἐφ'
ἡμᾶς εἰς ἀγαθά ἐν εἰρήνῃ, εἰς τὸ σκεπασθῆναι
ἡμᾶς τῇ χειρί σου τῇ κραταιᾷ καὶ ῥυσθῆναι ἀπὸ
πάσης ἀμαρτίας τῷ βραχιοῦ σου τῷ υψηλῷ, καὶ
ῥύσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τῶν μισούντων ἡμᾶς ἁδικοῖς.

4. δός ὁμόνοιαν καὶ εἰρήνην ἡμῖν τε καὶ πᾶσιν
τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν τὴν γῆν, καθὼς ἔδωκας τοῖς
πατράσιν ἡμῶν, ἑπικαλομένων σε αὐτῶν ὡς ἐν
πίστει καὶ ἀληθείᾳ, ὑπηκόους γινομένους τῷ
παντοκράτορι καὶ ἐνδόξῳ ὄνοματί σου, τοῖς τε
ἄρχονσιν καὶ ἤγουμένοις ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.

LXI

1. Σύ, δέσποτα, ἔδωκας τὴν ἐξουσίαν τῆς
βασιλείας αὐτοῖς διὰ τοῦ μεγαλοπρεποῦς καὶ
ἀνεκδηνηγητοῦ κράτους σου, εἰς τὸ γινομένας ἡμᾶς
tὴν ὑπὸ σοῦ αὐτοῖς δεδομένην δόξαν καὶ
tιμὴν ὑποτάσσεσθαι αὐτοῖς, μηδὲν ἐναντιοῦμένους
tῷ θελήματί σου. οἷς δός, κύριε, υγίειαν, εἰρήνην,
ὁμόνοιαν, εὐστάθειαν, εἰς τὸ διέπειν αὐτοὺς τὴν
ὑπὸ σοῦ δεδομένην αὐτοῖς ἡγεμονίαν ἀπροσκόπως.

2. σὺ γὰρ, δέσποτα ἐπουράνιε, βασιλεύ τῶν
αἰώνων, δίδως τοῖς νῦν τῶν ἀνθρώπων δόξαν καὶ
tιμὴν καὶ ἐξουσίαν τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ὑπαρχόντων·
σὺ, κύριε, διεύθυνον τὴν βουλὴν αὐτῶν κατὰ τὸ
καλὸν καὶ εὐάρεστον ἐνώπιον σου, ὅπως διέποτες
ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ πραύτητι εὐσεβῶς τὴν ὑπὸ σοῦ

I Thm. 5, 17; Tob. 13, 6, 10
Deut. 12, 25; 13, 18; 28, 13, 18
1. CLEMENT, lxx. 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 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
αὐτοῖς δεδομένην ἐξουσίαν ἰλεώς σοι τυγχάνωσιν. 3. ὁ μόνος δυνατὸς ποίησαι ταῦτα καὶ περισσότερα ἀγαθὰ μεθ’ ἕμῶν, σοι ἐξομολογούμεθα διὰ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως καὶ προστάτου τῶν ψυχῶν ἕμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, δι’ οὓς σοὶ ἡ δόξα καὶ ἡ μεγαλωσύνη καὶ νῦν καὶ εἰς γενεάν γενεών καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν.

LXII

1. Περὶ μὲν τῶν ἀνηκόντων τῇ θρησκείᾳ ἕμῶν καὶ τῶν ὀφελιμωτάτων εἰς ἐνάρετον βίον τοῖς θέλουσιν ἐνσεβῶς καὶ δικαίως διευθύνειν, ἵκανως ἐπεστείλαμεν ὑμῖν, ἀνδρὲς ἅδελφοι. 2. περὶ γὰρ πίστεως καὶ μετανοίας καὶ γνησίας ἀγάπης καὶ ἐγκρατείας καὶ σωφροσύνης καὶ ὑπομονῆς πάντα τόπον ἐψιλαφήσαμεν, ὑπομομυσώκοντες δεῖν ὑμᾶς ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ ἀληθείᾳ καὶ μακροθυμίᾳ τῷ παντοκράτορι θεῷ ὁσίῳ εὐαρεστεῖν, ὁμοούσινας ἀμησικάκως ἐν ἀγάπῃ καὶ εἰρήνῃ μετὰ ἐκτενοὺς ἑπιεικείας, καθὼς καὶ οἱ προδεδηλωμένοι πατέρες ἕμων εὑρέστησαν ταπεινωφοροῦντες τὰ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα καὶ κτίστην θεοῦ καὶ πάντας ἀνθρώπους. 3. καὶ ταῦτα τοσοῦτον ἦδίον ὑπεμνῆσαμεν, ἐπειδὴ σαφῶς ἦδειμεν γράφειν ἕμᾶς ἀνδρᾶσιν πιστοῖς καὶ ἐλλογιμωτάτοις καὶ ἐγκεκυφόσιν εἰς τὰ λόγια τῆς παιδείας τοῦ θεοῦ.

1 τοῖς θέλουσιν ἐνάρετον βίον SL, εἰς ἐνάρετον βίον τοῖς θέλουσιν ΚΚ.
2 κτίστην θεοῦ SL, θεοῦ καὶ κτίστην Ο.
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.
LXIII

1. Θεμιτον ουν εστιν τοις τοιουτοις και τοσουτοις υποδειγμασιν προσελθοντας υποθειναι τον τραχηλον και τον της υπακοης τοπον αναπληρωσαι, διοως ησυχασαντες της ματαιας στασεως επι τον προκειμενον ημιν εν αληθεια σκοπον διχα παντος μομου καταντησωμεν. 2. χαραν γαρ και αγαλλιασιν ημιν παρεξετε, ειναι υπηκοου γενομενοι τοις υφι ημων γεγραμμενοι δια του αγιου πνευματος εκκοψητε την αθεμιτου του ζηλους υμων οργην κατα την εντευξιν, ην εποιησαμεθα περι ειρηνης και ομονοιας εν τηδε τη επιστολη. 3. επεμψαμεν δε άνδρας πιστους και σωφρονας απο νεότητος αναστραφεντας εως γηρους ιμεμπτως εν ημιν, οιτινες και μαρτυρεις εσονται μεταξυ υμων και ημων. 4. τουτο δε εποιησαμεν, ινα ειδητε, οτι πασα ημιν φροντις και γεγονεν και εστιν εις το εν ταχει υμας ειρηνευσαι.

LXIV

1. Λοιπον ο παντεποτης θεος και δεσποτης των πνευματων και κυριος πασης σαρκος, ο εκλεξαμενος τον κυριον Ιησουν Χριστον και ημας δι αυτου εις λαον περιουσιον, δων παση ψυχην επικεκλημενη το μεγαλοπρεπες και άγιον ονομα αυτου πιστιν, φοβον, ειρηνην, υπομονην και μακροθυμιαν, εγκρατειαν, άγνειαν, σωφροσυνην,1

1 σωφροσυνην CLK, και 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.

LXIV

1. Now may God, the all-seeing, and the master Blessing 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
THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

εἰς εὐαρέστησιν τῷ ὄνόματι αὐτοῦ διὰ τοῦ ἀρχιε-
ῥέως καὶ προστάτου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, δι’
οὗ αὐτῷ δόξα καὶ μεγαλωσύνη, κράτος καὶ τιμή,
καὶ νόμοι καὶ εἰς πάντας τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰῶνων.
ἀμήν.

LXV

1. Τοὺς δὲ ἀπεσταλμένους ἀφ’ ἡμῶν Κλαύδιον
Εφηβον καὶ Οὐαλέριον Βίτωνα σὺν καὶ Φορτο-
νάτω ἐν εἰρήνῃ μετὰ χαρᾶς ἐν τάχει ἀναπέμψατε
πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ὅπως θάττων τὴν εὐκταίαν καὶ ἐπιτυχ-
θήτην ἡμῶν εἰρήνην καὶ ὄμονοιαν ἀπαγγέλλωσιν,
εἰς τὸ τάχιον καὶ ἡμᾶς χαρῆναι περὶ τῆς εὐστα-
θείας ὑμῶν.

2. Ἡ χάρις τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ
μεθ’ ὑμῶν καὶ μετὰ πάντων πανταχῆ τῶν κεκλη-
μένων ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ δι’ αὐτοῦ,1 δι’ οὗ αὐτῷ
δόξα, τιμή, κράτος καὶ μεγαλωσύνη, θρόνος
αιώνιος, ἀπὸ τῶν αἰῶνων εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν
αιῶνων. ἀμήν.

Ἐπιστολή τῶν Ρωμαίων πρὸς τοὺς Κορινθίους.

1 δι’ αὐτοῦ CL(K), καὶ δι’ αὐτοῦ AS.
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.

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.

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 reminiscences 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
THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

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.

126.
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. Ἄδελφοι, οὕτως δεῖ ἡμᾶς φρονεῖν περὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὡς περὶ θεοῦ, ὡς περὶ κριτῶν 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 ἀμαρτάνουσιν, καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀμαρτάνομεν οὐκ εἰδότες, πόθεν ἐκλήθημεν καὶ ὑπὸ τίνος καὶ εἰς ὃν τόπον, καὶ ὃσα ὑπέμεινεν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς παθεῖν ἕνεκα ἡμῶν. 3. τίνα οὖν ἡμεῖς αὐτῷ δώσομεν ἀντιμισθίαν, ἡ τίνα καρπὸν ἄξιον οὗ ἡμῖν αὐτὸς ἔδωκεν; πόσα δὲ αὐτῷ ὀφείλομεν ὡσα; 4. τὸ φῶς γὰρ ἡμῖν ἐχαρίσατο, ὡς πατὴρ νίου ἡμᾶς προσηγόρευσεν, ἀπολλυμένους ἡμᾶς ἐσώσεν. 5. ποῖον οὖν αἰνοῦ αὐτῷ δώσομεν ἡ μισθὸν ἀντιμισθίας ἐν ἐλάβομεν; 6. πηροὶ οὗτε τῇ διανοίᾳ, προσκυνοῦντες λίθους καὶ ξύλα καὶ χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον καὶ χαλκὸν, ἔργα ἀνθρώπων καὶ ὁ βίος ἡμῶν ὀλοκλήρως ὑπὲρ ἐμῶν ἔργων. ἀμαρτώσεις ὑπὲρ ἐμῶν περικέιμενοι καὶ τοιαύτης ἀχλύος γέμουντες ἐν

1 ὁμ. ἀμαρτάνουσιν, καὶ ἡμεῖς Α.Ο.
The need for thinking highly of Christ, and prizing our salvation.

The state of the unconverted

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
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τῇ ὀράσει, ἀνεβλέψαμεν ἀποθέμενοι ἐκεῖνο ὁ περικείμεθα νέφος τῇ αὐτοῦ θελήσει. 7. ἡλέησεν γὰρ ἡμᾶς καὶ σπλαγχνισθείς ἔσωσεν, θεασάμενος ἐν ἡμῖν πολλὴν πλάνην καὶ ἀπώλειαν, καὶ μηδεμίαν ἐλπίδα ἔχοντάς σωτηρίας, εἰ μὴ τὴν παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ. 8. ἐκάλεσεν γὰρ ἡμᾶς οὐκ δυνάς καὶ ἠθέλησεν ἐκ µὴ δυνάς εἶναι ἡμᾶς.

II

1. Εὐφράνθητι, στείρα ἡ οὐ τίκτουσα, ρήξου καὶ βόησον, ἡ οὐκ ὁδύνουσα, ὅτι πολλὰ τὰ τέκνα τῆς ἐρήμου μᾶλλον ἡ τῆς ἔχουσης τὸν ἄνδρα. ὦ εἰπεν: Ἐὐφράνθητι, στείρα ἡ οὐ τίκτουσα, ἡμᾶς εἰπεν: στείρα γὰρ ἡ ἡ ἐκκλησία ἡμῶν πρὸ τοῦ δοθῆναι αὐτῇ τέκνα. 2. ὦ δὲ εἰπεν: Βόησον, ἡ οὐκ ὁδύνουσα, τοῦτο λέγει: τὰς προσευχὰς ἡμῶν ἀπλῶς ἀναφέρειν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν, µὴ ὡς αἱ ὁδύνουσαι ἐγκακῶμεν, 3. ὦ δὲ εἰπεν: "Ὅτι πολλὰ τὰ τέκνα τῆς ἐρήμου μᾶλλον ἡ τῆς ἔχουσης τὸν ἄνδρα: επεὶ ἐρήμου εἴδοκε εἶναι ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ὁ λαὸς ἡμῶν, νυνὶ δὲ πιστεύσαντες πλείονες ἐγενόμεθα τῶν δοκούντων ἔχειν θεόν. 4. καὶ ἐτέρα δὲ γραφὴ λέγει, ὅτι οὐκ ἠλθοῦν καλέσαι δικαίους, ἀλλὰ ἀμαρτωλοὺς. 5. τοῦτο λέγει, ὅτι δεῖ τοὺς ἀπολλυμένους σώζειν. 6. ἐκεῖνο γὰρ ἐστὶν µέγα καὶ θαυμαστὸν οὐ τὰ ἐστῶτα στηρίζειν, ἀλλὰ τὰ πιπτοντα. 7. οὕτω καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς ἠθέλησεν σῶσαι τὰ ἀπολλυμένα, καὶ ἔσωσεν πολλούς, ἐλθόν καὶ καλέσας ἡμᾶς ἡθη ἀπολλυμένους.
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. 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.
III

1. Τοσοῦτον οὖν ἔλεος ποιήσαντος αὐτοῦ εἰς ἡμᾶς, πρῶτον μὲν, ὅτι ἡμεῖς ὀἱ ξύντες τοὺς νεκροὶς θεοῖς οὐ θύομεν καὶ οὐ προσκυνοῦμεν αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ ἔγνωμεν δι’ αὐτοῦ τὸν πατέρα τῆς ἀληθείας· τίς ἡ γνώσις ἢ πρὸς αὐτόν, ἢ τὸ μὴ ἀρνεῖσθαι δι’ οὐ ἔγνωμεν αὐτόν; 2. λέγει δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς· Τὸν ὁμολογάσαντά με ἐνώπιον τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὁ ὁμολογήσω αὐτὸν ἐνώπιον τοῦ πατρὸς μου. 3. οὗτος οὖν ἐστὶν ὁ μισθὸς ἡμῶν, ἐὰν οὖν ὁμολογήσωμεν δι’ οὗ ἐσώθημεν. 4. εὐ τίνι δὲ αὐτῶν ὁμολογοῦμεν; εὐ τῷ ποιεῖν ἄ λέγει καὶ μὴ παρακούειν αὐτοῦ τῶν ἐντολῶν, καὶ μὴ μόνον χείλεσιν αὐτοῦ τιμᾶν, ἀλλὰ εἰς ὅλης καρδίας καὶ εἰς ὅλης τῆς διανοιας. 5. λέγει δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ ′Ησαΐα· ′Ο λαὸς οὗτος τοῖς χείλεσιν με τιμᾶ, ἡ δὲ καρδία αὐτῶν πόρρω ἀπεστὼλ ἀπ’ ἐμοῦ.

IV

1. Μὴ μόνον οὖν αὐτῶν καλῶμεν κύριον· οὐ γὰρ τούτο σώσει ἡμᾶς. 2. λέγει γὰρ· Οὐ πᾶς ὁ λέγων μοι Κύριε, κύριε, σωθήσεται, ἀλλ’ ὁ ποιῶν τὴν δικαιοσύνην. 3. ὡστε οὖν, ἀδελφοί, ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτῶν ὁμολογῶμεν, εὖ τῷ ἀγαπῶν ἑαυτοῦς, εὖ τῷ μὴ μοιχᾶσθαι μηδὲ καταλαλεῖν ἀλλήλων μηδὲ ἦλθών, ἀλλ’ ἐγκρατεῖς εἶναι, ἐλεήμονας, ἀγαθούς· καὶ συμπάσχειν ἀλλήλων ὁφείλομεν,

1 ἐνώπιον τῶν ἀνθρώπων Α.Σ., om. S.
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 him 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."

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

1 The Greek is as ambiguous as the English, but this "him" no doubt refers to the "father of truth."
καὶ μὴ φιλαργυρεῖν. ἐν τούτοις τοῖς ἔργοις ὀμολογῶμεν αὐτὸν καὶ μὴ ἐν τοῖς ἐναντίοις. 4. καὶ οὐ δεῖ ἡμᾶς φοβεῖσθαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους μᾶλλον, ἀλλὰ τὸν θεόν. 5. διὰ τοῦτο, ταῦτα ὑμῶν πρασσόντων, εἰπεν ὁ κύριος· Ἐαν ἦτε μετ᾽ ἐμοῦ συνηγμένοι ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ μου καὶ μὴ ποιήτε τὰς ἐντολὰς μου, ἀποβαλῶ ὑμᾶς καὶ ἐρῶ ὑμῖν· Ἡπάγετε ἀπ᾽ ἐμοῦ, οὐκ οἴδα ὑμᾶς, πόθεν ἐστέ, ἐργάται ἀνομίας.

V

1. "Οθεν, ἀδελφοί, καταλείψαντες τὴν παροικίαν τοῦ κόσμου τοῦτον ποιήσωμεν τὸ θέλημα τοῦ καλέσαντος ἡμᾶς, καὶ μὴ φοβηθῶμεν ἐξελθείν ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου τοῦτον. 2. λέγει γὰρ ὁ κύριος Ἑσεσθε ὡς ἄρνια ἐν μέσῳ λύκων. 3. ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ ὁ Πέτρος αὐτῷ λέγει· Ἐαν οὖν διασπαράξωσιν οἱ λύκοι τὰ ἄρνια; 4. εἰπεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς τῷ Πέτρῳ· Μὴ φοβεῖσθωσαν τὰ ἄρνια τοὺς λύκους μετὰ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν αὐτά, καὶ ὑμεῖς μὴ φοβεῖσθε τοὺς ἀποκτέννοντας ὑμᾶς καὶ ὑμάς δυναμένους ποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ φοβεῖσθε τὸν μετὰ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν ὑμᾶς ἔχοντα ἐξουσίαν ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος τοῦ βαλεῖν εἰς γένεσιν πυρὸς. 5. καὶ γινώσκετε, ἀδελφοί, ὅτι ἡ ἐπιτηδεία ἢ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ τούτῳ τῆς σαρκὸς ταῦτα μικρὰ ἐστιν καὶ ὁλογραμμία, ἡ δὲ ἐπαγγελλατοῦ Ὁριστοῦ μεγάλη καὶ θαυμαστὴ ἐστιν, καὶ ἀνάπαυσις τῆς μεταλλούσης βασιλείας καὶ ζωῆς.
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 sojourning 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

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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αἰώνιον. 6. τι ὅν ἐστὶν ποιήσαντας ἐπιτυχεῖν αὐτῶν, εἰ μὴ τὸ όσίως καὶ δικαίως ἀναστρέφεσθαι καὶ τὰ κοσμικὰ ταύτα ὡς ἄλλοτρια ἤγείσθαι καὶ μὴ ἐπιθυμεῖν αὐτῶν; 7. ἐν γὰρ τῷ ἐπιθυμεῖν ἡμᾶς κτήσασθαι ταύτα ἀποτίπτομεν τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς δικαίας.

VI

1. Δέγει δὲ ὁ κύριος· Οὐδεὶς οἰκέτης δύναται δυσὶ κυρίοις δουλεύειν. εἰάν ἡμεῖς θέλωμεν καὶ θεῷ δουλεύειν καὶ μαμωνᾶ, ἁσύμφορον ἡμῖν ἐστίν. 2. τι γὰρ τὸ ὄφελος, ἐὰν τις τὸν κόσμον ὅλον κερδήσῃ, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν ζημιῶθῇ; 3. ἐστιν δὲ ὅτι οὗτος ὁ αἰών καὶ ὁ μέλλων δύο ἐχθροί. 4. οὗτος λέγει μοιχείαν καὶ φθορὰν καὶ φιλαργυρίαν καὶ ἀπάτην, ἐκείνος δὲ τούτως ἀποτάσσεται. 5. οὐ δυνάμεθα οὖν τὸν δύο φίλον εἶναι· δεὶ δὲ ἡμᾶς τούτῳ ἀποτάσσεσθαι ἐκεῖνον χράσθαι. 6. οἰόμεθα, ὅτι βέλτιόν ἐστιν τὰ ἐνθάδε μισῆσαι, ὅτι μικρὰ καὶ ὀλυγοχρόνια καὶ φθαρτά, ἐκεῖνα δὲ ἀγαπῆσαι, τὰ ἀγαθὰ τὰ ἀφθαρτά. 7. ποιοῦντες γὰρ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ Χριστοῦ εὐρήσουμεν ἀνάπαυσιν· εἰ δὲ μὴν, οὐδεὶς ἡμᾶς ρύσεται εἰ τῆς αἰώνιος κολάσεως, εὰν παρακούσωμεν τῶν ἐντολῶν αὐτοῦ. 8. λέγει δὲ καὶ ἡ γραφὴ ἐν τῷ Ἰεζεκιήλ, ὅτι εὰν ἀναστῇ Νῶε καὶ Ἰὼβ καὶ Δανιήλ, οὐ ρύσουται τὰ τέκνα αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ αἰχμαλωσίᾳ. 9. εἰ δὲ καὶ οἱ τοιούτοι δίκαιοι οὐ δύνανται τἀς ἐαυτῶν δικαιοσύναις ρύσασθαι τὰ τέκνα αὐτῶν, ἡμεῖς, εὰν μὴ

1 οἴόμεθα ACS, but Lightfoot emends to οἱ οἴόμεθα “Let us etc.”
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
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tηρήσωμεν τὸ βάπτισμα ἁγιὸν καὶ ἁμαρτον, ποίᾳ πεποιθήσει εἰσελευσόμεθα εἰς τὸ βασίλειον τοῦ θεοῦ; ἡ τὸς ἡμῶν παράκλητος ἐσται, ἐὰν μὴ εὑρεθῶμεν ἑργα ἔχοντες ὁσία καὶ δίκαια;

VII

1. Ἡμεῖς οὖν, ἀδελφοὶ μου, ἁγιωσώμεθα εἰδοτες, ὅτι ἐν χερσὶν ὁ ἅγιον καὶ ὁ ἐκ τούτων φθάρτοις ἁγιόνας καταπλέουσιν πολλοὶ, ἀλλὰ οὐ πάντες στεφανοῦνται, εἰ μὴ οἱ πολλὰ κοπιῶσαντες καὶ καλῶς ἁγιώσαμεν. 2. Ἡμεῖς οὖν ἁγιωσώμεθα, ἣν πάντες στεφανωθῶμεν. 3. Ἡμεῖς θέωμεν τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν εὐθείαν, ἁγιόνα τὸν ἀφθαρτον, καὶ πολλοὶ εἰς αὐτόν καταπλεύσωμεν καὶ ἁγιώσωμεθα, ἣν καὶ στεφανωθῶμεν καὶ εἰ μὴ δυνάμεθα πάντες στεφανωθῆναι, καὶ ἐγγὺς τοῦ στεφάνου γενώμεθα. 4. εἰδέναι ἡμᾶς δεῖ, ὅτι ὁ τὸν φθάρτον ἁγιόνα ἁγιωσώμενος, εὰν εὐρεθῇ φθείρον, μαστῳγωθεῖς αἴρεται καὶ ἔξω βάλλεται τοῦ σταδίου. 5. τὸ δοκεῖτε; ὁ τὸν τῆς ἀφθαρσίας ἁγιόνα φθείρας τὸ παθεῖται; 6. τῶν γὰρ μὴ τηρησάντων, φησίν, τὴν σφραγίδα ὁ σκόληξ αὐτῶν οὐ τελευτήσει καὶ τὸ πῦρ αὐτῶν οὐ σβεσθήσεται, καὶ ἔσονται εἰς ὀρασίν πάση σαρκὶ.

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

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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.”
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VIII

1. Ὅς οὖν ἐσμὲν ἐπὶ γῆς, μετανοήσομεν. 2. πηλὸς γάρ ἐσμὲν εἰς τὴν χειρὰ τοῦ τεχνίτου σιν τρόπον γὰρ ὁ κεραμεύς, εἰς τὴν κάμινον τοῦ πυρὸς αὐτὸ βαλεῖν, οὐκέτι βοηθήσει αὐτῷ· οὕτως καὶ ἡμεῖς, ἐὼς ἐσμὲν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ κόσμῳ, ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ ἡ ἐπράξαμεν ποιηρὰ μετανοήσωμεν εἰς ὅλης τῆς καρδίας, ἢν σωθῶμεν ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου, ἐὼς ἔχομεν καιροῦ μετανοῆσας. 3. μετὰ γὰρ τὸ ἐξελθεῖν ἡμᾶς ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου οὐκέτι δυνάμεθα εἰκεῖ ἐξομολογήσασθαι ἡ μετανοεῖν ἐτί. 4. ὡστε, ἄδελφοί, ποιήσαντες τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τὴν σάρκα ἁγιὴν τηρῆσαντες καὶ τὰς ἐντολὰς τοῦ κυρίου φυλάξαντες ληψόμεθα ζωὴν αἰῶνιον. 5. λέγει γὰρ ὁ κύριος ἐν τῷ εὐαγγέλῳ· Εἰ τὸ μικρὸν οὐκ ἐτηρήσατε, τὸ μέγα τὸς ὠμόν δῶσει; λέγω γὰρ ὑμῖν, ὅτι ὁ πιστὸς ἐν ἐλαχιστῷ καὶ ἐν πολλῷ πιστὸς ἐστὶν. 6. ἄρα οὖν τούτῳ λέγει· τηρήσατε τὴν σάρκα ἁγιὴν καὶ τὴν σφραγίδα ἀσπίλου, ἢν τὴν αἰῶνιον ζωὴν ἀπολάβωμεν.

IX

1. Καὶ μὴ λεγέτω τις ὑμῶν, ὅτι αὕτη ἡ σάρξ οὐ κρίνεται οὐδε ἀνίσταται. 2. γνώτε· ἐν τινὶ ἐσώθητε, ἐν τινὶ ἀνεβλέψατε, εἰ μὴ ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ ταύτῃ ὄντες; 3. δεῦ ὡς ἡμᾶς ὡς ναὸν θεοῦ φυλάσσειν τὴν 140
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 The resurrection of the flesh judged and does not rise again. 2. Understand: in what state did you receive salvation, in what state did you receive your sight, except in this flesh? 3. We
σάρκα. 4. ὃν τρόπον γὰρ ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ ἐκλήθητε, καὶ ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ ἐλεύσεσθε. 5. εἰ Χριστὸς, ὁ κύριος ὁ σώσας ἡμᾶς, ὃν μὲν τὸ πρῶτον πνεῦμα, ἐγένετο σάρξ καὶ οὕτως ἡμᾶς ἐκάλεσεν· οὕτως καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ σαρκὶ ἀποληψόμεθα τὸν μισθόν.
6. ἀγαπῶμεν οὖν ἀλλήλους, ὅπως ἐλθόμεθα πάντες εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ. 7. ὥσ ἔχομεν καιρὸν τοῦ λαβῆναι, ἐπιδώμεν ἑαυτοὺς τῷ θεραπεύοντι θεῷ, ἀντιμεθίαν αὐτῷ διδόντες. 8. ποίαν; τὸ μετανοήσαί ἐξ ἐλεημορίας καρδίας. 9. προγρώστης γὰρ ἐστιν τῶν πάντων καὶ εἰδὼς ἡμῶν τὰ ἐν καρδίᾳ. 10. δῶμεν οὖν αὐτῷ αἰνοῦ, μὴ ἀπὸ στόματος μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ καρδίας, ἵνα ἡμᾶς προσδέχηται ὡς νιυσ. 11. καὶ γὰρ εἶπεν ὁ κύριος, ὁ Αἴδελφοί μου οὗτοί εἰσίν οἱ ποιούντες τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πατρὸς μου.

X

1. "Ὡστε, ἀδελφοί μου, ποιήσωμεν τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ καλέσαντος ἡμᾶς, ἵνα ξήσωμεν, καὶ διώξωμεν μᾶλλον τὴν ἁρετήν, τὴν δὲ κακίαν καταλείψωμεν ὡς προοδοιπόρον τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν, καὶ φύγωμεν τὴν ἁσέβειαν, μὴ ἡμᾶς καταλάβῃ κακά. 2. εάν γὰρ σπουδάσωμεν ἀγαθοποιεῖν, διώξεται ἡμᾶς εἱρήνη. 3. διὰ ταύτην γὰρ τὴν αἰτίαν οὐκ ἔστων εὐρείων ἄνθρωπον, ὁπωσ: 1

1 αἶνον CS, αἶνον Α; Lightfoot thinks that the original text was αἶνον αἶνον (everlasting praise).
2 Lightfoot emends εὑρείων to εὑρεμεΐν (to prosper), but even so the Greek is very obscure and probably there is a primitive corruption, perhaps the omission of a whole line.
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."

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, when they bring in human fears, and prefer the pleasures

1 i.e. peace.
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parάγουσι φόβοις ἀνθρωπίνους, προηγημένοι ἁλλ' ἐν τῇ ἐνθάδε ἀπόλαυσιν ἢ τῇ μέλλουσαι ἐπαγγελίαν. 4. ἂνυνοοῦσιν γὰρ ἡλίκην ἔχει βάσανον ἢ ἐνθάδε ἀπόλαυσις, καὶ οlandır τρυφήν ἔχει ἢ μέλλουσα ἐπαγγελία. 5. καὶ εἰ μὲν αὐτοί μόνοι ταῦτα ἐπρασσόν, ἀνεκτὸν ἢν νῦν δὲ ἐπιμένουσιν κακοδιδασκαλοῦντες τὰς ἀνατίους ψυχὰς, οὐκ εἰδότες, ὅτι δισθήν ἐξουσίν τῇ κρίσιν, αὐτοῖ τε καὶ οἱ ἀκούοντες αὐτῶν.

XI

1. Ἡμεῖς οὖν ἐν καθαρᾷ καρδίᾳ δουλεύσωμεν τῷ θεῷ, καὶ ἐσόμεθα δίκαιον· οὖν δὲ μὴ δουλεύσωμεν διὰ τὸ μὴ πιστεύειν ἡμᾶς τῇ ἐπαγγελίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ, ταλαίπωροι ἐσόμεθα. 2. λέγει γὰρ καὶ ὁ προφητικὸς λόγος: Ταλαίπωροι εἰσίν οἱ δίψυχοι, οἱ διστάζοντες τῇ καρδίᾳ, οἱ λέγοντες· Ταῦτα πάλαι ἡκούσαμεν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἡμέραν εἰς ἡμέρας προσδεχόμενοι οὐδὲν τούτων ἐωράκαμεν. 3. ἀνόητοι, συμβάλετε ἑαυτοὺς ἡμῖν· λάβετε ἄμπελον· πρῶτον μὲν φυλλοφοί, εἰτα βλαστός γίνεται, μετὰ ταῦτα ὄμφας, εἰτα σταφυλὴ παρεστηκυίᾳ. 4. σωτός καὶ ὁ λαός μου ἀκαταστάσις καὶ θλίψεις ἐσχεν· ἐπειτα ἀπολήφηται τὰ ἀγαθά. 5. ὡστε, ἄδελφοι μου, μὴ διψυχῶμεν, ἀλλὰ ἐπισταντες ὑπομείνωμεν, ἵνα καὶ τοῦ μισθοῦ κομισώμεθα. 6. πιστὸς γὰρ ἔστιν ὁ ἐπαγγειλάμενος τὰς ἀντιμισθίας ἀποδίδοναι ἑκάστῳ τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ. 7. εἰς ὑμῖν

1 πάλαι CS, πάντω Α.
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

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.
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1 Cor. 2, 9 ποιήσωμεν τὴν δικαιοσύνην ἐναντίον τοῦ θεοῦ, εἰσήξομεν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ καὶ λῃστομεθα τὰς ἐπαγγελίας, ἂς οlical οὐκ ἦκουσέν οὐδὲ ὀφθαλμός εἶδεν, οὐδὲ ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου ἀνέβη.

XII

1. Εκδεχώμεθα οὖν καθ’ ὑπρα τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν ἀγάπῃ καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ, ἁπειδῆ οὖν συδαμεν τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς ἐπιφάνειας τοῦ θεοῦ.
2. ἐπερωτηθεῖς γὰρ αὐτὸς ὁ κύριος ὑπὸ τινος, πότε ἥξει αὐτοῦ ἡ βασιλεία, εἶπεν: "Ὅταν ἔσται τὰ δύο ἐν, καὶ τὸ ἔξω ὡς τὸ ἔσω, καὶ τὸ ἀρσεν μετὰ τῆς θηλείας οὔτε ἂρσεν οὔτε θῆλιν. 3. τὰ δύο δὲ ἐν ἔστω, ὅταν λαλῶμεν ἑαυτοὶς ἀληθείαν καὶ ἐν δυσὶ σώμασιν ἀνυποκρίτως εἴη μία ψυχή.
4. καὶ τὸ ἔξω ὡς τὸ ἔσω, τοῦτο λέγει τὴν ψυχήν λέγει τὸ ἔσω, τὸ δὲ ἔξω τὸ σῶμα λέγει. ὃν τρόπον οὖν σου τὸ σῶμα φαίνεται, οὕτως καὶ ἡ ψυχή σου δήλος ἔστω ἐν τοῖς καλοῖς ἔργοις. 5. καὶ τὸ ἂρσεν μετὰ τῆς θηλείας, οὔτε ἂρσεν οὔτε θῆλιν, τοῦτο¹ λέγει: ἵνα ἅδελφοις ἰδῶν ἅδελφην οὐδὲν² φρονή περὶ

¹ From this point A is wanting.
² µηδὲν seems required by the grammar of the sentence, but οὐδὲν is probably a solecism of the writer rather than a corruption of the text.

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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

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.
αὐτῆς θηλυκῶν, μηδὲ φρονῇ τι περὶ αὐτοῦ ἀρσενικῶν. 6. ταύτα ὑμῶν ποιοῦντων, φησίν, ἐλεύσεται ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ πατρὸς μου.

XIII

1. Ἀδελφοί οὖν, ἦδη ποτὲ μετανοήσωμεν, νήψωμεν ἐπὶ τὸ ἁγαθόν· μεστοὶ γὰρ ἐσμεν πολλῆς ἀνοίας καὶ πονηρίας. ἐξαλείψωμεν ἅφ' ἡμῶν τὰ πρότερα ἀμαρτήματα καὶ μετανοήσαντες ἐκ ψυχῆς σωθόμεν, καὶ μὴ γινόμεθα ἀνθρωπότρεποι μηδὲ θέλωμεν μόνον ἐαντοῖς ἀρέσκειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἐξῳ ἀνθρώποις ἐπὶ τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ, ἵνα τὸ ὅνομα δ' ἡμᾶς μὴ βλασφημῆται. 2. λέγει γὰρ ὁ κύριος· Διὰ παντὸς τὸ ὅνομά μου βλασφημεῖται ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς ἐθνεσιν, καὶ πάλιν· Οὐαὶ δ' ὃν βλασφημεῖται πᾶσιν τὸ ὅνομά μου. ἐν τίνι βλασφημεῖται; ἐν τῷ μὲν ποιεῖν ὑμᾶς ἔβουλομαι. 3. τὰ ἐθήνη γὰρ ἀκούοντα ἐκ τοῦ στόματος ἡμῶν τὰ λόγια τοῦ θεοῦ ὡς καλὰ καὶ μεγάλα θαυμάζεις· ἐπειτα καταμαθόντα τὰ ἔργα ἡμῶν ὅτι οὐκ ἐστίν ἄξια τῶν ῥημάτων ἡμῶν λέγοντες, ἐνθεν εἰς βλασφημίαν τρέπονται, λέγοντες εἶναι μοῦθὸν 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· ταύτα ὅταν ἀκούσωσιν, θαν-
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 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. 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 αὐτοῦ, “nor have any thought of himself as male.”
2 The source of this quotation is unknown.

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μάξουσιν τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς ἀγαθότητος· ὅταν δὲ ἔδωσιν, ὅτι οὐ μόνον τοὺς μισοῦντας οὐκ ἀγαπῶμεν, ἀλλ' ὅτι οὐδὲ τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας, καταγελῶσιν ἡμῶν, καὶ βλασφημεῖται τὸ ὄνομα.

XIV

"Ωστε, ἀδελφοί, ποιοῦντες τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν θεοῦ ἐσόμεθα ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς πρώτης, τῆς πνευματικῆς, τῆς πρὸ ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης ἐκτισμένης. ἔαν δὲ μὴ ποιήσωμεν τὸ θέλημα κυρίου, ἐσόμεθα ἐκ τῆς γραφῆς τῆς λεγοῦσης: Ἐγενήθη ὁ οἶκός μου σπυρίδων λῃστῶν. ὥστε οὖν αἰρετισώμεθα ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς ζωῆς εἶναι, ἓνα σωθῆμεν. 2. οὐκ οὖμαι δὲ ὑμᾶς ἀγνοεῖν, ὅτι ἐκκλησία ξύσα σῶμα ἔστων Χριστοῦ· λέγει γὰρ ἡ γραφή: Ἔποιήσεν ο θεὸς τῶν ἀνθρωπῶν ἃρσεν καὶ θῆλυ· τὸ ἄρσεν ἔστων ὁ Χριστὸς, τὸ θῆλυ ἡ ἐκκλησία· καὶ ἔτι ἡ βιβλία καὶ οἱ ἀπόστολοι τῆς ἐκκλησίας οὐ νῦν εἶναι λέγουσιν ἄλλα ἄνωθεν. ἤν γὰρ πνευματικὴ, ὡς καὶ ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἡμῶν, ἐφανερώθη δὲ ἐπὶ ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν, ἵνα ἡμᾶς σώσῃ. 3. ἡ ἐκκλησία δὲ πνευματικὴ οὕσα ἐφανερώθη ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ Χριστοῦ, δηλοῦσα ἡμῖν, ὅτι εὰν τις ἡμῶν τηρήσῃ αὐτὴν ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ καὶ μὴ φθείρῃ, ἀπολύσεται αὐτὴν ἐν τῷ πνεύματι τῷ

Jer. 7, 11; Mt. 21, 13
Eph. 1, 22.
Gen. 1, 27
I Pet. 1, 20

1 ἐτι C, "and moreover" (ἐτι) 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 φασι, and its exact place in the sentence is of course uncertain. S also adds "of the prophets" after "the books."

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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, 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; 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.
TO ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΙΚΟΙ ΦΑΘΕΡΟΙ

άγιων· ή γὰρ σάρξ αὐτὴ ἀντίτυπός ἐστιν τοῦ πνεύματος· οὖδεις οὖν τὸ ἀντίτυπον φθείρας τὸ αὐθεντικὸν μεταλήψεται. ἄρα οὖν τούτο λέγει, ἀδελφοί· τηρήσατε τὴν σάρκα, ὅν τοῦ πνεύματος μεταλάβητε. 4. εἰ δὲ λέγομεν εἰναὶ τὴν σάρκα τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα Χριστοῦ, ἄρα οὖν ὁ υἱός τῆς σάρκα υἱός τῆς ἐκκλησίας. ὁ τοιούτος οὖν οὐ μεταλήψεται τοῦ πνεύματος, ο ἐστιν ο ὁ Χριστὸς. 5. τοσαύτην δύναται ή σάρξ αὐτὴ μεταλαβεῖν ξών καὶ ἀφθαρσίαν κολληθέντος αὐτῆς τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ ἀγίου, οὔτε εξειπτεῖν τις δύναται οὔτε καλῆσαι δ ἡτοίμασεν ὁ κύριος τοῖς ἐκλεκτοῖς αὐτοῦ.

XV

1. Οὐκ οἴομαι δὲ, ὅτι μικρὰν συμβούλιαν ἐποιησάμην περὶ ἐγκρατείας, ἣν ποιήσας τις οὐ μετανοήσει, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐαυτὸν σώσει καὶ μὲ τὸν συμβουλεύσαντα. μισθὸς γὰρ οὐκ ἐστιν μικρὸς πλανωμένην ψυχήν καὶ ἀπολλυμένην ἀποστρέψαι εἰς τὸ σωθῆναι. 2. τοσαύτην γὰρ ἔγραυμεν τὴν ἀντε- μισθίαν ἀποδοῦναι τῷ θεῷ τῷ κτίσαντι ἡμᾶς, εἰπὶ οὗ λέγων καὶ ἀκούων μετὰ πίστεως καὶ ἀγάπης καὶ λέγη καὶ ἀκοῦῃ. 3. ἐμμείνωμεν οὖν εἴ τις ἐπιστεύσαμεν δίκαιοι καὶ ὁσίοι, ἵνα μετὰ παραρτήσιας αἰτήμαν τῶν θεῶν τῶν λέγοντα· Ἔτι λαλοῦντος σου ἐρῶ· ἰδοὺ πάρειμι. 4. τούτῳ γὰρ τὸ ῥήμα μεγάλης ἐστιν ἐπαγγελίας σημεῖον· ἐτοιμότερον γὰρ ἐαυτοῦ λέγει ὁ κύριος εἰς τὸ διδόναι τοῖς αἰτοῦντος. 5. τοσαύτης οὖν χρηστότητος μετα- λαμβάνοντες μὴ φθονήσωμεν ἑαυτοῖς τυχεῖν.
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.

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. 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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tosou'tov anagathvn. 'osyn gar 'hdonhn 'exei ta rhymata tauta tois poihsasin auta, tosauntin katarkrisin 'exei tois paraokousasin.

XVI

1. "Oste, adelphoi, aforfih laibontes ou mikran eis to metaanosi, kairoin exountes epistepsewmen eti ton kalasanta hymas theon, eis esti 'exomun ton paradechomenon hymas. 2. ean gar taiz hupatheiai tauta is apostaxomeba kai thn psuchhn hymon nikhsonmen en ton mè poiein tais episthmias auth ths taiz pothenas, metalepsiomeba ton elaeous 'Ihsoi.

I Pet. 4, 8

1. Lightfoot conjectures διωδεις, 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 some 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.

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. Metanoétheomev ouv éx òlhes kardías, ëna mh tis hèmoun parapóleitai. ei gár éntolàs échomene, ëna kai toûto prássewmen, ápò tòn eídóloùn átopstán kai kathkeîn, pòsof màllon òychèn ëdh genvóskeusan tòn theòn ou deî ápóllusbaib; 2. súllâbomev ouv èautois kai toûs ãstheounaías ánagheîn perî to ágaðoûn, òpoues southômev ápantès kai èpiostrephômev ãllhles kai nouðhêsswmen. 3. kai mh mônou arthi dôkimene pisteúwe kai prosechémen ev tò vouðhêsteibai ëmâs upò tòn prèswbúteron, ãllall kai òtan eîs òikou ãpallalêgômev, mhmenouméve tòn tòn kuriou èntolámaton kai mh òntuparèlkoûmera ápò tòn kòsmikon èpithumíon, ãllall pukinoûten proserchômenei pemря- meba prokoîpthei ev tais èntolais tòu kuriou, ëna pàntes to ïautò phronoûntes sunygeîmenoi òmen ëpi tòu òzôîn. 4. eîpene gár ò kuriou: 'Èrhoûmaí sunagageîn pànta tà òthnè, phulàs kai òlyosas tàvto òde légeti tòn ëmêrân tòs èpífaneías autòi, òste èllhôs lútrôsetai ëmâs, èkastôn kata tà ërho ãutòi. 5. kai ògountai tòn dòzwn ãutòi kai tò kràtòs oí òpistòi, kai ënoushîsoûntai ìdôntes tà bavslêion tòu kòsmou ev tò 'Ihsoû, légonntes: ònav ëmîn, òte òn òs, kai òun òdêimev kai òun èpiostéûmev kai òun èpektibômeva toûs prèswbúterous toûs ãnaggeîlounon ëmîn perî tòs ñòthriás ëmîn. kai ò skôlîiè autòi òun telèutîse kai tò pûr autòi òun ñbèsthîsev, kai êsountai eîs òrasin

1 S perhaps implies πρός “bring back to goodness.”
2 S adds “and have ceased from all.”

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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
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πάση σαρκί. 6. τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην λέγει τῆς κρίσεως, ὅταν ὄψονται τὸν ἐν ἡμῖν ἀσεβῆσαντας καὶ παραλογισμένους τὰς ἐντολὰς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. 7. οἱ δὲ δίκαιοι εὐπραγησάντες καὶ ὑπομείναντες τὰς βασάνους καὶ μισήσαντες τὰς ἡδυπαθείας τῆς ψυχῆς, ὅταν θεάσωνται τοὺς ἀστοχησάντας καὶ ἀρνησάμενους διὰ τῶν λόγων ἢ διὰ τῶν ἔργων τοῦ Ἰησοῦν, ὅπως κολάξονται δεινῶς βασάνοις πυρὶ ἀσβέστῳ, ἐσονται δύον διδόντες τῷ θεῷ αὐτῶν λέγοντες, ὅτι ἔσται ἔλπὶς τῷ δεδουλευκότι θεῷ ἐξ ὅλης καρδίας.

Aρος. 11, 13

XVIII

1. Καὶ ἡμεῖς οὖν γενόμεθα ἐκ τῶν εὐχαριστοῦντων, δεδουλευκότων τῷ θεῷ, καὶ μὴ ἐκ τῶν κρίνομένων ἀσεβῶν. 2. καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς πανθαμαρτωλὸς ὁ θεός καὶ µῆτω φυγῶν τῶν πειρασμῶν, ἄλλῃ ἔτι δὲν ἐν μέσῳ τοῖς ὀργάνοις τοῦ διαβόλου σπονδάξω τὴν δικαιοσύνην διόκειν, ὅπως ἰσχύσω καὶ ἔγγυς αὐτῆς γενέσθαι, φοβοῦμενος τὴν κρίσιν τὴν μέλλουσαν.

XIX

1. "Ωστε, ἀδελφοὶ καὶ ἄδελφαι, μετὰ τὸν θεὸν τῆς ἀληθείας ἀναγινώσκω ὑμῖν ἐντεύξιν εἰς τὸ προσέχειν τοῖς γεγραμμένοις, ὡν καὶ ἑαυτοῦς σώσθητε καὶ τὸν ἀναγινώσκοντα ἐν ὑμῖν. μισθὸν γὰρ αὐτῷ ὑμᾶς τὸ μετανοήσαι εἰς ὅλης καρδίας, σωτηρίαν ἑαυτοῖς καὶ ζωὴν διδόντας. τοῦτο γὰρ ποιήσαντες σκοπῶν πᾶσιν τοῖς νέοις θήσομεν, τοῖς
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 reader 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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βουλομένοις περὶ τῆς εὐσέβειαν καὶ τῆς χρηστό-
tήτα τοῦ θεοῦ φιλοπονεῖν. 2. καὶ μὴ ἀγδώς ἔχωμεν καὶ ἀγανακτῶμεν οἱ ἁσοφοὶ, ὅταν τις ἡμᾶς νουθετῇ καὶ ἐπιστρέψῃ ἀπὸ τῆς ἂδικίας εἰς τὴν δικαιοσύνην. ἐνεποτε γὰρ πονηρὰ πράσσοντες οὐ γινόσκομεν διὰ τὴν διψαχὴν καὶ ἀπιστίαν τὴν ἐνοῦσαν ἐν τοῖς στηθέσιν ἡμῶν, καὶ ἐσκοτίσμεθα τὴν διάνοιαν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν τῶν ματαιῶν. 3. πράξωμεν οὖν τὴν δικαιοσύνην, ένα εἰς τέλος σωθῆμεν. μακάριοι οἱ τούτοις ὑπακούοντες τοῖς προστάγμασιν καὶ ὀλίγον χρόνον κακοπαθήσωσιν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ τούτῳ, τὸν ἀθάνατον τῆς ἀναστάσεως καρπὸν προβλέψατε. 4. μὴ οὖν λυπεῖσθω ὁ εὐσεβῆς, ἐὰν ἐπὶ τοὺς υἱὸν χρόνος τάλατορᾶ· μακάριος αὐτόν ἀναμένει χρόνος· ἐκεῖνος ἀνω μετὰ τῶν πατέρων ἀναβιώσας εὐφρανθῆσεται εἰς τὸν ἀλυπητὸν αἰῶνα.

XX

1. 'Ἀλλὰ μηδὲ ἐκεῖνο τῆς διάνοιαν ύμῶν ταρασ-
σέτω, ὅτι βλέπομεν τοὺς ἄδικους πλουτοῦντας καὶ στενοχωρουμένους τοὺς τοῦ θεοῦ δούλους. 2. πιστεύομεν οὖν, ἄδελφοι καὶ ἄδελφαι· θεοὺς ζῶντος πείραν ἄθλοῦμεν καὶ γυμναζόμεθα τῷ υἱῷ βίω, ἵνα τῷ μέλλοντι στεφανωθῶμεν. 3. οὕδεις τῶν δικαίων ταχὺν καρπὸν ἔλαβεν, ἀλλ' ἐκδέχεται αὐτὸν. 4. εἰ γὰρ τὸν μισθὸν τῶν δικαίων ο θεὸς συντόμως ἀπεδίδων, εὐθέως εἰμπορίαν ἡσκούμεν καὶ οὐ θεοσέβειαν ἐδοκοῦμεν γὰρ εἶναι δίκαιοι, οὐ
tὸ εὐσεβές, ἀλλὰ τὸ κερδαλέον διώκοντες. καὶ

1 τοῦτο om. S, in Lightfoot's opinion correctly.

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II. CLEMENT, xix. i–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
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διὰ τούτο θεία κρίσις ἐβλαψεν πνεῦμα μὴ ὑπὶ δίκαιον, καὶ ἐβάρυνεν δεσμοῖς.

I Tim. 1, 17 5. Τῷ μόνῳ θεῷ ἀοράτῳ, πατρὶ τῆς ἀληθείας, τῷ ἐξαποστείλαντι ἡμᾶς τὸν σωτήρα καὶ ἁρχηγὸν τῆς ἀφθαρσίας, δί' ὦ καὶ ἐφανέρωσεν ἡμᾶς τὴν ἀληθείαν καὶ τὴν ἐπουράνιον ζωήν, αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν.

Κλημεντος πρὸς Κορινθίους ἐπιστολὴ ἐ.

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II. CLEMENT, xx. 4–xx. 5

piety but gain. For this reason divine judgment punishes\(^1\) a spirit which is not righteous and loads it with chains.

5. To the only invisible God, the father of truth,\(^2\) 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 bishop\(^1\) 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).
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 (δοκεΐν), 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.
IGNATIUS

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 Peternann 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 Smyrneans, from MS. Borg. 248 in the Museo Nazionale at Naples. Finally, in 1910 a papyrus fragment of the 5th century (Berl. P. 10581) was published by C. Schmidt and W. Schubert in their Altchristliche Texte (Berliner Klassikertexte, heft vi.); this contains Smyrneans 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 in the long recension.

$L =$ the Latin version of Grosseteste. ($L^e =$ 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, $S =$ 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

'Ιγνάτιος, ο καὶ Θεοφόρος, τῇ εὐλογημένῃ ἐν μεγέθει θεοῦ πατρὸς πληρώματι, τῇ προορισμένῃ πρὸ αἰώνων εἶναι διὰ παντὸς εἰς δόξαν παράμονον ἀτρεπτον, ἡμωμένῃ καὶ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐν πάθει ἀληθινῷ, ἐν θελήματι τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ ἠμῶν, τῇ ἑκκλησίᾳ τῇ ἀξιομακαρίστῳ, τῇ οὐσίᾳ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ τῆς Ἁσίας, πλείστα ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ καὶ ἐν ἀμώμῳ χαρᾶ χαίρειν.

I

1. Ἀποδεξάμενος ἐν θεῷ τὸ πολυαγάπητόν σου ὅνομα, ὁ κέκτησε θεῖο δικαία1 κατὰ πίστιν καὶ ἁγάπην ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, τῷ σωτηρίῳ ἠμῶν· μιμητὰ όντες θεοῦ, ἀναξωπυρησάντες ἐν αἴματι θεοῦ τὸ συγγενικὸν ἔργον τελείως ἀπηρτήσατε·
2. ἀκούσαντες γὰρ δεδεμένον ἀπὸ Συρίας ύπὲρ

1 “Truly immaculate will,” A(S).
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 brotherly 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.
τού κοινοῦ ὁνόματος καὶ ἐλπίδος, ἐλπίζοντα τῇ προσευχῇ ὑμῶν ἐπιτυχεῖν ἐν Ὑψώθη θηριομαχῆσαι, ἵνα διὰ τοῦ ἐπιτυχεῖν δυνηθῶ μαθητής εἶναι, ἰδεῖν ἑσπουδάσατε. 3. ἑπεὶ οὖν τὴν πολυπλήθειαν ὑμῶν ἐν ὁνόματι θεοῦ ἀπειλήφα ἐν Ὕψωθι, τῷ ἐν ἀγάπῃ ἀδιηγήτῳ, ὑμῶν δὲ ἐπισκόπῳ, ὑμὴν καὶ πάντας ὑμᾶς αὐτῷ ἐν ὁμοιότητι εἶναι. εὐλογητὸς γὰρ ὁ χαρισμένος ὑμῖν ἄξιος οὖσι τοιούτω ἐπίσκοπον κεκτήσατε.

II

1. Περὶ δὲ τοῦ συνδούλου μου Βούρρου, τοῦ κατὰ θεόν διακόνου ὑμῶν ἐν πᾶσιν εὐλογημένου, εὐχομαι παραμεῖναι αὐτὸν εἰς τιμήν ὑμῶν καὶ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου καὶ Κρόκος δὲ, ὁ θεοῦ ἄξιος καὶ ὑμῶν, διὰ ἐξεμπλάριον τῆς ἀφ’ ὑμῶν ἀγάπης ἀπέλαβον, κατὰ πάντα με ἀνέπαυσεν, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ πατὴρ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀναψύξει, ἀμα Ὅνησίμῳ καὶ Βούρρῳ καὶ Εὐπλεῳ καὶ Φρόντωνι, δι’ ὑμὰν πάντας ὑμᾶς κατὰ ἀγάπην εἰδον. 2. ὠναίμην ὑμῶν διὰ παντός, εάντερ ἄξιος δ’ ἐπίσκοπον οὖν ἐστὶν κατὰ πάντα τρόπον δοξάζειν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τοῦ δοξάσαντα ὑμᾶς, ἵνα ἐν μιᾷ ὑποταγῇ κατηρτισμένοι, ὑποτασσόμενοι τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ, κατὰ πάντα ἄγει ἱγιασμένοι.

1 ἰδεῖν ἑσπουδάσατε om. Gg, the text is restored from ALG, but Lightfoot prefers ἱστορήσαι to ἰδεῖν.
2 ἐν σαρκὶ ἐπισκ. GL, “your bishop in the flesh.”
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.

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 Croesus 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 sub-
jection, subject to the bishop and to the presbytery,
and may in all things be sanctified.
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III

1. Όσα διατάσσομαι ὑμῖν ὡς ὁν τις. εἰ γὰρ καὶ δέδεμαι ἐν τῷ ὄνοματι, οὕτω ἀπῄρησμαι ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ· νῦν γὰρ ἀρχὴν ἔχω τοῦ μαθητεύσας, καὶ προσλαμβάνω ὑμῖν ὡς συνδιδασκαλίταις μου. ἔμε γὰρ ἔδει υφ' ὑμῶν ὑπαλειφθῆναι πίστει, νοοθεσία, ὑπομονή, μακροθυμία. 2. ἀλλ' ἐπει η ἀγάπη οὐκ ἔχε με σιωπᾶν περὶ υμῶν, διὰ τούτο προέλαβον παρακαλεῖν υμᾶς, ὅπως συντρέχητε τῇ γνώμῃ τοῦ Θεοῦ. καὶ γὰρ Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς, τὸ ἀδιάκριτον ἡμῶν ζῆν, τοῦ πατρὸς ἡ γνώμη, ὡς καὶ οἱ ἐπίσκοποι, οἱ κατὰ τὰ πέρατα ὀρισθέντες, ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ γνώμη εἰσίν.

IV

1. "Οθεν πρέπει ὑμῖν συντρέχειν τῇ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου γνώμῃ, ὅπερ καὶ ποιεῖτε. τὸ γὰρ ἀξιονόμαστον ὑμῶν πρεσβυτέρων, τοῦ Θεοῦ ἄξιον, οὕτως συνήμορσται τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, ὡς χορδαὶ κινίαρα. διὰ τούτο ἐν τῇ ὑμονοίᾳ ὑμῶν καὶ συμφώνου ἀγάπῃ Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ἅδεται. 2. καὶ οἱ κατ' ἄνδρα δὲ χορὸς γίνεσθαι, ἵνα σύμφωνοι ὄντες ἐν ὑμονοίᾳ, χρῶμα Θεοῦ λαβόντες ἐν ἐνότητι, ἄδητε ἐν φωνῇ μιᾷ διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τῷ πατρὶ, ἵνα ὑμῶν καὶ ἀκούσῃ καὶ ἐπιγινώσκῃ, δι' ὅν εὐ πράσσετε, μέλη

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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 prepared 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 live 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.

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 key 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

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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.
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οντας του υιου αυτου. χρησιμον ουν εστιν ημας εν αμωμω ενοτητι ειναι, ίνα και θεου παντοτε μετεχητε.

V

1. Ει γαρ εγω εν μικρω χρωνω τοιαυτην συνηθειαν εσχον προς τον επισκοπον υμων, ουκ ανθρωπων ουσαν, αλλα πνευματικην, ποσω μαλλον υμας μακαριζω τους εγκεκραμενους ουτως, ως η εκκλησια Ιησου Χριστου, και ως Ιησους Χριστος τω πατρι, ίνα παντα εν ενοτητι συμφωνα η; 2. μηδεις πλανασθω εαν μη τις η εντος του θυσιαστηριου, υστερειται του αρτου του θεου. ει γαρ ενος και δευτερου προσευχη τοσαυτην ισχυν εχει, ποσω μαλλον η τε του επισκοπου και πασης της εκκλησιας; 3. ο ουν μη ερχομενος επι το αυτο ουτος ηδη υπερηφανει και εαυτον διεκρινει. γεγραπται γαρ Ιτερηφανοι ο θεος αντιτασσεται, σπουδιασωμεν ουν μη αντιτασσεσθαι το επισκοπο, ίνα ομην θεω υποτασσομενοι.

VI

1. Και οςον βλεπει τις συγωντα επισκοπου, πλειονος αυτων φοβεισθω παντα γαρ, ου εμπει ο σικοδεσποτης εις ιδιαν οικονομιαν, ουτως δει

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.

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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

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

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.”
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ήμας αὐτὸν δέχεσθαι, ὥς αὐτὸν τὸν πέμψαντα. τὸν
οὖν ἐπίσκοπον δῆλον ὅτι ὃς αὐτὸν κύριον δεῖ
προσβλέπειν. 2. αὐτὸς μὲν ὁ Οὐνήσιμος ὑπερ-
επαίνει ὡμῶν τὴν ἐν θεῷ εὐταξίαν, ὅτι πάντες
κατὰ ἀλήθειαν ζήτετε καὶ ὅτι ἐν ὑμῖν οὐδεμία ἀἱρέσις
κατοικεῖ· ἀλλ' οὔδε ἀκούετε τινὸς πλέον, ἣ περὶ
Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ λαλοῦντος ἐν ἀληθείᾳ.

VII

1. Εἰλόθασιν γὰρ τινες δόλῳ πονηρῷ τὸ ὄνομα
περιφέρειν, ἄλλα τινὰ πρᾶσσοντες ἀνάξια θεοῦ·
οὗς δεῖ ὡμᾶς ὃς θηρία ἐκκλίνει. εἰσίν γὰρ κύνες
λυσσῶντες, λαθροδήκται· οὗς δεῖ ὡμᾶς φυλάσ-
σεσθαι ὡντας δυσθεραπεύτους. 2. εἰς ἴατρός
ἐστιν, σαρκικός τε καὶ πνευματικός, γεννητὸς καὶ
ἀγέννητος, ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ θεός, ἐν θανάτῳ ζωῆς
ἀληθείαν, καὶ ἐκ Μαρίας καὶ ἐκ θεοῦ, πρῶτον
παθητὸς καὶ τότε ἀπαθής, Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὁ
κύριος ὑμῶν.

VIII

1. Μη οὖν τις ύμας ἐξαπατάτω, ὁσπερ οὐδὲ
ἐξαπατᾶτο συ, ὅλους ὅλους θεοῦ. ὅταν γὰρ μνεμία
ἐρις ἐνήρεισται ἐν ύμῖν ἡ δυναμενὴ ύμας βασανι-

1 The reading of G is εἰσερ; the Latin is aliquem amplius quam Iesum Christum loquentem; the Armenian supports the text (ἡ 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 θεὸς “God become incarnate.”

3 A Σ g read ἐπιθυμία, “lust,” which Lightfoot accepts.

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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 possible 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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σαί, ἀρα κατὰ θεὸν ζῆτε. περίψημα ὑμῶν καὶ ἀγνίζομαι ὑμῶν Ἐφεσίων, ἐκκλησίας τῆς διαβοή- του τοῖς αἰῶσιν. 2. οἱ σαρκικοὶ τὰ πνευματικὰ πράσσειν οὐ δύνανται, οὐδὲ οἱ πνευματικοὶ τὰ σαρκικά, ὃσπερ οὐδὲ ἡ πίστις τὰ τῆς ἀπιστίας οὐδὲ ἡ ἀπιστία τὰ τῆς πίστεως. ἂ δὲ καὶ κατὰ σάρκα πράσσετε, ταῦτα πνευματικά ἐστιν ἐν Ἰησοῦ γὰρ Χριστῷ πάντα πράσσετε.

IX

1. "Ἐγνων δὲ παραδεύσαντας τινας ἐκεῖθεν, ἔχον- 
tas κακὴν διδαχὴν οὐδὲ οὐκ εἰάσατε σπείραι εἰς ὑμᾶς, βύσαντες τὰ ὅτα, εἰς τὸ μὴ παραδέξασθαι τὰ σπειρόμενα ὑπ' αὐτῶν, ὡς ὄντες λίθοι ναοῦ πατρὸς, ἤτοιμασμένοι 1 εἰς οἰκοδομὴν θεοῦ πατρὸς, ἀναφέρομεν εἰς τὰ ψήν διὰ τῆς μηχανῆς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, οὐ ἐστιν σταυρός, σχοινίω χρώμενοι τῷ πνεύματι τῷ ἁγίῳ; ή δὲ πίστις ὑμῶν ἀναγωγεῖς ὑμῶν, ή δὲ ἀγάπη ὄδος ή ἀναφέρουσα εἰς θεόν. 2. ἐστε οὖν καὶ σύνοδοι πάντες, θεοφόροι καὶ ναοφόροι, χριστοφόροι, ἀγιοφόροι, κατὰ πάντα κεκοσμημένοι ἐντολαῖς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ; οἷς

1 Lightfoot emends πατρὸς (written πρὸς) ἤτοιμασμένοι into προητοιμασμένοι.

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torture you, you do indeed live according to God. I am dedicated ¹ 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

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.
καὶ ἀγαλλιώμενος ἡξιώθην δὴ ὅν γράφω προσομιλήσαι ὑμῖν καὶ συνχαρῆναι, ὅτι κατ’ ἀνθρώπων ὑμῶν οὐδὲν ἀγαπᾶτε εἰ μη ὑμῶν τὸν θεόν.

X

1. Καὶ ύπὲρ τῶν ἄλλων δὲ ἀνθρώπων ἄδιαλειπτῶς προσεύχεσθε, ἐστὶν γὰρ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐλπίς μετανοίας, ὅπως θεοῦ τύχωσιν. ἐπιτρέψατε οὖν αὐτοῖς κἀκεῖ τῶν ἐργῶν ὑμῶν μαθητευθήναι.

2. πρὸς τὰς ὄργας αὐτῶν ὑμεῖς πραείς, πρὸς τὰς μεγάλορημοσύνας αὐτῶν ὑμεῖς ταπεινόφρονες, πρὸς τὰς βλασφημίας αὐτῶν ὑμεῖς τὰς προσευχὰς, πρὸς τὴν πλάνην αὐτῶν ὑμεῖς ἐδραύλι τῇ πίστει, πρὸς τὸ ἀγρίον αὐτῶν ὑμεῖς ἤμεροι, μὴ σπουδάζοντες ἀντιμιμήσασθαι αὐτοὺς. 3. Ἄδελφοι αὐτῶν εὐρεθῶμεν τῇ ἐπιεικείᾳ: μιμηταὶ δὲ τοῦ κυρίου σπουδάζωμεν εἵναι, τὶς πλέον ἀδικηθῇ, τὶς ἀποστηρηθῇ, τὶς ἁθετηθῇ: ἵνα μη τῷ διαβόλῳ βοτάνη τῆς εὐρεθῆ ἐν ὑμῖν, ἀλλ’ ἐν πάσῃ ἀγνείᾳ καὶ σωφροσύνῃ μένητε ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ σάρκικῶς καὶ πνευματικῶς.

XI

1. Ἐσχάτων καὶροί. λοιπὸν ἀἰσχυνθῶμεν, φοβηθῶμεν τὴν μακροθυμίαν τοῦ θεοῦ, ἵνα μη 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 ἀγαπᾶτε ἀλλὰ κατὰ θεον (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.”

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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.

XI

1. These are the last times. Therefore let us be modest, let us fear the long-suffering of God, that it
κρίμα γένηται. ἢ γὰρ τὴν μέλλουσαν ὁργὴν φοβηθώμεν, ἢ τὴν ἐνεστῶσαν χάριν ἀγαπήσωμεν, ἐν τῶν δύο· μόνον ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ εὑρεθήναι εἰς τὸ ἀληθινὸν ζῆν. 2. χωρὶς τούτου μηδὲν ύμῶν πρεπέτω, ἐν ὃ τὰ δεσμὰ περιφέρω, τοὺς πνευματικοὺς μαργαρίτας, ἐν οἷς γένοιτό μοι ἀναστήναι τῇ προσευχῇ ύμῶν, ὡς γένοιτό μοι ἀεὶ μέτοχον εἰναι, ἵνα ἐν κλήρῳ Ἐφεσίων εὑρεθῶ τῶν Χριστιανῶν, οἱ καὶ τοῖς ἀποστόλοις πάντοτε συνήνεσαν ἐν δυνάμει Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

XII

1. Οἶδα, τίς εἰμὶ καὶ τίσιν γράφω. ἐγὼ κατάκριτος, ὑμεῖς ἠλεημένοι· ἐγὼ ὑπὸ κίνδυνον, ὑμεῖς ἐστηριγμένοι. 2. πάροδός ἐστε τῶν εἰς θεὸν ἀναρρομένων, Παύλου συμμύσται τοῦ ἡγίασμένου. τοῦ μεμαρτυρημένου, ἄξιομακαρίστου, οὗ γένοιτό μοι ὑπὸ τὰ ἤχη εὑρεθήναι, ὡς τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπιτύχω, ὅσα ἐν πάσῃ ἐπιστολῇ μνημονεύει ὑμῶν ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ.

XIII

1. Σπουδάζετε οὖν πυκνότερον συνέρχεσθαι εἰς εὐχαριστίαν θεοῦ καὶ εἰς δόξαν. ὅταν γὰρ πυκνῷ· ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ γίνεσθε, καθαίρονται αἱ δυνάμεις τοῦ Σατανᾶ, καὶ λύεται ὁ ὀλέθρος αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ ὁμοοίᾳ ὑμῶν τῆς πίστεως. 2. οὐδὲν ἐστιν ἁμαρτίαν εἰρήνης, ἐν ἡ πάσα πόλεμος καταργεῖται ἔπουρανιῶν καὶ ἐπιγείων.
ignatius to the ephesians, xi. 1–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.

xiii

1. Seek, then, to come together more frequently to give thanks 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.

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

1. Ὑπὸν οὐδὲν λαυθάνει ὑμᾶς, ἐὰν τελείως εἰς Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἔχητε τὴν πίστιν καὶ τὴν ἀγάπην, ἢτις ἐστὶν ἄρχη ἡ ἥπη καὶ τέλος· ἄρχη μὲν πίστις, τέλος δὲ ἀγάπη. τὰ δὲ δύο ἐν ἑνότητι γενόμενα θεὸς ἐστιν, τὰ δὲ ἀλλὰ πάντα εἰς καλοκαγαθίαν ἀκολουθή ἐστιν. 2. οὐδεὶς πίστιν ἐπαγγελλόμενος ἀμαρτάνει, οὐδὲ ἀγάπην κεκτημένος μισεῖ. φανερῶν τὸ δέυδρον ἀπὸ τοῦ καρποῦ αὐτοῦ. οὕτως οἱ ἐπαγγελλόμενοι Χριστοῦ εἶναι δὲ ὑπὸ πράσσοντων ὄφθησονται. οὐ γὰρ νῦν ἐπαγγελλάς τὸ ἔργον, ἀλλ’ ἐν δυνάμει πίστεως εὰν τις εὑρεθῇ εἰς τέλος.

XV

1. Ἀμειώτων ἐστὶν σιωπᾶν καὶ εἶναι, ἡ λαλοῦντα μὴ εἶναι. καλὸν τὸ διδάσκειν, ἐὰν ὁ λέγων ποιῇ. εἰς οὐν διδάσκαλος, δὲ εἰπεῖ, καὶ ἐγένετο· καὶ ἀνεγὼν δὲ πεποίηκεν ἡξία τοῦ πατρὸς ἐστιν. 2. ὁ λόγον Ἰησοῦ κεκτημένος ἀληθῶς δύναται καὶ τῆς συν-χίας αὐτοῦ ἀκούειν, ἢν τελεῖος ἡ, ἢν δὲ ὑπὸ λαλεῖ πράσσῃ καὶ δὲ ὑπὸ συγὰ γινώσκεται. 3. οὐδὲν λαυθάνει τὸν κύριον, ἀλλ’ καὶ τὰ κρυπτὰ ἡμῶν ἑγγὺς αὐτῷ ἐστιν. πάντα οὖν ποιῶμεν ὡς αὐτὸ ἐν ἡμῶν κατοικοῦντος, ἢν ὃμεν αὐτοῦ ναοὶ καὶ αὐτός ἐν ἡμῖν θεὸς ἡμῶν· ὁπερ καὶ ἐστὶν καὶ φανερῶται πρὸ προσώπου ἡμῶν, εἰς ὁν δικαίως ἀγαπῶμεν αὐτὸν.

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

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XIV

1. None of these things are unknown to you if 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 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.
XVI

1. Μη πλανᾶσθε, ἀδελφοί μου· οἱ οἰκοφθόροι 
γιασελείαν θεοῦ οὐ κληρονομήσουσιν. 2. εἰ δὲ οἱ 
kατὰ σάρκα ταῦτα πράσσοντες ἀπέθανον, πόσῳ 
μᾶλλον, ἐὰν πίστιν θεοῦ ἐν καθῆ διδασκαλίᾳ 
φθείρῃ, ὑπὲρ ἡς Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ἐσταυρώθη; ὁ 
tοιοῦτος ῥυπαρὸς γενόμενος, εἰς τὸ πῦρ τὸ ἀσβεστὸν 
χωρῆσει, ὡμοίως καὶ ὁ ἄκοῦων αὐτοῦ.

XVII

1. Διὰ τούτο μύρον ἔλαβεν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς 
αὐτοῦ ὁ κύριος, ἵνα πνέῃ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀφθαρσίαν. 
μὴ ἀλείφησθε δυσωδίαν τῆς διδασκαλίας τοῦ 
ἀρχόντος τοῦ αἰώνος τούτου, μὴ αἰχμαλωτίσῃ 
ὕμας ἐκ τοῦ προκειμένου ζῆν. 2. διὰ τί δὲ οὐ 
pάντες φρόνιμοι γνῶμεθα λαβόντες θεοὶ γνῶσιν, 
ὁ ἔστιν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός; τί μωρὸς ἀπολλύμεθα, 
ἀγνοοῦντες τὸ χάρισμα, τί πέπομφεν ἅλθῶς ὁ 
kύριος;

XVIII

1. Περίψημα τὸ ἐμὸν πνεῦμα τοῦ σταυροῦ, ὁ 
ἔστιν σκάνδαλον τοῖς ἀπίστοισιν, ἥμιν δὲ σωτηρία 
καὶ ξωὴ αἰώνιος. ποῦ σοφὸς; ποῦ συζητητὴς; 
pοῦ καύχησις τῶν λεγομένων συνετῶν; 2. ὁ γὰρ 
θεὸς ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστὸς ἐκνοφορίηθη ὑπὸ
IGNATIUS TO THE EPHESIANS, xvi. i–xviii. 2

XVI

1. Do not err, my brethren; they who corrupt families shall not inherit the kingdom of God. 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 devoted to the cross, which is an offence to unbelievers, but to us salvation and eternal life. "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.
ΤΗΣ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΙΚΟΣ ΦΑΘΕΡΣ

Μαρίας κατ' οἰκονομίαν θεοῦ ἐκ σπέρματος μὲν Δαυείδ, πνεύματος δὲ ἁγίου· ὃς ἐγεννήθη καὶ ἐβαπτίσθη, ἵνα τῷ πάθει τὸ ὑδωρ καθαρίσῃ.

XIX

1. Καὶ ἔλαβεν τὸν ἄρχοντα τοῦ αἰώνος τούτου ἡ παρθενία Μαρίας καὶ ὁ τοκετὸς αὐτῆς, ὁμολογοῦντες καὶ ὁ θάνατος τοῦ κυρίου· τρία μυστήρια κραυγῆς, ἀτιμα ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ θεοῦ ἐπράξθη. 2. πῶς οὖν ἐφανερώθη τοῖς αἰῶνις; ἄστηρ ἐν οὐρανῷ ἠλαμψεν ὑπὲρ πάντας τοὺς ἀστέρας, καὶ τὸ φῶς αὐτοῦ ἀνεκλαίητο ἤν καὶ κενσομοῦ παρεῖχεν ἡ καινότης αὐτοῦ, τὰ δὲ λουτρὰ πάντα ἀστρα ἡμιών καὶ σελήνη χορὸς ἐγένετο τῷ ἀστέρι, αὐτὸς δὲ ἦν ὑπερβάλλων τὸ φῶς αὐτοῦ ὑπὲρ πάντα· ταραχῇ τε ἦν, πόθεν ἡ καινότης ἡ ἀνόμοιος αὐτοῖς. 3. οὖν ἔλυεν πᾶσα μαγεία καὶ πᾶσα δεσμός ἥφανες φακίας· ἡγνονα καθήρειτο, παλαιὰ βασιλεῖα διεφθείρετο ἡθοῦ ἐν καινότητα αἴδου ξώης· ἀρχὴν δὲ ἠλάμβανεν τὸ παρὰ θεοῦ ἀπηρτησμένον. ἕνθεν τὰ πάντα συνεκινεῖτο διὰ τὸ μελετᾶσθαι θανάτου κατάλυσιν.

1 Lightfoot omits θεοῦ on the authority of g and transcriptional probability.
2 Lightfoot omits διεφθείρετο, and readjusts the punctuation, on the authority of ΑΣ.
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 submitting ¹ 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.

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 μὲ καταξιώσῃ Ἰησοῦς Χριστός ἐν τῇ προσευχῇ ύμῶν καὶ θέλημα ἡ, ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ βιβλιδίῳ, ὁ μέλλων γράφειν ὑμῖν, προσδηλώσω ύμῖν, ἃς ἡρξάμην οἰκονομίας εἰς τὸν καίνιον ἀνθρωπίνον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ πίστει καὶ ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ ἀγάπῃ, ἐν πάθει αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀναστάσει.

2. μάλιστα ἐὰν ὁ κύριός μοι ἀποκαλύψῃ, ὅτι 1 οἱ κατὰ ἄνδρα κοινὴ πάντες ἐν χάριτι ἐξ ὁνόματος συνέρχεσθε ἐν μιᾷ πίστει καὶ ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ, τῷ κατὰ σάρκα ἐκ γένους Δανείδ, τῷ νῦν ἀνθρώπων καὶ νῦν θεοῦ, εἰς τὸ ὑπακούειν ύμᾶς τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ ἀπεριστάστῳ διανοίᾳ, ἐν ἀρτον κλώντες, ὥς ἐστὶν φάρμακον ἀθανασίας, ἀντίδοτος τοῦ μὴ ἀποθανεῖν, ἀλλὰ ζῆν ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ διὰ παντός.

XXI

1. Ἀντίψυχον ύμῶν ἐγὼ καὶ ὃν ἔπεμψατε εἰς θεοῦ τιμὴν εἰς Σμύρναν, ὅθεν καὶ γράφω ύμῖν, εὐχαριστῶν τῷ κυρίῳ, ἀγαπῶν Πολύκαρπον ὡς καὶ ύμᾶς: μνημονεύσετε μοι, ὡς καὶ ύμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός. 2. προσεύχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκκλησίας

1 Zahn and, with some hesitation, Lightfoot emend ὅτι to τι, 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 ἔως I. X. “one Jesus Christ,” and Lightfoot accepts this reading.

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XX

1. If Jesus Christ permit me through your prayers, and it be his will, in the second book, 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 reveal to me that you all severally join in the common meeting in grace from his name, 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.

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

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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, ἐὰν ὦματος means “every individual of you.” It is in any case a strange phrase.
THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

tῆς ἐν Συρία, ὅθεν δεδεμένος εἰς Ὀρόμην ἀπάγομαι, ἐσχάτος ἀν τῶν ἐκεῖ πιστῶν, ὡσπερ ἡξιώθην εἰς τιμὴν θεοῦ ἐυρεθήναι. ἔρροσθε ἐν θεῷ πατρὶ καὶ ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ, τῇ κοινῇ ἐλπίδι ἡμῶν.

МАΡΚΗΣΙΕΥΣΙΝ ΙΓΝΑΤΙΟΣ

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

1

1. Γνοὺς ὑμῶν τὸ πολυεύτακτον τῆς κατὰ θεοῦ ἀγάπης, ἀγαλλιώμενος προειλόμην ἐν πίστει Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ προσκαλίσαι ὑμῖν. 2. καταξιωθεὶς γὰρ ὀνόματος θεοπρεπεστάτου, ἐν οἷς περιφέρω δεσμοῖς ἂν τὰς ἐκκλησίας, ἐν αἷς εὐνωσίων εὐχομαι σαρκὸς καὶ πνεύματος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τοῦ διὰ παντὸς ἡμῶν ξῆν, πίστεώς τε καὶ ἀγάπης, ὡς οὖν προκεκριμένοι, τὸ δὲ κυρίωτερον Ἰησοῦ καὶ πατρὸς· ἐν φίλοις υπομένων τὴν πάσαν ἐπιθέμεναν τοῦ ἄρχοντος τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου καὶ διαφύγοντες θεοῦ τευχόμεθα.
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 her 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.

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.

1 i.e. the Church.
THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

II

1. Ἐπεὶ οὖν ἡξιώθην ἵδειν ὑμᾶς διὰ Δαμᾶ τοῦ ἄξιοθέου ὑμῶν ἐπισκόπου καὶ πρεσβυτέρων ἅξιῶν Βάσσου καὶ Ἀπολλωνίου, καὶ τοῦ συνδούλου μου διακόνου Ζωτίωνος, οὐ ἐγὼ ὄναίμην, ὅτι ὑποτάσσεται τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ὃς χάριτι θεοῦ καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ ὃς νόμῳ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

III

1. Καὶ ὑμῖν δὲ πρέπει μὴ συγχράσθαι τῇ ἡλικίᾳ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, ἀλλὰ κατὰ δύναμιν θεοῦ πατρὸς πᾶσαν ἐντροπὴν αὐτῷ ἀπονέμεων, καθὼς ἔγνω καὶ τοὺς ἁγίους πρεσβυτέρους οὗ προσεληφότας τὴν φαινομένην νεωτερικὴν τάξιν, ἀλλὰ ὡς φρονίμους ¹ ἐν θεῷ συγχρωσῦντας αὐτῷ, οὐκ αὐτῷ δὲ, ἀλλὰ τῷ πατρὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τῷ πάντων ἐπισκόπῳ. 2. εἰς τιμὴν οὖν ἐκείνου τοῦ θελήσαντος ἡμᾶς ² πρέπον ἐστὶν ἐπακούειν κατὰ μηδεμίαν ὑπόκρισιν ἐπεὶ οὐχ ὃτι τὸν ἐπίσκοπον τούτου τὸν βλεπόμενον πλανᾷ τις, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἀόρατον παραλογίζεται. τὸ δὲ τοιούτον οὐ πρὸς σάρκα ὁ λόγος, ἀλλὰ πρὸς θεοῦ τὸν τὰ κρύφια εἰδότα.

¹ Lightfoot reads φρονίμου “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.
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,—

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.

1 The sentence is unfinished: possibly the text is corrupt.
THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

IV

1. Πρέπον οὖν ἔστιν μη μόνον καλεῖσθαι Χριστιανοῦς, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἶναι ὠσπέρ καὶ τινὲς ἐπίσκοπον μὲν καλοῦσιν, χωρὶς δὲ αὐτοῦ πάντα πρόσοψουσιν. οἱ τοιοῦτοι δὲ οὐκ εὐσυνείδητοί μοι εἶναι φαίνονται διὰ τὸ μὴ βεβαιως κατ᾽ ἐντολήν συναθροίζεσθαι.

V

1. 'Επει οὖν τέλος τὰ πράγματα ἔχει καὶ πρόκειται τὰ δύο ὤμοι, ο θεός τὸν θάνατος καὶ ἡ ζωή, καὶ ἐκαστός εἰς τὸν ἵδιον τόπον μέλλει χωρεῖν.
2. ὠσπέρ γάρ ἔστιν νομίσματα δύο, ο μὲν θεοῦ, ο δὲ κόσμου, καὶ ἐκαστὸν αὐτῶν ἵδιον χαρακτῆρα ἐπικείμενον ἔχει, οἱ ἀπιστοὶ τοῦ κόσμου τούτου, οἱ δὲ πιστοὶ ἐν ἀγάπῃ χαρακτῆρα θεοῦ πατρὸς διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, δι᾽ οὗ ἐὰν μὴ αὐθαίρετος ἔχωμεν τὸ ἀποθανεῖν εἰς τὸ αὐτοῦ πάθος, τὸ ζῆν αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν ἡμῖν.

VI

1. 'Επεὶ οὖν ἐν τοῖς προγεγραμμένοις προσώ-ποις τὸ πάν πλήθος ἐθέωρησα ἐν πίστει καὶ ἡγάπησα, παρατυχώ, ἐν ὁμονοίᾳ θεοῦ σπουδάζετε πάντα πράσσειν, προκαθημένου τοῦ ἐπισκόπου εἰς τόπον

1 τόπον GLg, τόπον SA, and so also in the next line. Cf. Trall. iii. Lightfoot prefers τόπον, but it seems to be more probably a softening of the rather startling τόπον by the Syriac translator.
IGNATIUS TO THE MAGNESIANS, IV. I—VI. I

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 commandments.

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.

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

¹ This is perhaps a reference to Mt. xxii. 19.
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θεοῦ καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων. εἰς τὸ ποὺν συνεδρίου τῶν ἀποστόλων, καὶ τῶν διακόνων τῶν ἐμοὶ γλυκυκτάτων πεπιστευμένων διακονίαν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὅσ πρὸ αἰώνων παρὰ πατρὶ ἤν καὶ ἐν τέλει ἐφάνη. 2. πάντες οὖν ὁμοθείαν θεοῦ λαβόντες ἐντρέποντο, ἀλλήλους καὶ μηδεῖς κατὰ σάρκα βλεπόντων τὸν πλησίον, ἀλλ’ ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ ἀλλήλους διὰ πάντος ἀγαπάτε. μηδὲν ἐστὼ ἐν ύμῖν, ὅ δυναις ὑμᾶς μερίσαι ἀλλ’ ἐνώθητε τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ καὶ τοῖς προκαθημένοις εἰς τοὺς καὶ διδαχὴν ἀφθαρσίας.

VII

1. "Ὡσπερ οὖν ὁ κύριος ἀνεν τοῦ πατρὸς οὐδὲν ἐποίησεν, ἡμωμένος οὖν, οὕτε δὴ ἐαυτοῦ οὕτε διὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων. οὖτως μηδὲ ύμεῖς ἀνεν τοῦ ἐπισκόπου καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων μηδὲν πράσσετε. μηδὲ πειράσητε εὐλογοῦν τῷ φαίνεσθαι ἰδίᾳ ύμῖν, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ μία προσευχή, μία δέσις, εἰς νοὺς, μία ἐν ἀγάπῃ, ἐν τῇ χαρᾷ τῇ ἀμώμῳ, ὁ ἐστιν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς, οὐ ἀμείωνος οὐδὲν ἐστίν. 2. πάντες ώς εἰς ἐνα ναὸν συντρέχετε θεοῦ, ὡς ἐπὶ ἐν θυσιαστήριον, ἐπὶ ἐνα Ἰησοῦ Χριστῶν, τὸν ἀφ’ ἐνὸς πατρὸς προελθόντα καὶ εἰς ἐνα ὅντα καὶ χαρῆσαντα.
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.

¹ The sentences seem to be unfinished: the Apostolic Constitutions ii. 26 say “Let the Deacon be honoured as a type of Holy Spirit.”
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VIII

1. Μη πλανᾶσθε ταῖς ἑτεροδοξίαις μηδὲ μυθεύμασιν τοῖς παλαιοῖς ἀνωφελέσιν οὖσιν. εἰ γὰρ méchi νῦν κατὰ Ἰουνάσιμον ξύμεν, ὄμολογοὺμεν χάριν μὴ εἰληφέναι. 2. οἱ γὰρ θειότατοι προφῆται κατὰ Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν ἔξησαν. διὰ τούτῳ καὶ ἐδιώκησαν, ἐνπενθεμενοῦ ὑπὸ τῆς χάριτος αὐτοῦ, εἰς τὸ πληροφορήθησαι τοὺς ἀπεθοῦντας, διε ἐις θεός ἔστιν, ὁ φανερώσας ἑαυτόν διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ νῦν αὐτοῦ, ὃς ἔστιν αὐτοῦ λόγος ἀπὸ συγῆς προελθών,1 ὡς κατὰ πάντα εὐθρῆστησεν τῷ πεμψαντὶ αὐτοῦ.

IX

1. Εἰ οὖν οἱ ἐν παλαιοῖς πράγμασιν ἀναστραφέντες εἰς κατοίκητα ἐλπίδος ἦλθον, μηκέτι σαββατιζοῦντες, ἀλλὰ κατὰ κυριακὴν ζωτες, ἐν ᾧ καὶ ἥ ξωή ἡμῶν ἀνέτελεν δι’ αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ, ὅν τινες2 ἀρνοῦνται, δι’ ὃ μουστηρίου ἐλάβομεν τὸ πιστεύειν, καὶ διὰ τούτο ὑπομένομεν, ἵνα εὐθεθῶμεν μαθήται Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ μόνου διδασκάλου ἡμῶν. 2. πῶς ἡμεῖς δυσήσιμα ζήσαμες χωρίς αὐτοῦ, οὗ καὶ οἱ προφῆται μαθήται.

1 So A and a quotation in Severus. GL read λόγος ἄδινος ὁ δὲ σηγῆς προελθὼν, but this is rightly regarded by recent editors as a doctrinal emendation due to fear of Gnostic theories in which Σγῆ and Θεὸς were the original pair from which Λόγος emanated, cf. Clem. Alex. Ecl. Theol. ii. 9.

2 ὁ τινες L, οἱ τινες G, g paraphrases but has ὅν not ὤ, A is ambiguous. There is thus a slight balance in favour of ὅν τινες.

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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.

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
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διντες τῷ πνεύματι ὡς διδάσκαλον αὐτοῦ προσεδόκων; καὶ διὰ τούτο, ὑν δικαιὸς ἀνέμενον, παρῶν ἔγειρεν αὐτοὺς ἐκ νεκρῶν.

Mt. 27, 52

Χ

1. Μὴ οὖν ἀνασθητῶμεν τῆς χριστότητος αὐτοῦ. ἐὰν γὰρ ἡμᾶς μωμῆσηται καθὰ πρᾶσσομεν, οὐκέτι ἐσμεν. διὰ τούτο, μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ γενόμενοι, μάθωμεν κατὰ Χριστιανισμὸν ζῆν. διὰ γὰρ ἄλλω ὑμῶπατι καλεῖται πλέον τούτου, οὐκ ἔστιν τοῦ θεοῦ. 2. ὑπέρθεσε οὖν τὴν κακὴν ζύμην, τὴν παλαιωθεῖσαν καὶ ἐνοξίσασαν, καὶ μεταβάλεσθε εἰς νέαν ζύμην, ὁ ἐστιν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς. ἀλλήθη ἐν αὐτῷ, ἵνα μὴ διαφθαρῇ τὸς ζῶν τός ἐν ύμῖν, ἐπεὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ὀσμῆς ἐλεγχθῆσθε. 3. ἀτοτῶν ἐστιν, Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν λαλεῖν καὶ ἱουδαῖζειν. ὁ γὰρ Χριστιανισμὸς οὐκ εἰς Ἰουδαῖσμον ἐπιστευόμεν, ἀλλ’ Ἰουδαϊσμὸς εἰς Χριστιανισμὸν, φὴ πᾶσα γλῶσσα πιστεύσασα εἰς θεὸν συνήχθη.

I. Cor. 5, 7

Is. 66, 18

1 ὁ S, ὡς GL, εἰς δυ 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 and Judaism
for if he should imitate us in our actions we are lost.²

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."

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XI

1. Ταύτα δέ, ἀγαπητοί μου, οὐκ ἔπειλ ἔγνων τινὰς ἐξ ὑμῶν οὕτως ἔχοντας, ἀλλ’ ὅς μικρότερος ὑμῶν θέλω προφυλάσσεσθαι ὑμᾶς, μὴ ἐμπεσείν εἰς τὰ ἀγκιστρα τῆς κενοδοξίας, ἀλλὰ πεπληροφορήσθαι ἐν τῇ γεννήσει καὶ τῷ πάθει καὶ τῇ ἀναστάσει τῆς γενομένης ἐν καιρῷ τῆς ἡγεμονίας Ποντίου Πιλάτου. πρακτήντα ἀληθῶς καὶ βεβαιῶς ὑπὸ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τῆς ἐλπίδος ἡμῶν, ής ἐκτραπήναι μὴ δειν ὑμῶν γένοιτο.

XII

1. Ὁναίμην ὑμῶν κατὰ πάντα, ἐὰν περ ᾧ καὶ δέδεμαι, πρὸς ἐνα 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, ὅτι ὁ δίκαιος ἑαυτοῦ κατήγορος.

XIII

1. Σπουδάζετε οὖν βεβαιωθῆναι ἐν τοῖς δόγμασιν τοῦ κυρίου καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων, ἵνα πάντα, ὅσα ποιεῖτε, κατευναθήτε σαρκὶ καὶ πνεύματι, πίστει καὶ ἀγάπῃ, ἐν νίκῳ καὶ πάτρι καὶ ἐν πνεύματι, ἐν ἀρχῇ καὶ ἐν τέλει, μετὰ τοῦ ἀξιοπρεπεστάτου ἐπισκόπου ὑμῶν καὶ ἀξιοπλόκου πνευματικοῦ στεφάνου τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου ὑμῶν καὶ τῶν κατὰ θεόν διακόνων. 2. Ὑποτάγητε τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ καὶ
IGNATIUS TO THE MAGNESIANS, XI. 1-13. 2

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.

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.”

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
THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

Ἀλλάξει οὖς Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς τῷ πατρὶ ¹ καὶ οἱ ἀπόστολοι τῷ Χριστῷ καὶ τῷ πατρὶ ² ἵνα ἔνωσις ἡ σαρκικὴ τέκαὶ πνευματικὴ.

XIV

1. Εἰδὼς, ὅτι θεοῦ γέμετε, συντόμως παρεκέλευσα ³ ὑμᾶς. μημονεύετε μου ἐν ταῖς προσευχαῖς ὑμῶν, ἵνα θεοῦ ἐπιτύχῃ, καὶ τῆς ἐν Συρίᾳ ἐκκλησίας, ὅθεν οὐκ ἔχεις εἰμὶ καλεῖσθαι· ἐπιδείξῃ ἡ γὰρ τῆς ἡμῶν ὑμῶν ἐν θεοῦ προσευχής καὶ ἡγάτης, εἰς τὸ ἀξιωθῆναι τὴν ἐν Συρίᾳ ἐκκλησίαν διὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ⁴ ὑμῶν δροσισθῆναι.

XV

1. Ἀσπάζονται ὑμᾶς Ἐφέσσωι ἀπὸ Σμύρνης, ὅθεν καὶ γράφω ὑμῖν, παρόντες εἰς δόξαν θεου, ὡσπερ καὶ ὑμεῖς οὐ κατὰ πάντα με ἀνέταυσαν ἀμά Πολυκάρπῳ, ἐπισκόπῳ Σμύρνησι. καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ δὲ ἐκκλησίαι ἐν τιμῇ ⁵ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀσπάζονται υμᾶς. ἔρρωσθε ἐν ὁμονοίᾳ θεοῦ, κεκτημένοι ἀδιάκριτον πνεῦμα, ὅς ἐστιν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός.

¹ πατρὶ Δ(γ), add κατὰ σάρκα "according to the flesh" GL.
² πατρὶ A, add 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 παρεκέλευσα is not found elsewhere in the Epistles.
⁴ Lightfoot reads ἐκτενέσις "of your fervent supplication" on the authority of Δ.
²¹ο
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.

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 Smyrneans. And the other Churches also greet you in honour of Jesus Christ. Farewell in godly concord and may you possess an unhesitating spirit, for this is Jesus Christ.

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.
ΤΡΑΛΛΙΑΝΟΙΣ ΙΓΝΑΤΙΟΣ

'Ιγνάτιος, ὁ καὶ Θεοφόρος, ἡγαπημένη θεφί, πατρὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἐκκλησία ὑγίᾳ τῇ οὐσίᾳ ἐν Τράλλεσιν τῆς Ἄσιας, ἐκλεκτῇ καὶ ἀξιοθέῳ, εἰρημενοῦσῃ ἐν σαρκὶ καὶ πνεύματι τῷ πάθει Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τῆς ἐλπίδος ἡμῶν ἐν τῇ εἰς αὐτὸν ἀναστάσει· ἢν καὶ ἀσπάζομαι ἐν τῷ πληρώματι ἐν ἀποστολικῷ χαρακτηρί καὶ εὐχομαι πλείστα χαίρειν.

I

1. Ἀμωμον διάνοιαν καὶ ἀδιάκριτον ἐν ὑπομονῇ ἐγνω ὑμᾶς ἐχοντας, οὐ κατὰ χρῆσιν ἀλλὰ κατὰ φύσιν, καθὼς ἐδήλωσέν μοι Πολυβίος, ὁ ἐπίσκοπος ὑμῶν, ὅς 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. 2. ἀποδεξάμενος οὖν τὴν κατὰ θεὸν εὐνοιαν δι’ αὐτοῦ ἐδώξασα, εὐρῶν ὑμᾶς, ὡς ἐγνω, μιμητὰς οὖνας θεοῦ.

II

1. "Ὅταν γὰρ τῷ ἐπίσκοπῳ υποτάσσομαι ὡς Ἱησοῦ Χριστῷ, φαίνεσθε μοι οὐ κατὰ ἀνθρωπον ξώντης, ἀλλὰ κατὰ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τὸν δι’ ἡμᾶς

1 θεωρεῖσθαι G, θεωρῆσαι g.
IGNATIUS TO THE TRALLIANS, I. I–II. 1

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 from blame and unhesitating in endurance, not from habit, but by nature, as Polybius your bishop showed 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 the bishop, presbyters and deacons
ἀποθανόντα, ἵνα πιστεύσαντες εἰς τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν ἐκφύγητε. 2. ἀναγκαῖον οὖν ἔστων, ὅσπερ ποιεῖτε, ἀνεν τοῦ ἐπισκόπου μηδὲν πράσσειν ὑμᾶς, ἀλλ’ ὑποτάσσεσθαι καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτερῷ ὡς τοῖς ἀποστόλοις Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τῆς ἐλπίδος ἡμῶν, ἐν τῇ διάγοντες εὐρεθησόμεθα. 3. δεὶ δὲ καὶ τοὺς διακόνους ὑντας μυστηρίων Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ κατὰ πάντα τρόπον πᾶσιν ἀρέσκειν, οἷς ἦσαν βρωμάτων καὶ ποτῶν εἰσιν διάκονοι, ἀλλ’ ἐκκλησίας θεοῦ ὑπηρέται, δέον οὖν αὕτως φυλάσσεσθαι τὰ ἐγκλήματα ὡς πῦρ.

III

1. Ὁμοίως πάντες ἐντρεπέσθωσαν τοὺς διακόνους ὡς Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν, ὡς καὶ τὸν ἐπισκόπου ὑντα τόπον τοῦ πατρός, τοὺς δὲ πρεσβυτέρους ὡς συνέδριον θεοῦ καὶ ὡς σύνδεσμον ἀποστόλων. ἡ χαρὶς τούτων ἐκκλησία οὐ καλεῖται. 2. περὶ δὲ πέπεσαμεν ὑμᾶς οὕτως ἐχειν, τὸ γὰρ ἐξεμπλάριον τῆς ἀγάπης ὑμῶν ἔλαβον καὶ ἐχοῦ μεθ’ ἐαυτοῦ ἐν τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ὑμῶν, οὗ αὐτὸ τὸ κατάστημα μεγάλη μαθητεία, ἢ δὲ πραότης αὐτοῦ δύναμις ὅν λογίζομαι καὶ τοῖς ἀθέους ἐντρέπεσθαι. 3. ἀγαπῶν ὑμᾶς φείδομαι, συντονώτερον δυνάμενος ἡγάρειν ὑπὲρ τούτου. οὐκ εἰς τούτο φήθην, ἵνα δὲν κατάκριτος ὡς ἀπόστολος ὑμῖν διατάσσομαι.

1 εὐρεθησόμεθα GL, εν αὐτῷ εὑρέθ. S g.
2 The text is here confused and corrupt in all the authorities. Lightfoot prefers to read οὕτως φείδομαι, and adds [ἀλλ’ οὗ ἵκανδυν ἑαυτόν] εἰς τούτο κ.τ.λ.
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, 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.

1 Or, possibly, “is his power.”
THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

IV

1. Πολλά φρονώ ἐν θεῷ, ἄλλ' ἐμαυτὸν μετρῶ, ἵνα µὴ ἐν καυκήσει ἀπόλογμαι. γὰρ µὲ δεὶ πλέον φοβεῖσθαι καὶ µὴ προσέχειν τοῖς φυσιοῦσιν µε. οἱ γὰρ λέγουτες µου µαστυγοῦσίν µε. 2. ἀγαπῶ µὲν γὰρ τὸ παθεῖν, ἄλλ' οὐκ οἶδα, εἰ ἄξιός εἰµ. τὸ γὰρ ξῆλος πολλοῖς µὲν οὐ φαίνεται, ἐµε δὲ πλέον πολεµεῖ. χρῆξο µὴν πραδητητος, ἐν ᾗ καταλύεται ὁ ἀρχὼν τοῦ αἰῶνος τοῦτον.

V

1. Μὴ οὐ δύναμαι ύμῖν τὰ ἐπουράνια γράψαι; ἄλλα φοβοῦµαι, µὴ νηπίοις οὐσιν ύµῖν βλάβην παραθῶ. καὶ συγγνωµονεῖτε µοι, µήποτε οὐ δυνηθέντες χωρήσαι στραγγαλοθήτε. 2. καὶ γὰρ ἐγώ, οὐ καθὸτι δέδεµαι καὶ δύναµαι νοεῖν τὰ ἐπουράνια καὶ τὰς τοποθεσίας τὰς ἀγγελικὰς καὶ τὰς συντάσεις τὰς ἄρχοντικὰς, ὀρατὰ τε καὶ ἀόρατα, παρὰ τούτο ἡδη καὶ µαθητής εἰµ. πολλὰ γὰρ ἡµῖν λεύτηε, ἵνα θεοῦ µὴ λειπόµεθα.

VI

1. Παρακαλῶ οὖν ύµᾶς, οὐκ ἐγώ, ἄλλ' ἢ ἀγάπη Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ· µόνη τῇ χριστιανῇ τροφῇ χρῆσθε, ἄλλοτρίας δὲ βοτάνης ἀπέχεσθε, ἦτες ἐστὶν

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IGNATIUS TO THE TRALLIANS, IV. 1—VI. 2

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 devil 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.

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.

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

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.
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αἵρεσις. 2. οἱ ἑαυτοὶς παρεμπλέκονσιν Ἰησοῦν Ἑρωτῶν καταξιοπιστεύόμενοι, ὅσπερ θανάσιμον φάρμακον διδόντες μετὰ οἴνομέλιτος, ὅπερ ο ἄγνοιῶν ήδέως λαμβάνει, ἐν ἡδονῇ κακῇ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν.

VII

1. Φυλάττεσθε οὖν τοὺς τοιούτους. τούτῳ δὲ ἔσται ὑμῖν μὴ φυσιομένους καὶ οὕσων ἀχωρίστους θεοῦ Ἰησοῦν Χριστοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου καὶ τῶν διαταγμάτων τῶν ἀποστόλων. 2. ὁ ἑνῶς θυσιαστηρίου όν καθαρός ἐστιν. ο ὁ ἑκτὸς θυσιαστηρίου όν οὐ καθαρός ἐστιν. τοῦτ᾽ ἔστω, ὁ χωρίς ἐπισκόπου καὶ πρεσβυτερίου καὶ διακόνων πράσσων τι, οὕτως οὐ καθαρός ἐστιν τῇ συνειδήσει.

VIII

1. Οὐκ ἐπεὶ ἐγνών τοιούτων τι ἐν ὑμῖν, ἀλλὰ προφυλάσσω υμᾶς οὕτως μοι ἀγαπητοῖς, προορῶν τὰς ἐνέδρας τοῦ διαβόλου. υμεῖς οὖν τὴν πραΰταθειαν ἀναλαβόντες ἀνακτήσασθε ἑαυτούς ἐν πίστει ο ἔστων σαρκὶ τοῦ κυρίου, καὶ ἐν ἀγάπῃ, ὁ ἔστων αἵμα Ἰησοῦν Χριστοῦ. 2. μηδέις υμῶν κατὰ τὸν

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

2 κακῇ L, om. SA, κακῇ 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.

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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 Christ and
from the bishop and the ordinances of the Apostles.
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

1. 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.
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

πλησίου ἐχέτω. μὴ ἁφορμᾶς δίδοτε τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, ἦνα μὴ δι' ὀλίγους ἀφρονας τὸ ἐν θεῷ πλῆθος βλασφημήται. Οὐαὶ γάρ, δι' οὗ ἐπὶ ματαιότητι τὸ ὄνομά μου ἐπὶ τινῶν βλασφημεῖται.

IX

1. Κωφώθητε οὖν, ὅταν ἕμιν χωρίς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ λαλή τις, τοῦ ἐκ γένους Δανείδ, τοῦ ἐκ Μαρίας, δι' ἀληθῶς ἐγεννήθη, ἔφαγέν τε καὶ ἐπιεύ, ἀληθῶς ἐδιώκθη ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου, ἀληθῶς ἐσταυρώθη καὶ ἀπέθανεν, βλεπόντων τῶν ἑπουρανίων καὶ ἑπιγείων καὶ ὕποχθονίων.

2. δι' ἐκ θαυμάσια ἡγερθῆ ἀπὸ νεκρῶν, ἐγείραντος αὐτὸν τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ, κατὰ τὸ ὠμοῖον αὐτὸς καὶ ἡμᾶς τοὺς πιστεύοντας αὐτῷ οὕτως ἐγερεῖ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ εἰς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν, οὐ χωρίς τὸ ἀληθινὸν ζῆν οὐκ ἔχομεν.

X

1. Εἰ δὲ, ὥσπερ τινὲς ἄδεων ἄντεσι, τούτεστιν ἀπιστοῖ, λέγουσιν, τὸ δοκεῖν πεποιθέναι αὐτὸν, αὐτὸν ἄντεσι τὸ δοκεῖν, ἐγὼ τί δέδεμαι, τί δὲ καὶ εὐχομαι θηριομαχήσαι; διωρεῖν οὖν ἀποθνήσκω ἄρα οὖν καταψεύδωμαι τοῦ κυρίου.

1 κατὰ τὸ ὄμολωμα δι' καὶ G, qui et secundum similitudinem L. SA perhaps imply ὡς καὶ κατὰ τὸ ὄμολωμα.
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.
XI

1. Φεύγετε οὖν τὰς κακὰς παραφυάδας τὰς γεννώσας καρπὸν θανατηφόρου, οὐ εἶναι γεύσηται τις, παρ' αὐτὰ ἀποθνῄσκει. οὕτω γὰρ οὐκ εἰσὶν φυτεία πατρός. 2. εἰ γὰρ ἦσαν, ἐφαίνοντο ἂν κλάδοι τοῦ σταυροῦ, καὶ ἢν ἂν ὁ καρπὸς αὐτῶν ἄφθαρτος· δὴ οὐ ἐν τῷ πάθει αὐτοῦ προσκαλεῖται ὑμᾶς δόντας μέλη αὐτοῦ. οὐ δύναται οὖν κεφαλῆς χώρις γεννηθῆναι ἀνευ μελῶν, τοῦ θεοῦ ἐνωσιν ἐπαγγελλομένου, ὁ ἐστὶν αὐτὸς.

XII

1. Ἀσπάζομαι ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ Σμύρνης ἀμα ταῖς συμπαρουσίαις μοι ἐκκλησίαις τοῦ θεοῦ, οὐ κατὰ πάντα με ἀνέπαυσαν σαρκὶ τε καὶ πνεύματι. 2. παρακαλεῖ ὑμᾶς τὰ δεσμά μου, ἢ ἔνεκεν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ περιφέροι, αὐτούμενος θεοῦ ἐπιτυχεῖν· διαμένετε ἐν τῇ ὁμονοίᾳ ὑμῶν καὶ τῇ μετ' ἀλλήλων προσευχῇ. τρέπει γὰρ ὑμῖν τοὺς καθ' ἐνα, ἐξαρ- ρέτους καὶ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους, ἀναψύχει τῶν ἐπίσκοπων εἰς τίμην πατρός, Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων. 3. εὐχομαι ὑμᾶς ἐν ἀγάπῃ ἀκούσαί μου, ἵνα μὴ εἰς μαρτύριον ὑμῶν γράφας. καὶ περὶ ἐμοῦ δὲ προσεύχεσθε, τῆς ἀφ' ὑμῶν ἀγάπης χρῆσοντος ἐν τῷ ἐλέει τοῦ θεοῦ, εἰς τὸ καταξιωθῆναι με τοῦ κλήρου, οὐ περίκειμαι ἐπιτυχεῖν, ἵνα μὴ ἀδόκιμος εὑρεθῶ.

1 Lightfoot thinks περίκειμαι impossible and accepts Bunsen’s emendation ὀδηρ ἐγκειμαι.
XI

1. **Fly** from these wicked offshoots, which bear deadly fruit, which if a man eat he presently dies. 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. 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.
XIII

1. ἂσπάζεται ὡμᾶς ἡ ἀγάπη ἴμου, ἦν ἕκκλησια, ὡς ἐν τοῖς προσευχαῖς ὑμῶν τῆς ἐν Ἡσυίᾳ ἐκκλησίας, ὅπερ καὶ οὐκ ἂξιός εἰμι λέγεται, ὡς ἔσχατος ἐκεῖνων. 2. ἔρρωσθε ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ, ὑποτασσόμενοι τῷ ἑπισκόπῳ ὡς τῇ ἐντολῇ, ὑμῶν καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ. καὶ οἱ κατ' ἀνδρὰ ἀλλήλους ἀγαπᾶτε ἐν ἀμερίστῳ καρδίᾳ. 3. ἂγνίζεται ὡμῶν τῷ ἐμῷ πνεύμα ὡς ὑμῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅταν θεοῦ ἑπτάχω, ἑτέρα ὑπὸ κίνδυνον εἰμὶ ἀλλὰ πιστῶς ὁ πατὴρ ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ πληρῶσαι μου τήν ἀντίσησιν καὶ ὡμῶν, ἐν ἀμώμοι ἐνευθείητε 1 ἁμώμοι.

ΡΩΜΑΙΟΙΣ ΙΓΝΑΤΙΟΣ

Ἰγνάτιος, ὁ καὶ Θεοφόρος, τῇ ἡλευμένῃ ἐν μεγαλειώτητι πατρὸς ὑψίστου καὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ μόνου νόον αὐτοῦ ἔκκλησία ἡγαπημένῃ καὶ πεφωτισμένῃ ἐν θελήματι τοῦ θελησαντος τὰ πάντα, ἄ ἐστιν, κατὰ ἀγάπην Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τοῦ θεοῦ ὑμῶν, ἥτις καὶ προκάθηται ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ Ῥωμαίων, ἂξιόθεος, ἂξιοπρεπὴς, ἂξιομακριστός, ἂξιοπάνος, ἂξιεπίτευκτος, ἂξιαγνος καὶ προκαθημένη τῆς ἀγάπης, χριστώνυμος,2 πατρόνυμος, ἦν καὶ ἀσπάζομαι ἐν

1 The Armenian and g read εὐβεβείημεν “may we be found.”
2 ALS read χριστώνυμος “having the law of Christ.”

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IGNATIUS TO THE ROMANS

XIII

1. The love of the Smyrnæans 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.

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 preeminent in love, named after Christ, named after the Father, which also I greet in the name of
THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

ὁνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, νῦν πατρὸς· κατὰ σάρκα καὶ πνεῦμα ἣνωμένου πάση ἐνσώλη αὐτοῦ, πεπληρωμένου χάριτος θεοῦ ἀδιακρίτως καὶ ἀποδιώκλησμένου ἀπὸ παντὸς ἀλλοτρίου χράματος πλείστα ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ, τῷ θεῷ ἡμῶν, ἀμώμως χαίρειν.

I

1. Ἑσπειρευμένοις θεῷ ἐπέτυχον ίδεῖν ύμῶν τὰ ἀξίωθεα πρόσωπα, ὥς καὶ πλέον ἱπτομένης λαβεῖν· δεδεμένος γὰρ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ ἐπείξω ύμᾶς ἀστάσασθαι, εάνπερ θέλημα ἢ τοῦ ἁζωθῆναι μὲ εἰς τέλος εἰναι. 2. η μὲν γὰρ ἀρχὴ εὐσυκονομίτος ἐστίν, εάνπερ χάριτος ἐπιτύχω εἰς τὸ τῶν κληρῶν μου ἀνεμποδίστως ἀπολαβεῖν. φοβούμαι γὰρ τὴν ύμῶν ἀγάπην, μὴ αὐτῇ μὲ ἀδικήσῃ. ύμῶν γὰρ εὐχερὴς ἐστίν, ὅθελετε, ποιῆσαι· ἐμοὶ δὲ δύσκολον ἐστιν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπιτυχεῖν, εάνπερ ύμεῖς μὴ φεῖσθε μου.

II

1 Thess. 2,4 1. ὦ γὰρ θέλω ύμᾶς ἀνθρωποπαρεσκῆσαι, ἀλλὰ θεῷ ἀρέσαι, ὡσπερ καὶ ἀρέσκετε. οὔτε γὰρ ἐγὼ ποτὲ ἔξω καίρου τοιοῦτον θεοῦ ἐπιτυχεῖν, οὔτε ύμεῖς, ἐὰν σιωπήσῃς, κρείττονι ἐγώ ἔχετε ἐπιγραφῆναι. ἐὰν γὰρ σιωπήσῃς ἀπ' ἐμοῦ, ἐγὼ λόγος θεοῦ· ἐὰν δὲ ἐρασθῆτε τῆς σαρκὸς μου,

1 A, with partial support in other authorities, reads πέρατος "may reach the goal."
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. 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. 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
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πάλιν ἔσομαι φωνή. 2. πλέον μοι μὴ παρά-
σχησθε τοῦ σπουδισθῆναι θεῷ, ὡς ἔτι θυσιαστή-
ριον ἔτοιμον ἐστίν, ἵνα ἐν ἀγάπῃ χορὸς γενόμενοι
ξηστε τῷ πατρὶ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, ὅτι τὸν ἐπί-
σκοπον Συρίας ὁ θεὸς κατηζώσετε εὐρεθήναι εἰς
dύσιν ἀπὸ ἀνατολῆς μεταπεμψάμενος. καλὸν τὸ
dύναται ἀπὸ κόσμου πρὸς θεὸν, ἵνα εἰς αὐτὸν ἀνα-
teίλω.

III

1. Όυδέποτε ἔβασκάνατε οὐδενί, ἄλλους ἔδιδα-
ξατε. ἐγὼ δὲ θέλω, ἵνα κάκεινα βέβαια ἢ ἃ
μαθητεύοντες ἐντέλλεσθε. 2. μόνον μοι δύναμιν
αἰτεῖσθε ἐσωθέν τε καὶ ἐξωθεν, ἵνα μὴ μόνον
λέγω ἄλλα καὶ θέλω, ἵνα μὴ μόνον λέγομαι
Χριστιανὸς ἄλλα καὶ εὐρέθω. ἐὰν γὰρ εὐρέθω,
καὶ λέγεσθαι δύναμαι, καὶ τότε πιστὸς εἶναι, ὅταν
κόσμῳ μὴ φαίνωμαι. 3. οὐδὲν φαινόμενον καλὸν·
ὁ γὰρ θεὸς ἦμον Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ἐν πατρὶ ὃν
μᾶλλον φαίνεται. οὐ πεισμονὴς τὸ ἔργον, ἄλλα
μεγέθους ἐστὶν ὁ Χριστιανισμός, ὅταν μισήται
ὑπὸ κόσμου.
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 chorus\(^1\) 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.

\(^1\) 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.
IV

1. Ἐγὼ γράφω πάσαις ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις, καὶ ἐντέλλομαι πᾶσιν, ὅτι ἐγὼ ἐκών ὑπὲρ θεοῦ ἀποθυγήσκω, ἐάντερ ὑμεῖς μὴ κωλύσητε. παρακαλῶ ὑμᾶς, μὴ εὔνοια ἀκαίρος γένησθέ μοι. ἀφετέ με θηρίων εἰναι βοράν, δι' ὃν ἐνεστίν θεοῦ ἐπιτυχεῖν. σύνος εἰμι θεοῦ καὶ δι’ ὄδόντων θηρίων ἀλλόθρομαι, ἵνα καθαρὸς ἄρτος εὑρεθῶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ. 1 Ἐν πᾶσιν κολακεύσατε τὰ θηρία, ἵνα μοι τάφος γένωνται καὶ μηθὲν καταλιπτοῦσι τῶν τοῦ σώματός μου, ἵνα μὴ κοιμηθῶς βαρύς τινι γένωμαι. τότε ἔσομαι μαθητής ἀληθῶς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὅτε οὐδὲ τὸ σῶμά μου ὁ κόσμος ὑφεται. λατανεύσατε τὸν Χριστὸν ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ, ἵνα διὰ τῶν ὀργάνων τούτων θυσία εὑρεθῶ. 2 ὁ Χ. ὃς Πέτρος καὶ Παῦλος διατάσσομαι ὑμῖν. ἐκεῖνοι ἀπόστολοι, ἐγὼ κατάκριτος· ἐκεῖνοι ἐλεύθεροι, ἐγὼ δὲ μέχρι νῦν δούλος. ἀλλ’ ἐὰν πάθω, ἀμέτρους γενήσομαι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ ἀναστήσομαι ἐν αὐτῷ ἐλεύθερος. νῦν μανθάνω δεδεμένος μηδὲν ἐπιθυμεῖν.

V

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

2 τοῦ Χριστοῦ GL, τοῦ Κύριον SA.
3 θεφ (θεοῦ) θυσία LSA.
IV

1. I am writing to all the Churches, and I give 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" 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. 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 beasts, by land and sea, by night and day, bound to His journey, and expectation of martyrdom.

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1 Apparently a partial quotation from the proverb preserved by Zenobius ἡκαίρος εἶναι οὔπων ἐκθρασ διαφέρει "an unseasonable kindness is nothing different from hostility."

2 I.e. the wild beasts.
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déka λεοπάρδων, ὁ ἐστὶν στρατιωτικὸν τάγμα· οὐκαὶ εὐεργετούμενοι χέρους γίνονται. ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἰδικήμασιν αὐτῶν μᾶλλον μαθητεύομαι, ἀλλ' οὐ παρὰ τούτο δεδικαίωμαι. 2. ὅναίμην τῶν θηρίων τῶν ἐμοὶ ἡτοιμασμένων καὶ εὐχομαι σύντομα μοι εὐρεθήναι· ἃ καὶ κολακεύσω, συντόμως με καταφαγεῖν, οὐχ ὅσπερ τινῶν δειλαιωμένων οὐχ ἦσαντο. κἂν αὕτα δὲ ἀκούντα ἡθνίσῃ, ἐγὼ προσβιάζομαι. 3. συγγνώμην μοι ἔχετε· τί μοι συμφέρει, ἐγὼ γιμνόσκω, νῦν ἄρχομαι μαθητής εἶναι. μὴ δὲν με ξηλώσαι τῶν ἁρτῶν καὶ ἀοράτων, ἵνα Ιησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐπιτύχω. πῦρ καὶ σταυρὸς θηρίων τε συντάσσεις, ἀνατομαί, διαφέρεις, σκορπισμὸν ὁστέων, συγκοπὴ μελῶν, ἀλεσμοὶ ὅλου τοῦ σώματος, κακαὶ κολάσεις τοῦ διαβόλου ἐπ' ἐμὲ ἐρχθεοσθῶσαν, μόνον ἵνα Ιησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐπιτύχω.

VI

Cor. 9, 15

1. Οὐδέν μοι ὀφελήσει τὰ πέρατα τοῦ κόσμου οὐδὲ αἱ βασιλεῖαι τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου. καλὸν μοι ἀποθανεῖν εἰς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν, ἢ βασιλεύειν τῶν περάτων τῆς γῆς. ἐκεῖνον ξητῶ, τὸν ὑπὲρ ἦμῶν ἀποθανόντα· ἐκεῖνον θέλω, τὸν δὲ ἦμᾶς ἀναστάντα. ὁ δὲ τοκετὸς μοι ἐπίκειται. 2. σύγγνωτε μοι,

1 ἀκούντα Ὁ Euseb, ἀκόντα Lg, (om. SA ?). Lightfoot prefers ἀκόντα "willing," which must be an accusative referring to Ignatius.
ten “leopards” (that is, a company of soldiers 1), 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

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.” Τάγυς 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 ἐμποδίσητε μοι ξῆσαι, μὴ θελήσητε με ἀποθανεῖν· τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ θέλοντα εἶναι κόσμῳ μὴ χαρίσῃσθε, μηδὲ ὑλὴ ἐξαπατήσητε· ἀφετέ με καθαρὸν φῶς λαβεῖν· ἐκεῖ παραγενόμενος ἀνθρώπος ἔσομαι. 3. ἐπιτρέψατε μοι μμητὴν εἶναι τοῦ πάθους τοῦ θεοῦ μου. εἰ τις αὐτὸν ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἐχει, νοησάτω ὃ θέλω, καὶ συμπαθεῖτω μοι εἰδὼς τὰ συννέχοντά με.

VII

1. Ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ αἰῶνος τοῦτον διαρπάσαι με βούλεται καὶ τὴν εἰς θεόν μοι γνώμην διαφθέραι. μηδεὶς οὖν τῶν παρόντων ὑμῶν βοηθεῖτω αὐτῷ· μᾶλλον ἔμοι γίνεσθε, τουτέστιν τοῦ θεοῦ. μὴ λαλεῖτε Ἦσσουν Χριστόν, κόσμον δὲ ἐπιθυμεῖτε. 2. βασκανία ἐν ὑμῖν μὴ κατοικεῖτω. μηδ' ἂν ἐγὼ παρόν παρακαλῶ ὑμᾶς, πεισθῆτε μοι· τούτου δὲ μᾶλλον πεισθήτε, οἷς γράφω ὑμῖν. ζῶν γὰρ γράφω ὑμῖν, ἐρῶν τοῦ ἀποθανεῖν. ὁ ἐμὸς ἐρως ἐσταύρωται, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν ἐμοὶ πῦρ φιλόφιλον· ὕδωρ δὲ ζῶν καὶ λαλοῦν· ἐν ἐμοί, ἔσωθεν μοι λέγων· Δεύρο πρὸς τὸν πατέρα. 3. οὐχ ἦδομαι τροφὴ φθορᾶς οὐδὲ ἴδονας τοῦ βίου τοῦτου. ἄρτον θεοῦ θέλω, ὃ ἔστιν σάρξ Ἦσσου· Χριστοῦ, τοῦ ἐκ σπέρματος Δαυὶδ, καὶ πόμα θέλω τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ, ὃ ἔστιν ἀγάπη ἀφθαρτος.

1 μηδὲ ἄρη 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 Ἦσσου GLA, om. Σg.

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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

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.
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VIII

1. Οὐκέτι θέλω κατὰ ἀνθρώπους ζῆν. τοῦτο δὲ ἔσται, ἕαν ὑμεῖς θελήσητε. θελήσατε, ἵνα καὶ ὑμεῖς θελήσητε. 2. δι’ ὄλγων γραμμάτων αὐτοῦ· μαί ὑμᾶς πιστεύσατε μοι. Ἰησοῦς δὲ Χριστὸς ὑμῖν ταῦτα φανερώσει, ὅτι ἄληθῶς λέγω· τὸ ἀψευδὲς στόμα, ἔν δὲ τὸ πατὴρ ἐλάλησεν ἄληθῶς. 3. αἰτήσασθε περὶ ἐμοῦ, ἵνα ἐπιτυχῶ. οὐ κατὰ σάρκα ὑμῖν ἐγραψα, ἀλλὰ κατὰ γνώμην θεοῦ. ἐὰν πάθω, ἠθελήσατε· εὰν ἀποδοκιμασθῶ, ἐμισήσατε.

IX

1. Μνημονεύετε ἐν τῇ προσευχῇ ὑμῶν τῆς ἐν Συρίᾳ ἐκκλησίας, ἦτε ἀντὶ ἐμοῦ ποιμένι τῷ θεῷ χρήται. μόνος αὐτὴν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ἐπισκοπήσει καὶ ἡ ὑμῶν ἀγάπη. 2. ἐγὼ δὲ αἰσχύνομαι εἰς αὐτῶν λέγεσθαι· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄξιός εἰμι, ὅπως ἐκχάτοις αὐτῶν· καὶ ἐκτρωμα· ἄλλη ἡλένημαι τις εἶναι, ἐὰν θεοῦ ἐπιτυχῶ. 3. ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς τὸ ἐμὸν πνεῦμα καὶ ἡ ἀγάπη τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν τῶν ἐξαμένων με εἰς ὄνομα Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, οὐχ ὡς παροδεύοντα. καὶ γὰρ αἱ μὴ προσήκουσαί μοι τῇ ὅδῷ τῇ κατὰ σάρκα, κατὰ πόλιν με προῆγον.

X

1. Γράφω δὲ ὑμῖν ταῦτα ἀπὸ Σμύρνης δι’ Ἐφεσίων τῶν ἀξιομακαρίστων. ἔστω δὲ καὶ ἡμα ἐμοὶ σὺν ἄλλους πολλοῖς καὶ Κρόκος, τὸ ποθητὸν 236
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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.

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.

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
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μοι ὄνομα. 2. περὶ τῶν προελθόντων με ἀπὸ Συρίας εἰς Ἡρώμην εἰς δόξαν τοῦ θεοῦ πιστεύω ὑμᾶς ἐπεγνωκέναι, οἷς καὶ δηλώσατε ἐγγύς με ὅντα. πάντες γὰρ εἰσιν ἄξιοι τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ὑμῶν οὓς πρέπουν ὑμῖν ἐστὶν κατὰ πάντα ἀναπαύσαι. 3. ἑγραφα δὲ ὑμῖν ταῦτα τῇ πρὸ ἐννέα καλαυδῶν Σεπτεμβρίων. ἔρρωσθε εἰς τέλος ἐν ἑπομονή

II Thess 3, 5 Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΕΥΣΙΝ ΙΩΑΝΝΙΟΣ

Ἰωάννιος, ὁ καὶ Θεοφόρος, ἐκκλησία θεοῦ πατρὸς καὶ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τῇ οὐσίᾳ ἐν Φιλαδέλφειᾳ τῆς Ἀσίας, ἡλεμένη καὶ ἡδραμένη ἐν ὁμονοίᾳ θεοῦ καὶ ἀγαλλιωμένη ἐν τῷ πάθει τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν ἀδιακρίτως καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀναστάσει αὐτοῦ πεπληρωφορημένη ἐν παντὶ ἐλέει, ἣν ἀσπάζομαι ἐν αἷματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἢτις ἐστὶν χαρὰ αἰώνιος καὶ παρά-μονος, μάλιστα ἐὰν ἐν ἐνὶ δοιν ἐν τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ καὶ τοῖς σὺν αὐτῷ πρεσβυτέροις καὶ διακόνοις ἂποδεδειγμένοις ἐν γνώμῃ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, οὓς κατὰ τὸ ἴδιον θελήμα ἐστηρίξεν ἐν βεβαιωσύνῃ τῷ ἁγίῳ αὐτοῦ πνεύματι.

I

1. Ὄν ἐπίσκοπον ἔγραψαν ὑμῖν ὅτε ἐξοντού οὖδὲ δι' ἀνθρώπων κεκτήσατε τὴν διακονίαν τὴν εἰς τὸ

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IGNATIUS TO THE PHILADELPHIANS, 1. 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 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, which makes for the common good, neither from The Bishop of Philadelphia
THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

κοινοῦν ἀνήκουσαν οὖν ἔτι κατὰ κενοδοξίαν, ἀλλ' ἐν ἁγάπῃ θεοῦ πατρὸς καὶ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ· οὗ καταπέπληγμα τήν ἐπιείκειαν, ὃς συγών πλείονα δύναται τῶν μάταια 1 λαλούντων. 2. συνευρύθμισταί γὰρ ταῖς ἐντολαῖς ὡς χορδαῖς κοιμάται. διὸ μακαρίζει μονὴ ἡ ψυχὴ τῆς εἰς θεοῦ αὐτοῦ γνώμην, ἐπιγνώσας ἐναρέτον καὶ τέλειον ὁυσιν, τὸ ἀκινήτον αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ ἀόργητον αὐτοῦ ἐν πάσῃ ἐπιείκειᾳ θεοῦ ἔσοντος.

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 ἡδονή κακῆς αἰχμαλωτίζουσιν τοὺς θεοδρόμους· ἀλλ’ ἐν τῇ ἐνοτητῇ ὑμῶν οὐχ ἔξουσιν τόπον.

III

1. Ἀπέχεσθε τῶν κακῶν βοτανῶν, ἀστίνας οὖς γεωργεῖ Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς, διὰ τὸ μὴ εἶναι αὐτοὺς φυτείαν πατρὸς· οὐχ ὅτι παρ' ὑμῖν μερισμὸν ἐβρον, ἀλλ' ἀποδιωκμένων. 2. ὅσοι γὰρ θεοῦ εἰσίν καὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, οὕτως μετὰ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου εἰσίν. καὶ ὅσοι ἐν μετανοήσαντες ἔλθωσιν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐνοτητὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, καὶ οὕτως θεοῦ ἔσονται,

Mt. 15, 18

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.
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.

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.' 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

1 The meaning is that the Christians at Philadelphia had "filtered out" the impurity of heresy from their church.
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I Cor. 6, 9, 10 ἧνα ὥσιν κατὰ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ζῶντες. 3. μὴ πλανᾶσθε, ἀδελφοί μου· εἰ τις σχίζοντι ἀκολούθει, βασιλείαν θεοῦ οὐ κληρονομεῖ· εἰ τις ἐν ἀλλοτρίᾳ γυνώμη περιπατεῖ, οὗτος τῷ πάθει οὐ συγκατατίθεται.

IV

Σπουδάσατε οὖν μιᾶ εὐχαριστία χρήσθαι· μία γὰρ σάρξ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ ἐν ποτήριον εἰς ἐνωσιν τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ, ἐν θυσιαστήριον, ὡς εἰς ἐπίσκοπος ἁμα τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ καὶ διακόνωι τοῖς συνδόυλοις μου· ἴνα, δὲ ἐὰν πράσσῃτε, κατὰ θεῶν πράσσητε.

V

1. Ἀδελφοί μου, λίαν ἐκκέχυμαι ἁγαπῶν ὑμᾶς καὶ ὑπεραγαλλόμενος ἀσφαλίζομαι ὑμᾶς· οὐκ ἔγω δὲ, ἀλλ’ Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, ἐν δὲ δεδεμένος φοβοῦμαι μᾶλλον, ὡς ἐτὶ ὧν ἀναπαρτίστος· ἄλλ’ ἡ προσευχὴ ὑμῶν εἰς θεὸν 1 με ἀπαρτίσει, ἵνα ἐν δὲ κλήρῳ ἥλιον ἐπιτύχω, προσφυγῶν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ ὡς σαρκὶ Ἰησοῦ, καὶ τοῖς ἀποστόλοις ὡς πρεσβυτερίῳ ἐκκλησίας. 2. καὶ τοὺς προφήτας δὲ ἁγαπῶμεν, διὰ τὸ καὶ αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον κατηγορεῖν καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν ἐλπίζειν καὶ αὐτὸν ἀναμένειν, ἐν δὲ καὶ πιστεύσαντες ἐσώθησαν, ἐν ἐνότητι Ἰησοῦ

1eis θεῶν Gg, om. L(Λ).

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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.

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 I 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 prophets also do we love, 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

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1 He probably means the Christian prophets: cf. the Didache and Hermas.
2 An alternative translation is "let us love."
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Χριστοῦ ὄντες, ἀξιαγάπητοι καὶ ἀξιοθαύμαστοι ἅγιοι, ὦ Ἱσσοῦ Χριστοῦ μεμαρτυρημένοι καὶ συμπαθημένοι ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ τῆς κοινῆς ἐλπίδος.

VI

1. 'Εὰν δὲ τις ιουδαίσμων ἐρμηνεύῃ ὑμᾶς, μὴ ἀκούετε αὐτού. ἀμείνων γὰρ ἐστιν παρὰ ἁνδρὸς περιστομὴν ἔχοντος χριστιανισμοῦ ἀκούειν, ἢ παρὰ ἀκροβύστου ιουδαίσμων. ἐὰν δὲ ἀμφότεροι περὶ Ἰσσοῦ Χριστοῦ μὴ λαλῶσιν, οὕτω εἰσὶν καὶ τάφοι νεκρῶν, ἐὰν ὅς γέγραψεν μονὸν ὀνόματα ἀνθρώπων. 2. φεύγετε οὖν τὰς κακοτεχνίας καὶ ἐνέδρας τοῦ ἄρχοντος τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου, μήποτε θλιβέντες τῇ γνώμῃ αὐτοῦ ἐξασθενήσετε ἐν τῇ ἁγάπῃ. ἄλλα πάντες ἔπληκτο ἔν τῷ αὐτῷ γίνεσθε ἐν ἀμερίστῳ καρδίᾳ. 3. εὐχαριστῶ δὲ τῷ θεῷ μου, ὅτι εὑσυνείδητός εἰμι ἐν ὑμῖν καὶ οὐκ ἔχει τις καυχὴσασθαι οὕτω λάθρα οὕτω φανερῶς, ὁτι ἐβάρησα τινὰ ἐν μικρῷ ἢ ἐν μεγάλῳ. καὶ πάσι δὲ, ἐν οἷς ἐλάλησα, εὐχομαι, ἵνα μὴ εἰς μαρτύριον αὐτὸ κτήσωνται.

VII

1. Εἰ γὰρ καὶ κατὰ σάρκα μὲ τινα ἡθέλησαν πλανήσαι, ἀλλὰ τὸ πνεῦμα οὐ πλανᾶται ἀπὸ θεοῦ διότι εἰς ἐρχεῖται καὶ ποῦ ὑπάγει, καὶ τὰ κρυπτὰ ἐλέγχει. εἰκράναγα μεταξὺ διὸν, ἐλάλουν μεγάλη φωνῇ, θεοῦ φωνῇ. Τῷ ἑπτακόσῳ προσέχετε καὶ τῷ πρισβύτερῳ καὶ διακόνοις.
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,
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2. οἱ δὲ υποπτεύσαντες μὲ ός προειδότα τὸν μερισμόν τινων λέγειν ταῦτα: μάρτυς δὲ μοι, ἐν δὲ δεδεμαι, ότι ἀπὸ σάρκος ἀνθρωπίνης οὐκ ἔγων. τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα ἐκήρυσσεν λέγον τάδε: Χαρίς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου μηδὲν ποιεῖτε, τὴν σάρκα ὑμῶν ὡς ναὸν θεοῦ τηρεῖτε, τὴν ἐνωσιν ἁγαπάτε, τοὺς μερισμοὺς φεύγετε, μιμηταὶ γίνεσθε Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὃς καὶ αὐτὸς τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ.

VIII

1. Ἐνῶ μὲν οὖν τὸ ἔδειον ἐποίουν ὡς ἀνθρώπος εἰς ἐνωσιν κατηρτισμένοις. οὐ δὲ μερισμὸς ἐστιν καὶ ὀργή, θέδος οὐ κατοικεῖ. πᾶσιν οὖν μετανοούσιν ἀφίει ὁ κύριος, ἐὰν μετανοήσωσιν εἰς ἐνότητα θεοῦ καὶ συνέδριον τοῦ ἐπισκόπου. πιστεὺω τῇ χάριτι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὃς λύσει ἀφί υμῶν πάντα δεσμὸν. 2. παρακαλῶ δὲ ύμᾶς μηδὲν κατ’ ἐρυθείαν πράσσεσθαι, ἀλλὰ κατὰ χριστομαθίαν. ἐπεὶ ἠκουσά τινων λεγόντων, ὃτι εὰν μὴ ἐὰν τοὺς ἀρχείους εὑρὼ ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ οὐ πιστεῦω καὶ λέγοντός μου αὐτοῖς ὃτι γέγραπται, ἀπεκρίθησάν μοι ὃτι πρόκειται. ἐμὸν δὲ ἀρχεία ἐστίν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς, τὰ ἀδικτα ἀρχεία ὁ σταυρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ θάνατος καὶ ἡ ἀνάστασις αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ πίστις ἡ δὲ 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.

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.
IX

1. Καλοὶ καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς, κρεῖσσον δὲ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ὁ πεπιστευμένος τὰ ἅγια τῶν ἅγίων, οὐ μόνος πεπίστευται τὰ κρυπτὰ τοῦ θεοῦ· αὐτὸς δὲν θύρα τοῦ πατρός, διὸ ἐσερχονται Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακὼβ καὶ οἱ προφῆται καὶ ἀπόστολοι καὶ ἡ εκκλησία. πάντα ταῦτα εἰς ἐνώπιον θεοῦ.
2. ἐξαίρετον δὲ τι ἔχει τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, τὴν παρουσίαν τοῦ σωτήρος, κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τὸ πάθος αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὴν ἀνίστασιν. οἱ γὰρ ἀγαπητοὶ προφῆται κατήγγειλαν εἰς αὐτὸν τὸ δὲ εὐαγγέλιον ἀπάρτισμα ἔστιν ἀθανασίας. πάντα ὁμοῦ καλὰ ἔστιν, ἐὰν ἐν ἀγάπῃ πιστεύητε.

X

1. Ἐπειδὴ κατὰ τὴν προσευχὴν ύμῶν καὶ κατὰ τὰ σπλάγχνα, ὃ ἔχετε ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, ἀπηγγέλθη μοι εἰρωνεύειν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τὴν ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ τῆς Συρίας, πρέπον ἔστιν ύμῖν ὡς ἐκκλησία θεοῦ, χειροτονήσαι διάκονον εἰς τὸ πρεσβεύσαι ἐκεῖ θεοῦ πρεσβείαν, εἰς τὸ συγχαρῆσαι αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ γενόμενος καὶ δοξάσαι τὸ ἴοναμα. 2. μακάριος ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ, ὃς καταξιωθήσεται τῆς τοιαύτης διακονίας, καὶ υμεῖς δοξασθήσεσθε. θέλουσιν δὲ ύμῶν οὐκ ἔστιν ἀδύνατον ὑπὲρ ὀνόματος θεοῦ, ὡς καὶ αἱ ἐγγίστα ἐκκλησία ἐπεμψαν 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.

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.
XI

1. Περὶ δὲ Φίλωνος τοῦ διακόνου ἀπὸ Κιλικίας, ἀνδρὸς μεμαρτυρημένου, δὲ καὶ νῦν ἐν λόγῳ θεοῦ ὑπηρετεῖ μοι ἄμα Ἄρεφος Ἀγαθόπος, ἀνδρὶ ἐκλεκτῷ, δὲ ἀπὸ Συρίας μοι ἀκολουθεῖ ἀποταξάμενος τῷ βίῳ, οὗ καὶ μαρτυροῦσιν ὑμῖν, κἀγὼ τῷ θεῷ εὐχαριστῶ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, ὅτι ἐδέξασθε αὐτούς, ὡς καὶ ὑμᾶς ὁ κύριος· οὐ δὲ ἀτιμάσατες αὐτοὺς ἀντρωπεύσαντας ἐν τῇ χάριτι τοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. Ἡ ἀστάξεται ὑμᾶς ἡ ἀγάπη τῶν ἀδελφῶν τῶν ἐν Τρωάδι· ὅθεν καὶ γράφω ὑμῖν διὰ Βουρροῦ πεμφθέντος ἄμα ἐμοὶ ἀπὸ Ἑφεσίων καὶ Σμυρναίων εἰς λόγον τιμῆς· τιμήσει αὐτοὺς ὁ κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς, εἰς δὲ ἐλπίζουσιν σαρκί, ψυχῇ, πνεύματι, πίστει, ἀγάπῃ, ὁμοιῷα. ἔρρωσε ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, τῇ κοινῇ ἐλπίδι ἡμῶν.

ΣΜΥΡΝΑΙΟΙΣ ΙΓΝΑΤΙΟΣ

Ἰγνάτιος, ὁ καὶ Θεοφόρος, ἐκκλησία θεοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ ἡγαπημένου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἡλεμένη ἐν παντὶ χαρίσματι, πεπληρωμένη ἐν πίστει καὶ ἀγάπη, ἀνυστρήτῳ ὀψερ παγνὸς χαρίσματος, θεοπρεπεστάτη καὶ ἀγιο-

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

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IGNATIUS TO THE SMYRNAEANS

XI

1. But concerning Philo, the deacon from Cilicia, 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.”
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φόρο, τῇ οὐσῇ ἐν Συμφυὴ τῆς Ἀσίας, ἐν ἀμώμῳ πνεύματι καὶ λόγῳ θεοῦ πλεῖστα χαίρειν.

I

1. Δοξάζω Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τὸν θεὸν τὸν οὐτως ὑμᾶς σοφίσαντα: ἐνόησα γὰρ ὑμᾶς κατηρτισμένοις ἐν ἀκινήτῳ πίστει, ὦσπερ καθηλωμένοις ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ σαρκὶ τε καὶ πνεύματι καὶ ἡδρασμένοις ἐν ἀγάπῃ ἐν τῷ αἵματι Χριστοῦ, πεπληροφορημένοις εἰς τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν, ἀληθῶς δύνατα εἰς γένους Δανεὶδ κατὰ σάρκα, νῦν θεοῦ κατὰ θέλημα καὶ δύναμιν θεοῦ,1 γεγεννημένον ἀληθῶς εἰς παρθένον, βεβαπτισμένον 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 θεομακριβοῦστον αὐτοῦ πάθους, ὕπαρχει σύσσωμον εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας διὰ τῆς ἀναστάσεως εἰς τοὺς ἀγίους καὶ πιστοὺς αὐτοῦ, εἰτε ἐν Ἰουδαλως εἰτε ἐν ἰδιεχοσι, ἐν εἰνὶ σώματι τῆς ἐκκλησίας αὐτοῦ.

II

1. Ταῦτα γὰρ πάντα ἐπαθεν δι’ ἡμᾶς, ἵνα σωθῶμεν· ἐπαθεν δι’ ἡμᾶς καὶ ἀληθῶς ἐπαθεν, ὡς καὶ ἀληθῶς ἀνέστησεν αὐτοῖν, οὐχ ὦσπερ ἀπιστοῖ τινες

1 A Theodoret omit θεοῦ and are followed by Lightfoot.
2 ἵνα σωθῶμεν om. O.
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 immovable 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 John that "all righteousness might be fulfilled by him," 2. truly nailed to a tree 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.

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

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.

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λέγουσιν, τὸ δοκεῖν αὐτὸν πεπονθέναι, αὐτοῖ τὸ δοκεῖν ὄντες· καὶ καθὼς φρονοῦσιν, καὶ συμβηστεῖν αὐτοῖς, οὕτων ἀσωμάτως καὶ δαίμονικοῖς.

III

1. Ἕγαρ γὰρ καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν ἐν σαρκὶ αὐτοῦ οἶδα καὶ πιστεύω ὄντα. 2. καὶ ὅτε πρὸς τοὺς περὶ Πέτρου ἦλθεν, ἐφή αὐτοῖς: Δάβετε, ἴππασι τῷ καὶ ἵδε, ὅτι οὐκ εἰμὶ δαίμωνον ἀσωμάτως καὶ εὐθὺς αὐτοῦ ἤφαντο καὶ ἐπιστεύσαν, κραδέντες τῇ σαρκὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῷ πνεύματι. 1 διὰ τοῦτο καὶ θανάτου κατεφρόνησαν, ηὕρεθσαν δὲ ὑπὲρ θάνατον. 3. μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀνάστασιν συνέφαγεν αὐτοῖς καὶ συνέπιεν ὡς σαρκικός, καὶ περὶ πνευματικῶς ἤνωμένος τῷ πατρὶ.

IV

1. Ταῦτα δὲ παραίνει ὑμῖν, ἀγαπητοί, εἰδὼς ὅτι καὶ ὑμεῖς ὑπό τὸν Χριστὸν ἀνεῖνατε. προφυλάσσω δὲ ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ τῶν θηρίων τῶν ἀνθρωπομόρφων, οὐς οὗ μόνον δεῖ ὑμᾶς μὴ παραδεχεσθαί, ἀλλ’ εἰ δυνάτον μηδὲ συναντᾶν, 2 μόνον δὲ προσεύχεσθε 3 ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, εὰν πως μετανοήσωσίν, ὅπερ δύσκολον, τούτου δὲ ἔχει ἐξουσίαν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς, τὸ

1 πνεύματι GLC, αἵματι A.
2 συναντᾶν BG, συναντῶν αὐτοῖς LAC.
3 προσεύχεσθε BC(S), προσεύχεσθαι GLA.

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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.

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
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ἀληθινὸν ἡμῶν ζῆν. 2. εἰ γὰρ τὸ δοκεῖν ταῦτα ἐπτράχθη ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν, κἂν ὁ τὸ δοκεῖν δέδεμαι. τὶ δὲ καὶ ἐαυτῶν ἐκδοτον δέδωκα τῷ θανάτῳ, πρὸς πῦρ, πρὸς μάχαιραν, πρὸς θηρία; ἀλλ’ ἐγγὺς μαχαίρας ἐγγὺς θεοῦ, μεταξὺ θηρίων μεταξὺ θεοῦ· μόνον ἐν τῷ ὄνοματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰς τὸ συμπαθεῖν αὐτῶ πάντα ὑπομένω, αὐτοῦ με ἐνδυναμοῦντος τοῦ τελείου ἀνθρώπου.²

V

1. "Οὐ τινες ἀγνοοῦντες ἀρνοῦνται, μᾶλλον δὲ ἡμνήθησαν ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ, δυτες συνήγοροι τοῦ θανάτου μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς ἀληθείας· οὖς οὐκ ἔπεισαν αἱ προφητείαι οὐδὲ ὁ νόμος Μωσεως, ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ μέχρι νῦν τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, οὐδὲ τὰ ἡμέτερα τῶν κατ’ ἀνδρα παθήματα. 2. καὶ γὰρ περὶ ἡμῶν τὸ αὐτὸ φρονοῦσιν. τὶ γὰρ μὲ ὠφελεί τις, εἰ ἔμε ἐπανεῖ, τῶν δὲ κυρίων μου βλασφημεῖ, μὴ ὁμολογῶν αὐτῶν σαρκοφόρον; ὁ δὲ τοῦτο λέγων³ τελείως αὐτῶν ἀπήρηται, ἀν νεκροφόρος. 3. τὰ δὲ ὄνοματα αὐτῶν, οὕτω ἀπίστα, οὐκ ἐδοξέαν μοι ἐγγράψατι. ἀλλὰ μηδὲ γένοιτο μοι αὐτῶν μηνημονεύων, μέχρις οὐ 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.

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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 prophesies 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.
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VI

1. Μηδείς πλανάσθω καὶ τὰ ἐπονάμινα καὶ ἡ δόξα τῶν ἁγγέλων καὶ οἱ ἀρχιοντες ὅρατοι τε καὶ ἀόρατοι, ἐὰν μὴ πιστεύσωσιν εἰς τὸ αἷμα Χριστοῦ, κακείνους κρίσις ἔστων ὁ χωρῶν χωρεῖτο. τόπος μηδένα φυσιούτω τὸ γὰρ ὅλον ἔστων πίστες καὶ ἀγάπη, ὅπως οὔτεν προκέκριται. 2. καταμάθετε δὲ τοὺς ἐτεροδοξούντας εἰς τὴν χάριν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τὴν εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐλθούσαν, πῶς ἐναντίοι εἰσίν τῇ γνώμῃ τοῦ θεοῦ. περὶ ἀγάπης οὐ μέλει αὐτοῖς, οὐ περὶ χήρας, οὐ περὶ ὀρφανοῦ, οὐ περὶ θλίβομένου, οὐ περὶ δεδεμένου ἡ λελυμένου, ὅτε περὶ πεινώντως ἡ δυσώντως.

VII

1. Εὐχαριστίας καὶ προσευχῆς ἄπεχονται, διὰ τὸ μὴ ὁμολογεῖν τὴν εὐχαριστίαν σάρκα εἶναι τοῦ σωτήρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν παθοῦσαν, ἢν τῇ χρηστότητι ἡ πατὴρ ἡγείρετο. οἱ οὖν ἀντιλέγοντες τῇ δωρεᾷ τοῦ θεοῦ συζητοῦντες ἀποδιδόσκουσιν συνεφερεῖν δὲ αὐτοῖς ἀγαπᾶν, ἢν καὶ ἀναστῶσιν. 2. πρέπου ἐστὶν ἄπεχεσθαι τῶν τοιοῦτων καὶ μήτε κατ’ ἰδίαν περὶ αὐτῶν λαλεῖν μήτε κοινῇ, προσέχειν δὲ

1 λελυμένου BGL, om. ΑC.
2 πρέπου BΔ(L), πρέπου οὖν Gg.

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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.

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
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tois prophiatais, eixairotws de tō evanggelio, en
ɔ to πάθος ἡμῶν dedhloται kai ἡ ἀνάστασις
tetelēwōtais. tois de merisimous feugyete ɔs ἀρχην,
kakōn.

VIII

1. Pántes tō episkopōf ākoloutheite, ως Ἰησοῦς
Χριστός tō patrί, kai tō presbúteriō ɔs tois
apostólois. tois de diakónous éntrepēste ɔs
theou éntolēn, μηδείς χωρίς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου τι
prassetō tōn anhikonton eis tīn ēkklesian.
ēkeinē bēbaía euvhariastia ēgeiōthw, ἢ ὑπὸ ἐπι-
skopon oúsa ἢ ɔ n autōs ēπιτρέψη. 2. Ὡτου ἄν
φαιν ὁ ἐπισκόπος, ēkei tō plēbos ̣ητω, ὃσπερ
ōtop ou ἄν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, ēkei ἡ καθολικὴ
ēkklesia. οṽκ ἐξὸn ēstivn χωρίς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου οὔτε
bapτίζειν οὔτε ἀνάπηθν ποιεῖν ἀλλ’ ὅ ἄν
ēkeinōs
dokimasia, tōto kai tō theō eуāreston, ἴνα
ásfalēs ἢ kal bēbaion pān ὃ prassete.3

IX

1. Eulogōn ēstivn loipōn ānabhpsai ēmās, ὃς ἔτι
kaiρων ἐχομεν eis theōn metanoeīn. kalōs ἔχει,
theōn kai ἐπισκόπου eideinai. ὃ timōn ἐπισκόπου ὑπὸ
theō tetiμηται: ὃ λάθρα ἐπισκόπου τι prassow

1 ήτω B, ἐστω Gg.
2 Ἰησ. Χρ. BA, Χρ. Ἰησ. GL
3 prassete BSA(g), prassetai GL.
4 ἡμᾶς Bg(SA) kai GL, “it is reasonable to return to sober-
ness, and . . . to repent.”

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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" without the bishop; but whatever he approve, this is also pleasing to God, that everything which you do may be secure and valid.

IX

1. Moreover it is reasonable for us to return to sobriety, 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

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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tῷ διαβόλῳ λατρεύει. 2. πάντα οὖν ὑμῖν ἐν χάριτι περισσευότατος ἄξιοι γάρ ἐστε. κατὰ πάντα με ἀνεπαύσατε, καὶ ὑμᾶς Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς. ἀπόντα με καὶ πάροντα ἡγαπήσατε. ἀμοιβῇ ὑμῖν ὁ θεός,
δι’ ὅν πάντα ὑπομένουτε αὐτοῦ τεῦξεσθε.

X

1. Φίλωνα καὶ Ρέον Ἀγαθότου, οἱ ἐπηκολουθησάν μοι εἰς λόγον θεοῦ, καλῶς ἐποιήσατε ὑποδεξάμενοι ὡς διακόνους θεοῦ. οἱ καὶ εὐχαριστοῦσιν τῷ κυρίῳ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, ὅτι αὐτοὺς ἀνεπαύσατε κατὰ πάντα τρόπον. οὐδὲν ὑμῖν οὐ μὴ ἀπολεῖται.

2. ἀντίψυχον ὑμῶν τὸ πνεῦμά μου καὶ τὰ δεσμά μου, ἃ οὐχ ὑπερηφανίσατε οὐδὲ ἐπηρεχόμεντε. οὐδὲ ὑμᾶς ἐπαίσχυνθεταί· ἢ τελεία ἐλπίς, Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς.

XI

1. Ἡ προσευχή ὑμῶν ἀπήλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τῆς ἐν Αὐτοχείᾳ τῆς Συρίας, οθεν δεδεμένος θεοπροφετήτων δεσμοίς πάντας ἀσπάζομαι, οὐκ ὃν ἄξιοι ἐκεῖθεν εἰναι, ἐσχάτοις αὐτῶν ὅν κατὰ θέλημα δὲ κατημόθην, οὐκ ἐκ συνειδότος ἀλλ' ἐκ χάριτος θεοῦ· ἢν εὐχόμαι τελείαν μοι

1 ἀμοιβῇ B, ἀμοιβεῖ G, ἀμείληται g(Σ), retribuat (= ἀμείβοι?) Λ.
2 B has Γάτων and it is possible that this, also found in g, is right, but Ρέον is transcriptionally more probable.
3 θεοῦ BA, Χριστοῦ θεοῦ G(L).
4 ἐλπίς BAg, πίστις GL.

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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, but by the grace of God, and

1 Or, possibly, "by my own complicity"

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δοθήναι, ὅπως ἐν τῇ προσευχῇ ὑμῶν θεοῦ ἐπιτύχω. 2. ὅπως οὖν ὑμῶν τέλειον γένηται τὸ ἔργον καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς καὶ ἐν οὐρανῷ, πρέπει εἰς τιμὴν θεοῦ χειροτονῆσαι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ὑμῶν θεοπροσβεβείτην, εἰς τὸ γενόμενον ἐν Συρίᾳ 1 συγχαρήναι αὐτοῖς, ὅτι εἰρηνεύοντες καὶ ἀπέλαβον τὸ ἱδιον μέγεθος καὶ ἀπεκατεστάθη αὐτοῖς τὸ ἱδιον σωματεῖον. 3. ἐφάνη μοι οὖν θεοῦ 2 ἄξιον πράγμα, πέμψας τινὰ τῶν ὑμετέρων μετ’ ἐπιστολῆς, ἵνα συνδοξάσῃ τὴν κατὰ θεὸν αὐτοῖς γενομένην εὐδίαν, καὶ ὅτι λιμένος ἡδη ἐτύγχανον 3 τῇ προσευχῇ ὑμῶν. τέλειοι ὄντες τέλεια καὶ φρονεῖτε. θέλουσιν γὰρ ὑμῖν εὗ πράσσειν θεὸς ἐτοιμος εἰς τὸ παρέχειν. 4

XII

1. Ἀσπάζεται ὑμῖν ἡ ἀγάπη τῶν ἀδελφῶν τῶν ἐν Τρωάδι, θεοῦ καὶ γράφω ὑμῖν διὰ Βούρρου, 5 ἵνα ἀπεστείλατε μετ’ ἐμοῦ ἀμα Ἐφεσίων, τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ὑμῶν, δι’ κατὰ πάντα με ἀνέπαυσεν, καὶ ὁφελον πάντες αὐτὸν ἐμιμοῦντο, ὅντα ἐξεμπλάριον θεοῦ διακονίας. ἀμείβεται αὐτὸν ἡ χάρις κατὰ πάντα. 2. Ἀσπάζομαι τὸν ἀξιόθεου ἐπίσκοπον καὶ θεοπρεπές πρεσβυτέρου καὶ τοὺς συνδούλους μον διακόνους καὶ τοὺς κατ’ ἀνδρα. καὶ κοινὴ πάντας εὗ ὄνοματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τῇ σαρκί

1 ἐν Συρίᾳ Β(Δ)g, ἕως Συρλας Gl. 2 θεοῦ BLA, om. Gg. 3 ἑτυχον 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.

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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 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 ἀλματὶ, πάθει τε καὶ ἀναστάσει σαρκικῇ τε καὶ πνευματικῇ, ἐν ἐνότητι θεοῦ καὶ ὕμων. χάρις ὕμων, ἔλεος, εἰρήνη, ὑπομονὴ διὰ παντὸς.

XIII

1. Ἀσπάζομαι τοὺς οίκους τῶν ἁδελφῶν μου σὺν γυναιξί καὶ τέκνοις καὶ τὰς παρθένους τὰς λεγομένας χήρας. ἔρρωσθε μοι ἐν δυνάμει πατρός.¹ ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς Φίλων σὺν ἐμοὶ ὄν. 2. ἀσπάζομαι τὸν οίκον Ταούτιας,² ἂν εὐχομαι ἐδράσθαι πίστει καὶ ἀγάπῃ σαρκικῇ τε καὶ πνευματικῇ, ἀσπάζομαι Ἁλκην, τὸ ποθητὸν μοι ὄνομα, καὶ Δάφνου τὸν ἀσύγκριτον καὶ Εὐστεκνον καὶ πάντας κατ’ ὄνομα. ἔρρωσθε ἐν χάριτι θεοῦ.

ΠΡΟΣ ΠΟΛΥΚΑΡΠΟΝ ΙΓΝΑΤΙΟΣ.

Ἰγνάτιος, ὁ καὶ Θεοφόρος, Πολυκάρπῳ ἐπισκόπῳ ἐκκλησίας Σμυρναίων, μᾶλλον ἐπισκοπημένῳ ὑπὸ θεοῦ πατρὸς καὶ κυρίου ᾿Ιησοῦ Χριστοῦ, πλείοντα χαίρειν.

¹ πατρός LA, πνεύματος G(g) “spirit.” The difference in MSS would be between πρς and πνς.
² Ταούτιας GL, Ταούτιας 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 final greetings, 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, Greeting who is bishop of the Church of the Smyrnæans, or rather has for his bishop God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ, abundant greeting.

¹ It is not impossible that ἔτεκνος is an adjective meaning “with good children,” and referring to Daphnus. Zahn takes this view.
I

1. Ἀποδεχόμενος σου τὴν ἐν θεῷ γνώμην ἡδρασμένην ὡς ἐπὶ πέτραν ἀκίνητον, ὑπερδοξάζω, καταξιωθεὶς τοῦ προσώπου σου τοῦ ἀμώμου, οὐ ὀναίμην ἐν θεῷ. 2. παρακαλῶ σε ἐν χάριτι ἢ ἐνδέξουσαι, προσθείναι τῷ δρόμῳ σου καὶ πάντας παρακαλεῖν, ἵνα σώζωνται. ἐκδίκει σοι τὸν τότον ἐν πάσῃ ἐπιμελείᾳ σαρκικῇ καὶ πνευματικῇ τῆς ἐνώσεως φροντίζε, ἣς οὐδὲν ἀμείνων. πάντας βάσταζε, ὡς καὶ σε ὁ κύριος πάντων ἀνέχου ἐν ἀγάπῃ, ὡσπερ καὶ ποιεῖς. 3. προσευχαῖς σχολαζε ἀδιαλείπτως, αὐτοῦ σύνεσιν πλείουν ἢ εἴχες γρηγόρει αἰκοίμητων πνεύμα κεκτημένος. τοὺς κατ' ἄνδρα κατὰ ὁμοίθειαι θεοῦ λάλειν πάντων τὰς νόσους βάσταζε ὡς τέλειος ἀθλητής. ὅπου πλείων κόπος, πολὺ κέρδος.

II

1. Καλοῦσ μαθητὰς ἐὰν φίλης, χώρις σοι οὐκ ἔστιν μάλλον τοὺς λοιμοτέρους ἐν πραότητι ὑπότασσε. οὐ πάν τραύμα τῇ αὐτῇ ἐμπλάστρῳ θεραπεύεται. τοὺς παροξυσμοὺς ἐμβροχαῖς παῦε. 2. φρονίμοις γίνου ὡς ὁ ὅφις εἰν ἀπασιν καὶ ἀκέραιος εἰς ἄει ὧς ἡ περιστερά. διὰ τοῦτο σαρκικὸς εἰ καὶ πνευματικὸς, ἵνα τὰ φανομένα σου εἰς πρόσ-  

1 ὁ om. G, but the parallelism with ἡ περιστερά shows that this is only an accident.

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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. Where the toil is greatest, is the gain great.

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

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.
THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

οπον κολακεύης· τὰ δὲ ἀόρατα αὕτει ἵνα σοι φανερωθῇ, ὅπως μηδενὸς λείπῃ καὶ παντὸς χαρίσματος περισσεύῃς. 3. ὁ καιρὸς ἀπαιτεῖ· σε, ὡς κυβερνήται ἀνέμους καὶ ὡς χειμάζομενος λυμένα, εἰς τὸ θεοῦ ἐπιτυχεῖν. νήψε, ὡς θεοῦ ἀθλητής· τὸ θέμα ἀφθαρσία καὶ ξωὴ αἰώνιος, περὶ ἦς καὶ σὺ πέπεισαι. κατὰ πάντα σου ἀντίψυχον ἐγὼ καὶ τὰ δεσμά μου, ἄ ἡγάπησας.

III

1. Οἱ δοκοῦντες ἡξιώπιστοι εἶναι καὶ ἐτεροδιδασκαλοῦντες μὴ σε καταπλησσέτωσαν. στῆθι ἔδραίος ὡς ἁκμὼν τυπτόμενος. μεγάλου ἐστιν ἀθλητοῦ τὸ δέρεσθαι καὶ νικᾶν. μάλιστα δὲ ἐνεκεν θεοῦ πάντα ὑπομένειν ἡμᾶς δεῖ, ἵνα καὶ αὐτὸς ἡμᾶς ὑπομείνῃ. 2. πλέον σπουδαῖος γίνον ὁ εἶ τοὺς καιροὺς καταμάνθανε. τὸν ὑπὲρ καιροῦ προσδόκα, τὸν ἄχρονο, τὸν ἀόρατον, τὸν δι᾽ ἡμᾶς ὥρατόν, τὸν ἄγγιλάφητον, τὸν ἀπαθῆ, τὸν δι᾽ ἡμᾶς παθητὸν, τὸν κατὰ πάντα τρόπον δι᾽ ἡμᾶς ὑπομείναντα.

IV

1. Χήραι μὴ ἀμελείσθωσαν· μετὰ τὸν κύριον σὺ αὐτῶν φροντιστῇς ἐσο. μηδὲν ἄνευ γνώμης

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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

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 ἄλφα means a “money-prize,” which was given in some of the Greek games instead of the στέφανος or crown.
THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

σου γινέσθω μηδὲ σὺ ἄνευ θεοῦ τι πράσσε, ὅπερ οὐδὲ πράσσεις· εὑστάθη. 2. πυκνότερον συναγωγαὶ γινέσθωσαν· εἰς ὠνόματος πάντας ζητεῖ. 3. δούλους καὶ δούλας μὴ ὑπερηφάνειν ἀλλὰ μηδὲ αὐτὸν φυσιούσθωσαν, ἀλλ' εἰς δόξαν θεοῦ πλέον δουλεύετωσαν, ἵνα κρείττονος ἐλευθερίας ἀπὸ θεοῦ τύχωσιν. μὴ ἐράτωσαν ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ ἐλευθεροῦσθαι, ἵνα μὴ δοῦλοι εὐρεθῶσιν ἐπιθυμίας.

V

1. Τὰς κακοτεχνίας φεύγε, μᾶλλον δὲ περὶ τούτων ὀμιλίαν ποιοῦ. ταῖς ἁλελφαῖς μου προσκελάσθωμεν, ἁγαπᾶν τὸν κύριον καὶ τοὺς συμβίους ἀρκεῖσθαι σαρκὶ καὶ πνεύματι. ὅμοιως καὶ τοῖς ἁδελφοῖς μου παράγγελλε ἐν ὠνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἁγαπᾶν τὰς συμβίους ὡς ὁ κύριος τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. 2. εἶ τις δύναται ἐν ἀγγελίᾳ μένειν εἰς τιμὴν τῆς σαρκὸς τοῦ κυρίου, ἐν ἀκαυχησίᾳ μενετῶ. εὰν καυχησθηται, ἀπώλετο, καὶ εἰς γνώσθη πλέον τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, ἐφθαρται. πρέπει δὲ τοῖς γαμοῦσι καὶ ταῖς γαμούμεναις μετὰ γνώμης τοῦ ἐπισκόπου τὴν ἔνωσιν ποιεῖσθαι, ἵνα ὁ γάμος ἵνα κατὰ κύριον καὶ μὴ κατ' ἐπιθυμίαν. πάντα εἰς τιμὴν θεοῦ γινέσθω.

VI

1. Τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ προσέχετε, ἵνα καὶ ὁ θεὸς ὑμῖν. ἀντίλυγχον ἐγὼ τῶν ὑποτασσομένων τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, πρεσβυτέροις, διακόνοις· καὶ μετ'
IGNATIUS TO POLYCARP, IV. i–vi. i

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 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.

VI

1. Give heed to the bishop, that God may also give Advice to heed to you. I am devoted to those who are subject to the bishop, presbyters, and deacons; and may it be

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αὐτῶν μοι τὸ μέρος γένοιτο σχεῖν ἐν θεῷ. συγ-
κοπιάτε ἀλλήλοις, συναθλεῖτε, συντρέχετε, συμ-
πάσχετε, συγκοιμᾶσθε, συνεγείρεσθε ὡς θεοῦ
οἰκονόμοι καὶ πάρεδροι καὶ ὑπηρέται. 2. ἀρέ-
σκετε ὃ στρατεύεσθε, ἀφ’ οὗ καὶ τὰ ὀφώνια
κομίζεσθε· μὴ τῖς ὑμῶν δεσπότωρ εὑρεθῆ. τὸ
βίαπτισμα ὑμῶν μενέτω ὡς ὁπλα, ἡ πίστις ὡς
περικεφαλαία, ἡ ἀγάπη ὡς δόρυ, ἡ ὑπομονὴ ὡς
πανοπλία. τα δετύσινα ὑμῶν τὰ ἔργα ὑμῶν, ἵνα
τὰ ἀκκεπταὶ ὑμῶν ἤξιον κομίσῃσθε. μακροθυμή-
σατε οὖν μετ’ ἀλλήλων ἐν πραότητι, ὡς ὁ θεοῦ
μεθ’ ὑμῶν. ὄναίμην ὑμῶν διὰ παντὸς.

VII

1. Ἐπειδὴ ἢ ἐκκλησία ἢ ἐν Ἄντιοχεία τῆς
Συρίας εὑρημενεί, ὡς ἐδηλώθη μοι, διὰ τὴν προσ-
ευχὴν ὑμῶν, κἀγὼ εὐθυμότερος ἐγενόμην ἐν
ἀμερίμνια θεοῦ, ἔαντερ διὰ τοῦ παθεῖν θεοῦ
ἐπιτύχω, εἰς τὸ εὑρεθήναι με ἐν τῇ ἀναστάσει
ὑμῶν μαθητήν. 2. πρέπει, Πολύκαρπε θεομακαρι-
στότατε, συμβουλίου ἀγαγεῖν θεοπρεπέστατον καὶ
χειροτονῆσαι τινα, διὸ ἂγαπητοῦ λίαν ἔχετε καὶ
ἀοκνον, ὅσ δυνησται θεοδρόμος καλείσθαι τοῦτον
καταξιώσαι, ἵνα πορευθησίς εἰς Συρίαν δοξάσῃ ὑμῶν
τὴν ἀοκνον ἀγάπην εἰς δόξαν θεοῦ. 3. Χριστιανὸς

1 The use of the Latin words is remarkable: δεσπότωρ =
desertor, δετύσινα = deposita, and ἀκκεπτα = accepta.
2 διὰ τὴν προσευχὴν G, διὰ τῆς προσευχῆς Lς.
3 ἀναστάσει GL, αἰτήσει "through your intercession" gA.
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-pay 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 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."
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ἐαυτοῦ ἐξουσίαν οὐκ ἔχει, ἀλλὰ θεῷ σχολάζει. τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον θεοῦ ἐστὶν καὶ ὑμῶν, ὅταν αὐτὸ ἀπαρτίσῃτε. πιστεύω γὰρ τῇ χάριτι, ὅτι ἐτοιμοὶ ἐστε εἰς εὐποιῶν θεῷ ἀνήκουσαν. εἰδὼς ὑμῶν τὸ σύντονον τῆς ἀληθείας, δι’ ὀλίγων ὑμᾶς γραμμάτων παρεκάλεσα.

VIII

1. Ἐπει1 πάσαις ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις οὐκ ἡδυνήθην γράψαι διὰ τὸ ἐξαιρήσης πλεῖν με ἀπὸ Τρωάδος εἰς Νεάπολιν, ὅσ τὸ θέλημα προστάσσει, γράψεις ταῖς ἐμπροσθεν ἐκκλησίαις, ὡς θεοῦ γνώμην κεκτημένος, εἰς τὸ καὶ αὐτοῦ τὸ αὐτὸ ποιῆσαί, (οἱ μὲν δυνάμενοι πεζοῦς πέμψατο, οἱ δὲ ἐπιστολὰς διὰ τῶν ὑπὸ σου πεμπομένων, ἣν δοξασθῆτε αἰωνίω ἔργω,)2 ὡς ἄξιος ὡς. 2. ἀσπάζομαι πάντας εἷς ὀνόματος καὶ τῆς τοῦ Ἐπιφανείτου σὺν ὅλῳ τῷ σῶτο τετοίῳ αὐτὴς καὶ τῶν τέκνων. ἀσπάζομαι Ἀτταλοῦ τὸν ἄγαπητὸν μου. ἀσπάζομαι τῶν μέλλοντας καταξιοῦσαί τοῦ εἰς Συρίαι πορεύεσθαι. ἔσται ἡ χάρις μετ’ αὐτοῦ διὰ πάντος καὶ τοῦ πέμποντος αὐτὸν Πολυκάρπου.

3. ἔρροσθαι ὑμᾶς διὰ πάντος ἐν θεῷ ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ εὐχομαι, ἐν ὦ διαμείνητε ἐν ἐνόητη θεοῦ καὶ ἐπισκοπῆ, ἀσπάζομαι ᾽Αλκην, τὸ ποιητῶν μοι ὀνόμα. ἔρρωσθε ἐν κυρίῳ.

1 Ἐπει ΠΔ, Ἐπει οὖν Λγ.
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.

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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 Neapolis 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 you may be glorified by a memorable deed), as is worthy of you.

2. I greet all by name, and the wife of the Procurator 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 Alice, a name very dear to me. Farewell in the Lord.

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.

Polyarp 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 Irenaeus\(^1\) 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.
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 ΙΕΡΟΜΑΡΤΥΡΟΣ
ΠΡΟΣ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΗΣΙΟΤΣ ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ

Πολύκαρπος καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ πρεσβύτεροι τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ τῇ παροικούσῃ Φιλίπποις ἐλεοῦς ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη παρὰ θεοῦ παντοκράτους καὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν πληθυνθεῖη.

I

1. Συνεχάρημ ὑμᾶς μεγάλως ἐν τῷ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ, δεξαμένους τὰ μιμήματα τῆς ἁληθοῦς ἁγάπης καὶ προπέμψαν, ὡς ἐπέβαλεν ὑμᾶς, τοὺς ἐνειλημένους τοὺς ἁγιοπρεπεῖς δεσμοῖς, ἀτιμά ἐστιν διαδήματα τῶν ἁληθῶς ὑπὸ θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν ἐκκλησιαστῶν. 2. καὶ ὅτι ἡ βεβαιαὶ τῆς πίστεως ὑμῶν ρίζα, ἐξ ἀρχαίων καταγεγελλομένη χρόνων, μέχρι νῦν διαμένει καὶ καρποφορεῖ εἰς τὸν κυρίον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστὸν, διὸ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν ἐως θανάτου κατανυστίσαι, ὅτι ἡγείρειν ὁ θεός, λύσας τὰς ὀδύνας τοῦ ἀδον. 3. εἰς δὲν οὐκ ἴδοντες πιστεύετε χαρὰ.
THE

EPISTLE TO THE PHILIPPIANS
OF SAINT POLYCARP
BISHOP OF SMYRNA AND HOLY MARTYR

Polyarp 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 Christ that you have followed the pattern of true love, and have helped on their way, as opportunity was given you, those who were bound in chains, 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 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
THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

Eph. 2, 5, 8, 9 ἀνεκλαλήτω καὶ δεδοξασμένη, εἰς ἡν πολλοὶ ἐπιθυμοῦσιν εἰσελθεῖν, εἰδότες, ὅτι χάριτι ἐστε σεσωσμένοι, οὐκ ἔξ ἔργων, ἀλλὰ θελήματι θεοῦ διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

II

1. Διὸ ἀναξωσάμενοι τὰς ὀσφύας ὑμῶν δουλεύσατε τῷ θεῷ ἐν φόβῳ καὶ ἀληθείᾳ, ὑπολιπόντες τὴν κενὴν ματαιολογίαν καὶ τὴν τῶν πολλῶν πλάνην, πιστεύσαντες εἰς τὸν ἐγείραντα τῶν κύριων ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν ἐκ νεκρῶν καὶ δόντα αὐτῷ δόξαν καὶ θρόνον ἐκ δεξιῶν αὐτοῦ· ὃ ὑπετάγη τὰ πάντα ἐπουράνια καὶ ἐπίγεια, ὃ πᾶσα πνοὴ λατρεύει, διὸ ἔρχεται κρίτης ζώντων καὶ νεκρῶν, οὗ τὸ αἷμα ἔκζητησει ὁ θεὸς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀπειθουτῶν αὐτῷ.

2. ὁ δὲ ἐγείρας αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐγερεῖ, εὰν ποιῶμεν αὐτοῦ τὸ βέλημα καὶ πορευόμεθα ἐν ταῖς ἐντολαῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ ἁγαπῶμεν ἀ ἡγαπήσειν, ἀπεχόμενοι πάσης ἀδικίας, πλεονεξίας, φιλαργυρίας, καταλαλίας, ψευδομαρτυρίας· μὴ ἀποδιδόντες κακὸν ἀντὶ κακοῦ ἡ λοιδορία ἢ λυκόλοιδον ἢ ζόλυκαν ἢ κατάρας ἢ κατάρας. 3. μνημονεύσοντες δὲ ὃν ἐἵπτεν ὁ κύριος διδάσκων· Μὴ κρίνετε, ἵνα μὴ κριθῆτε· ἀφίετε, καὶ ἀφεθήσεται ὑμῖν ἐλεατε, ἵνα ἑλθῆτε· ὃ μέτρῳ μετρεῖτε, ἀντιμετρηθήσεται ὑμῖν· καὶ ὅτι μακάριοι οἱ πτωχοὶ καὶ οἱ διωκόμενοι ἐνεκεν δικαιοσύνης, ὅτι αὐτῶν ἔστιν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ.

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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."
1. Ἀρχῇ δὲ πάντων χαλεπῶν φιλαργυρία, εἰδότες οὐν ὅτι οὐδὲν εἰς ηνεγκαμεν εἰς τὸν κόσμον, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἐξενεγκείν τι ἐχομεν, ὁπλισώμεθα τοῖς ὀπλοῖς τῆς δικαιοσύνης καὶ διδάξωμεν ἑαυτοῖς πρὸτον πορεύεσθαι ἐν τῇ ἐντολῇ τοῦ κυρίου.

2. ἐπειτα καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ἡμῶν ἐν τῇ δοθείσῃ αὐταις πίστει καὶ ἁγάπῃ καὶ ἁγνείᾳ στεργούσας

1 The MSS read ὑμῶν "your," but the confusion between ὑμῶν and ἡμῶν is so common that "our" may safely be restored.
POLYCARP TO THE PHILIPPIANS, III. I-IV. 2

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 stedfastly 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.

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
θούς εαυτῶν ἄνδρας ἐν πάσῃ ἁληθείᾳ καὶ ἁγαπώσας πάντας ἐξ ἵνα ἐν πάσῃ ἑγκρατείᾳ, καὶ τὰ τέκνα παιδεύειν τὴν παιδείαν τοῦ φόβου τοῦ θεοῦ.

3. τὰς χήρας σωφρονοῦσας περὶ τὴν τοῦ κυρίου πίστιν, ἐντυγχανοῦσας ἀδιαλείπτως περὶ πάντων, μακρὰν ὄψας πάσης διαβολῆς, καταλαλίας, ψευδομαρτυρίας, φιλαργυρίας καὶ παντὸς κακοῦ, γνωσκοῦσας ὅτι εἰσὶ θυσιαστήριον θεοῦ καὶ ὅτι πάντα μαμοσκοπεῖται, καὶ λέληθεν αὐτῶν ὁ ὅδεν ὁ σωτὴρ μόνον ὁ οὕτω ἐννοιών ὁ σωτὴρ τῶν κρυπτῶν τῆς καρδίας.

V

Gal. 6, 7
1. Εἰδότες, οὐν, ὅτι θεὸς οὐ μυκτηρίζεται, ὅπερλομεν ἄξιος τῆς ἐντολῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ δόξης περιπατεῖν. 2. ὅμοιοι διάκονοι ἀμεμπτοὶ κατενώπιοι αὐτοῦ τῆς δικαιοσύνης ὡς θεοῦ καὶ Χριστοῦ διάκονοι καὶ οὐκ ἀνθρώπων μὴ διάβολοι, μὴ δίλογοι, ἀφιλάργυροι, ἑγκρατεῖς περὶ πάντα, εὐσπλαγχνοι, ἐπιμελεῖς, πορευόμενοι κατὰ τὴν ἀλήθειαν τοῦ κυρίου, ὃς ἐγένετο διάκονος πάντων ὃ ἐὰν εὐαρεστήσωμεν ἐν τῷ νῦν αἰῶνι, ἀποληψόμεθα καὶ τὸν μέλλοντα, καθὼς ὑπέσχετο ἡμῖν ἐγείρειν ἡμᾶς ἐκ νεκρῶν, καὶ ὅτι ἐὰν πολιτευ- σόμεθα ἄξιος αὐτοῦ, καὶ συμβασιλεύσομεν αὐτῷ, εἰγε πιστεύομεν. 3. ὁμοίως καὶ νεότεροι ἀμεμπτοὶ ἐν πάσιν, πρὸ παντὸς προνοοῦντες ἀγνείας καὶ χαλιναγωγοῦντες εαυτοὺς ἀπὸ παντὸς κακοῦ, καλὸν γὰρ τὸ ἀνακόπτεσθαι ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ, ὅτι πάσα ἐπιθυμία κατὰ τοῦ πνεύματος στρατεύεται, καὶ οὕτω πόρνοι οὕτε

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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 the 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
τοις προσβυτέροις δὲ εὐσπλαγχνοι, εἰς πάντας ἐλεήμονες, ἐπιστρέφωντες τὰ ὑποπεπλανημένα, ἐπισκεπτόμενοι πάντας ἁσθενεῖς, μὴ ἀμελοῦντες χήρας ἢ ὀρφανοῦ ἢ πένητος. ἄλλα προνοοῦντες ἀεὶ τοῦ καλοῦ ἐνώπιον θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπων, ἀπεχόμενοι πάσης ὀργῆς, προσωποληψίας, κρίσεως ἅδικον, μακρὰν ὄντες πάσης φιλαργυρίας, μὴ ταχέως πιστεύοντες κατά τινος, μὴ ἀπότομοι ἐν κρίσει, έιδότες ότι πάντες ὀφειλέται ἐσμὲν ἁμαρτίας. 2. εἰ οὖν δεόμεθα τοῦ κυρίου, ἢν ἡμῖν ἄφη, ὀφείλομεν καὶ ήμεῖς ἀφιέρωμαι· ἀπέναντι γὰρ τῶν τοῦ κυρίου καὶ θεοῦ ἐσμὲν ὀφθαλμῶν, καὶ πάντας δεῖ παραστήσει τῷ βήματι τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ ἐκαστὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ λόγον δούναι. 3. οὖτως οὖν δουλεύσωμεν αὐτῷ μετὰ φόβου καὶ πάσης εὐλαβείας, καθὼς αὐτὸς ἐνετείλατο καὶ οἱ ἐναγγελισάμενοι ἡμᾶς ἀπόστολοι καὶ οἱ προφῆται, οἱ προκηρύζοντες τὴν ἔλευσιν τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν· ζηλωταὶ περὶ τὸ καλόν, ἀπεχόμενοι τῶν σκανδάλων καὶ τῶν ἕνωσεις φερόντων τὸ ὅνομα τοῦ κυρίου, οὕτως ὑποπλανῶσι κενοὺς ἀνθρώπους.
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 Prophets 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.

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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. Πάς γὰρ ὃς ἂν μὴ ὀμολογή Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐν σαρκὶ ἐληλυθέναι, ἀντιχριστὸς ἐστὶν. καὶ ὃς ἂν μὴ ὀμολογή τὸ μαρτύριον τοῦ σταυροῦ, ἐκ τοῦ διαβόλου ἐστὶν. καὶ ὃς ἂν μεθοδεύῃ τὰ λόγια τοῦ κυρίου πρὸς τὰς ἱδίας ἐπιθυμίας καὶ λέγῃ μήτε ἀνάστασιν μήτε κρίσιν, οὕτως πρωτότοκος ἐστὶ τοῦ σατανᾶ. 2. διὸ ἀπολυπόντες τὴν ματαιότητα τῶν πολλῶν καὶ τὰς ψευδοδιασκαλίας ἐπὶ τὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἡμῶν παραδοθέντα λόγιον ἐπιστρέψαμεν, νήφοντες πρὸς τὰς εὐχὰς καὶ προσκαρτεροῦντες νηστείαις, δεήσεως ἀιτοῦμεν τὸν παντελόπτην θεὸν μὴ εἰσενεγκεῖν ἡμᾶς εἰς πειράσμον, καθὼς εἰπεν ὁ κύριος. Τὸ μὲν πνεῦμα πρόθυμον, ἡ δὲ σάρξ ἁπάθεις.

VIII

I Tim. 1, 1
1. Ἀδιαλείπτως οὖν προσκαρτεροῦμεν τῇ ἐλπίδι ἡμῶν καὶ τῷ ἀραβώνῳ τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἡμῶν, ὡς ἐστὶ Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς, ὡς ἀνήγερκεν ἡμᾶς τὰς ἀμαρτίας τῷ ἱδίῳ σώματι ἐπὶ τὸ ξύλον, ὡς ἀμαρτίαν οὐκ ἐποίησεν, οὐδὲ εὐρέθη δόλος ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ· ἀλλὰ δι᾿ ἡμᾶς, ὡμοίζωμεν ἐν αὐτῷ, πάντα ὑπέμεινεν. 2. μιμηταὶ οὖν γενόμεθα τῆς ὑπομονῆς αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐὰν πάσχωμεν διὰ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ, δοξάζωμεν αὐτὸν. τούτῳ γὰρ ἡμῖν τὸν ὑπογραμμὸν ἔθηκε δι᾿ ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ ἡμεῖς τούτῳ ἐπιστεῦσαμεν.
POLYCARP TO THE PHILIPPIANS, VII. I–VIII. 2

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. 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."

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.

1 This phrase, according to Irenaeus (Adv. Haer. iii. 3, 4.) was applied, presumably later, by Polycarp to Marcion.

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1. In his ergo state et domini exemplar sequimini, firmi in fide et immutabiles, fraternitatis amatores, 17; diligentes invicem, in veritate sociati, mansuetudine domini alterutri praestolantes, nullum despicientes.

2. Cum possitis benefacere, nolite differre, quia eleemosyna de morte liberat. Omnes vobis invicem subiecti estote, conversationem vestram irrepreensibilem 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.
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.

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
THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

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 igno-
ret is locum qui datus est ei. Moneo itaque ut
abstineatis vos ab avaritia et sitis casti\(^1\) veraces.
Abstinetes vos ab omni malo. 2. Qui autem non
potest se in his gubernare, quomodo alii pronuntiat
hoc? Si quis non se abstinuerit ab avaritia, ab
idololatria coinquinabitur et tamquam inter gentes
judicabitur, 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 epistulae eius. De vobis etenim
gloriatur in omnibus ecclesiis, quae dominum\(^2\) solae
tunc cognoverant; nos autem nondum cognover-
ramus. 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.

\(^{1}\) 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_.

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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 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 how may he who cannot attain self-control in these matters enjoin 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. Therefore, 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 ὀθιν ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐπιστολαῖς αὐτῶν, 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 deum 1 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.

XIII

1. Ἐγράφατέ 2 μοι καὶ ὑμεῖς καὶ Ἰωάννας, ἵνα, εἶν τις ὀπέρχηται εἰς Συρίαν, καὶ τὰ παρὰ 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, 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. 2. Now may God and the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the "eternal Priest" himself, 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," 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. Born 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 basileus is regularly used as the title of the Emperor.
THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

ἀποκομίσῃ γράμματα· ὅπερ ποιήσω, ἐὰν λάβω καὶ ὑμᾶν ἐνθετον, εἴτε ἐγώ, εἴτε ὑμῖν ἐν πέμπω ¹ προς ὑμᾶν. 2. τὰς ἐπιστολὰς Ἰγνατίου τὰς περιφθείσας ἡμῖν ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἄλλας, ὅσα εἰχομεν παρ' ἡμῖν, ἐπέμψαμεν ὑμῖν, καθὼς ἐνετέλασθε ἀντίνες ὑποτεταγμέναι εἰς τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ταῦτη, εἴς δὲν μεγάλα ὡφεληθήναι δυνήσασθε. περιέχοντι γὰρ πίστιν καὶ ὑπομονήν καὶ πᾶσαν αἰκοδομὴν τὴν εἰς τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν ἀνήκουσαν. Et de ipso Ignatius et de his, qui cum eo sunt, quod certius agnoveritis, significate.

XIV

Haec vobis scripsi per Crescentium, quem in praesenti commendavi vobis et nunc commendando. Conversatus est enim nobiscum inculpabiliter; credo quia et nobiscum 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. misero (=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.

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.
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
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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).

All these authorities 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 antlchristlichen 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"

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1 Harnack, probably rightly, suggests others as well. See his *Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur*, pp. 86 ff.

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—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 Apostles\(^1\) 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

Διδαχὴ κυρίου διὰ τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων τοῖς ἔθνεσιν.

I

1. Ὅδοι δύο εἰσί, μία τῆς ζωῆς καὶ μία τοῦ θανάτου, διαφορὰ δὲ πολλῇ μεταξὺ τῶν δύο ὀδῶν.

2. Ἡ μὲν οὖν ὁδὸς τῆς ζωῆς ἐστὶ οὕτω. πρῶτον ἁγαπήσεις τὸν θεὸν τὸν ποιήσαντά σε, δεύτερον τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν πάντα δὲ ὅσα ἕαν θελήσῃς μὴ γίνεσθαι σοι, καὶ σὺ ἄλλῳ μὴ πολει.

3. Τούτων δὲ τῶν λόγων ἡ διδαχὴ ἐστὶν οὕτω: εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς καταρωμένους ὑμῖν καὶ προσεύχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὑμῶν, γηστεύετε δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν διωκόντων ὑμᾶς· ποια γὰρ χάρις, ἐὰν ἁγιάστε τοὺς ἁγιάζοντας ὑμᾶς; οὐχὶ καὶ τὰ ἔθνη τὸ αὐτὸ ποιοῦσιν; ὑμεῖς δὲ ἁγιάστε τοὺς μισοῦντας ὑμᾶς, καὶ οὐχ ἔξετε ἐχθρόν. 4. ἀπέχου τῶν σαρκικῶν καὶ σωματικῶν ἐπιθυμίων· ἐὰν τίς
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.

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." 1

3. Now, the teaching of these words is this: "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.
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Mt. 5, 39 48 σοι δῷ ράπτωσα εἰς τὴν δεξιὰν σιαγόνα, στρέψον
Mt. 5, 41. 40 αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην, καὶ ἑσὶ τελείος· εὰν ἀγα-
Luke 6, 30 ρεύσῃ σὲ τις μίλιον ἐν, ὑπαγε μετ’ αὐτοῦ δύο· εὰν
Luke 6, 30 ἀρη τις τὸ ἱματίων σου, δῶς αὐτῷ καὶ τὸν χιτῶνα·
Mt. 5, 26 εὰν λάβῃ τις ἀπὸ σου τὸ σόν, μὴ ἀπαίτει· οὐδὲ
γὰρ δύνασαι. 5. παντὶ τῷ αἰτούντι σε δίδου καὶ
μὴ ἀπαίτει· πᾶσι γὰρ θέλει δίδοσθαι ὁ πατὴρ ἐκ
tῶν ἰδίων χαρισμάτων. μακάριος ὁ διδοὺς κατὰ
tὴν ἐντολήν· ἀθῶος γὰρ ἐστιν. οὐαὶ τῷ λαμβά-
νοντι· εἰ μὲν γὰρ χρείαν ἔχων λαμβάνει τις, ἀθῶος
ἐσται· ὁ δὲ μὴ χρείαν ἔχων δώσει δίκην, ἵνα
ἐλαβε καὶ εἰς τῇ ἐν συνοχῇ δὲ γενόμενος ἔξετασ-
θῇ εἰπεῖν περὶ διν ἐπραξε, καὶ οὐκ ἔξελεύσεται
ἐκεῖθεν, μέχρις οὐ ἀποδῇ τὸν ἔσχατον κοδράντην.
6. ἄλλα καὶ περὶ τούτου δὲ εἰρηταὶ Ἰδρῳσάτω ἡ
ἐλεημοσύνη σου εἰς τὰς χειρᾶς σου, μέχρις ἄν
γνῶς, τίνι δῖς.

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

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.).
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 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 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 γεννηθέν αποκτενεῖς, ούκ ἐπιθυμήσεις τὰ τοῦ
πλησίον. 3. ο daß ἐπισκόπησεις, οὐ ψευδομαρτυρή-
σεις, οὐ κακολογήσεις, οὐ μνησικακήσεις. 4. ο daß
ἐσθε δυνάμων οὐδὲ διψάσσος· παγίς γὰρ
θανάτῳ ἡ δυσλογία. 5. ο daß ἔσται ὁ λόγος σου
ψευδῆς, οὐ κενός, ἀλλὰ μεμετωμένος πράξει.
6. ο daß ἔσθη πλεονέκτης οὐδὲ ἄρπαξ οὐδὲ ὑποκριτῆς
οὐδὲ κακοήθης οὐδὲ ὑπερήφανος. οὐ λήψῃ βου-
λήν πονηρὰν κατὰ τοῦ πλησίον σου. 7. ο daß
μισήσεις πάντα ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλὰ οὐς μὲν ἐλέγξεις,
περὶ δὲ σὺν προσεύξῃ, οὐς δὲ ἁγιαπήσεις ὑπὲρ τὴν
ψυχήν σου.

III

1. Τέκνου μου, φεύγε ἀπὸ παντὸς πονηροῦ καὶ
ἀπὸ παντὸς ὁμοίου αὐτοῦ. 2. μὴ γίνου ὅργιλος,
όδηγε διὰ ἡ ὅργῃ πρὸς τὸν φόνον, μηδὲ κηλω-
τὴς μηδὲ ἐριστικὸς μηδὲ θυμικὸς· ἐκ γὰρ τοῦτον
ἀπάντων φόνοι γεννώνται. 3. τέκνου μου, μὴ
γίνου ἐπιθυμητής, οδηγεὶς γὰρ ἡ ἐπιθυμία πρὸς
τὴν πορνείαν, μηδὲ αἰσχρολόγος μηδὲ ὑψηλοφ-
θαλμός· ἐκ γὰρ τοῦτων ἀπάντων μουχεῖαι γεν-
νώνται. 4. τέκνου μου, μὴ γίνου ὄλωνοψκόπος,
ἐπειδὴ οδηγεῖς εἰς τὴν εἴδωλολατρίαν, μηδὲ ἐπαοι-
δὸς μηδὲ μαθηματικὸς μηδὲ περικαθαλρων, μηδὲ
θέλε αὐτὰ βλέπεις· ἐκ γὰρ τοῦτον ἀπάντων εἴδωλο-
λατρία γεννᾶται. 5. τέκνου μου, μὴ γίνου ψεύστης,
ἐπειδὴ οδηγεῖ τὸ ψεύσμα εἰς τὴν κλοπήν, μηδὲ
φιλάργυρος μηδὲ κενόδοχος· ἐκ γὰρ τοῦτων ἀπάν-

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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

¹ On the ground of a comparison with Jude 22 f. etc., some think that "and some thou shalt pity" ought to be added.

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των κλοπαι γεννώνται. 6. τέκνου μου, μη γίνου γόγγυμος, ἐπειδὴ ὤδηγεὶ εἰς τὴν βλασφημίαν, μηδὲ αὐθάδης μηδὲ πονηρόφρων· ἐκ γὰρ τούτων ἀπάντων βλασφημία γεννώνται. 7. ἵσθι δὲ πραῦς, ἐπεὶ οἱ πραεῖς κληρονομήσουσι τὴν γῆν. 8. γίνω μακρόθυμος καὶ ἐλεήμων καὶ ἄκακος καὶ ἁσυχος καὶ ἁγαθὸς καὶ τρέμω μιᾷ λόγους διὰ παντός, οὐς ἥκουσας. 9. οὐχ ὑψώσεις σεαυτὸν οὔτε δώσεις τῇ ψυχῇ σου θράσος. οὐ κολληθήσεται ἤ ψυχή σου μετὰ ψυχῆς, ἀλλὰ μετὰ δικαίων καὶ ταπεινῶν ἀναστραφής. 10. τὰ συμβαίνοντα σοι ἐνεργήματα ὡς ἁγαθὰ προσδέξῃ, εἰδὼς ὅτι ἀτέρ θεοῦ οὔτε ἡγεῖται.

IV

1. Τέκνου μου, τοῦ λαλοῦντός σοι τῶν λόγων τοῦ θεοῦ μυστήρια νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας, τιμήσεις δὲ αὐτῶν ὡς κύριον ᾤθεν γὰρ ἡ κυριότης λαλεῖται, ἐκεῖ κύριος ἐστὶν. 2. ἐκζητήσεις δὲ καθ’ ἡμέραν τὰ πρόσωπα τῶν ἀγίων, ἵνα ἐπαναπαθής τοῖς λόγοις αὐτῶν. 3. οὐ ποθήσεις σχίσμα, εἰρηνεύσεις δὲ μαχομένους· κρίνεις δικαίως, οὐ λήψῃ πρόσωπων ἐλέγξαι ἐπὶ παραπτώμασιν. 4. οὐ διψυχής, πότερον ἐσται ὡς οὐ. 5. Μη γίνων πρὸς μὲν τὸ λαβεῖν ἐκτείνων τὰς χεῖρας, πρὸς δὲ τὸ δοῦναι συστῶν. 6. εἰσὶν ἐχθρ[1] The editors usually emend to ποθήσεις "make."

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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 reproving transgression. 4. Thou shalt not be of two minds whether it shall be or not.

5. Be not one who stretches out his hands to receive, but shuts them when it comes to giving. 6. Of
διὰ τῶν χειρῶν σου, δόσεις λύτρωσιν ἀμαρτίῶν σου. 7. οὗ διστάσεις δοῦναι οὐδὲ διδοὺς γογγύσεις· γυνάγη γάρ, τίς εἶστιν ὁ τοῦ μισθοῦ καλὸς ἀνταποδότης. 8. οὐκ ἀποστραφήσῃ τὸν ἐνδέομενον, συγκοινωνίσεις δὲ πάντα τῷ ἀδελφῷ σοῦ καὶ οὐκ ἔρεις ἰδίᾳ εἶναι· εἴ γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἀδανάτῳ κοινωνοί ἔστε, πόσῳ μᾶλλον ἐν τοῖς θυγατεῖς.

9. Οὐκ ἀρείς τὴν χείρα σου ἀπὸ τοῦ νιὸν σου ἢ ἀπὸ τῆς θυγατρῶς σου, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ νεότητος διδάξεις τὸν φόβον τοῦ θεοῦ. 10. οὐκ ἑπιτάξεις δούλων σου ἡ παιδίσκη, τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν θεῖν ἐλπίζουσιν, ἐν πικρία σου, μήποτε οὐ μὴ φοβηθῇσονται τὸν ἐπὶ ἀμφοτέρους θεοῖς· οὐ γὰρ ἔρχεται κατὰ πρόσωπον καλέσαι, ἀλλʼ ἐφʼ οὗσ τὸ πνεῦμα ἡτοίμασεν. 11. ὑμεῖς δὲ οἱ δούλοι ὑποταγήσεσθε τοῖς κυρίοις ὑμῶν ὡς τύπῳ θεοῦ ἐν αἰσχύνῃ καὶ φόβῳ.


V

1. Ἡ δὲ τοῦ θανάτου ὁδὸς ἔστιν αὕτη· πρῶτον πάντων ποιηρᾶ ἔστι καὶ κατάρας μεστῆ· φόνοι, μοιχεῖαι, ἐπιθυμίαι, πορνεῖαι, κλοπαί, εἰδωλο-

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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 Household duties 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 Against hypocrisy 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 The Way wicked and full of cursing, murders, adulteries, lusts, fornications, thefts, idolatries, witchcrafts, charms,
λατρεία, μαγεῖα, φαρμακία, ἀρταγαί, ψευδο-
μαρτυρία, ὑποκρίσεις, διπλοκαρδία, δόλος, ὑπερη-
φανία, κακία, αὐθάδεια, πλεονεξία, αἰσχρολογία,
ξηλοτυπία, θρασύτης, ύψος, ἀλαζονεία. 2. διώκ-
ται ἄγαθῶν, μισοῦντες ἀλήθειαν, ἄγαπώντες
ψεύδος, οὐ γινώσκοντες μισθὸν δικαιοσύνης, οὐ
κολλώμενοι ἄγαθῶ συδὲ κρίσει δικαία, ἀγρυπ-
νούντες οὐκ εἰς τὸ ἄγαθόν, ἀλλ' εἰς τὸ ποιηρόν:
διώμαν πραύτης καὶ ὑπομονή, μάταια ἄγα-
πώντες, διώκοντες ἀνταπόδομα, οὐκ ἐλεοῦντες
πτωχον, οὐ πανοῦντες ἐπὶ καταπονομένω, οὐ
γινώσκοντες τὸν ποιήσαντα αὐτοὺς, φονεῖς τέκνων,
φθορεῖς πλάσματος θεοῦ, ἀποστρέφομεν τὸν
ἐνδεόμενυ, καταπονοῦντες τὸν θλῆμον, πλου-
σίων παράκλητοι, πενήτων ἄνοιμοι κριταί,
pανθαμάρτητοι ὑσθελήτε, τέκνα, ἀπὸ τούτων
ἀπάντων.

VI

Mt. 24, 4

1. "Ορα, μὴ τίς σε πλανήσῃ ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς
ὁδοῦ τῆς διδαχῆς, ἐπεὶ παρεκτὸς θεοῦ σε διδάσκει.
2. εἰ μὲν γάρ δύνασαι βάστασαι ὅλον τὸν ζυγὸν
τοῦ κυρίου, τέλειος ἔσση; εἰ δὲ οὐ δύνασαι, ὃ δύνῃ,
tοῦτο ποίει. 3. περὶ δὲ τῆς βρώσεως, ὃ δύνασαι
βάστασον ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ εἰδωλοθυτοῦ λίαν πρόσεχε;
λατρεία γάρ ἐστι θεῶν νεκρῶν.

VII

1. Περὶ δὲ τοῦ βαπτίσματος, οὕτω βαπτίσατε:
tαῦτα πάντα προεπόντες, βαπτίσατε εἰς τὸ
Mt. 28, 19

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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 Final 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 Food, and what thou canst, but keep strictly from that which is offered to idols, for it is the worship of dead gods.

VII

1. CONCERNING baptism, baptise thus: Having first Baptism rehearsed all these things, "baptise, in the Name of
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δόνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ νιόυ καὶ τοῦ ἅγιου πνεύματος ἐν ὑδατί ζῷντι. 2. ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἔχεις ὑδώρ ζῶν, εἰς ἄλλο ὑδώρ βάπτισθων· εἰ δ’ οὐ δύνασαι ἐν ψυχρῷ, ἐν θερμῷ. 3. ἐὰν δὲ ἀμφότερα μὴ ἔχεις, ἔκχειν εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν τρῖς ὑδώρ εἰς δόνομα πατρὸς καὶ νιόυ καὶ ἅγιου πνεύματος.

4. πρὸ δὲ τοῦ βαπτίσματος προσέστησάτω ὁ βαπτίζων καὶ ὁ βαπτιζόμενος καὶ εἰ τῆς ἄλλης δύνανται κελεύεις δὲ νηστεύσαι τὸν βαπτιζόμενον πρὸ μιᾶς ἡ δύο.

VIII

Mt. 6, 16

1. Αἱ δὲ νηστεύαι ἤμῶν μὴ ἔστωσαν μετὰ τῶν ὑποκριτῶν. νηστεύσουσι γὰρ δευτέρα σαββάτων καὶ πέμπτης ὑμεῖς δὲ νηστεύσατε τετράδα καὶ παρασκευῆς.

Mt. 6, 5

2. μηδὲ προσεύχεσθε ὡς οἱ υποκριταὶ, ἀλλ’ ὡς εκέλευσεν ὁ κύριος ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ αὐτοῦ, οὕτω προσεύχεσθε. Πάτερ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τῷ ὕπαιθρῳ, ἀγιασθήτω τὸ ὄνομά σου, ἐλθέτω ἡ βασιλεία σου, γενηθήτω τὸ θέλημά σου ὡς ἐν ὑπαιθρῷ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς· τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον δὸς ἡμῖν σήμερον, καὶ ἄφες ἡμῖν τὴν ὁφειλήματι ἡμῶν, ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφίεμεν τοῖς ὁφειλέταις ἡμῶν, καὶ μηδὲ εἰσενέγκης ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμόν, ἀλλὰ ῥῦσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ· ὅτι σοῦ ἔστω ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. 3. τρίς τῆς ἡμέρας οὕτω προσεύχεσθε.
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 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 daily 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 ἐπιοδοσίαν, 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 τὴς εὐχαριστίας, οὕτως εὐχαριστήσατε. 2. πρῶτον περὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου. 1 Εὐχαριστοῦμεν σοι, πάτερ ἡμῶν, ὑπὲρ τῆς ἁγίας ἅμπελου Δαυείδ τοῦ παιδός σου, ἡς ἑγνώρισας ἡμῖν διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδός σου· σοι ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. 3. περὶ δὲ τοῦ κλάσματος. Εὐχαριστοῦμεν σοι, πάτερ ἡμῶν, ὑπὲρ τῆς ζωῆς καὶ ἴμωσέως, ἡς ἑγνώρισας ἡμῖν διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδός σου· σοι ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. 4. ὁσπερ ἦν τοῦτο τὸ 2 κλάσμα διεσκορπισμένον ἐπίνω τῶν ὅρεων καὶ συναχθὲν ἐγένετο ἐν, οὕτω συναχθῆτω σοι ἡ ἐκκλησία ἀπὸ τῶν περάτων τῆς γῆς εἰς τὴν σήν βασιλείαν. διά σοῦ ἑστιν ἡ δόξα καὶ ἡ δύναμις διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. 5. μηδεὶς δὲ φαγέτω μηδὲ πίετω ἀπὸ τῆς εὐχαριστίας ὑμῶν, ἀλλ’ οἱ βαπτισθέντες εἰς ὄνομα κυρίου· καὶ γὰρ περὶ τοῦτον εἴρηκεν ὁ κύριος. Μὴ δώτε τὸ ἀγιόν τοῖς κυσί.

X

1. Μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἐμπλησθῆναι οὕτως εὐχαριστήσατε. 2. Εὐχαριστοῦμεν σοι, πάτερ ἁγίε, ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἁγίου ὅνοματος σου, οὐ κατεσκήνωσας ἐν ταῖς

1 It is noteworthy that this order “first the Cup” is only found elsewhere in the earliest text of Lc. 22, 17ff. (which omits v. 20) and perhaps in I. Cor. 10, 16.

2 τὸ om. C.

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THE DIDACHE, IX. i–x. 2

IX

1. And concerning the Eucharist, hold1 Eucharist thus: 2. First concerning the Cup, “We give thanks to thee, our Father, for the Holy Vine of David thy 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, 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 in the for thy Holy Name which thou didst make to taber-

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 ἐὐχαριστία is here quite clearly “Eucharist” (cf. v. 5).
THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

καρδίας ἡμῶν, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς γνώσεως καὶ πίστεως καὶ ἀθανασίας, ἢς ἐγνώρισας ἡμῖν διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδὸς σου. σοι ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἴώνας. 3. σὺ, δέσποτα παντοκράτωρ, ἐκτίσας τὰ πάντα ἐνεκεν τοῦ ὄνομας σου, τροφῆν τε καὶ ποτὸν ἐδώκας τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εἰς ἀπόλαυσιν, ἵνα σοι εὐχαριστήσωσιν, ἡμῖν δὲ ἐχαρίσω πνευματικὴν τροφήν καὶ ποτὸν καὶ ἥξων αἰώνιον διὰ τοῦ παιδὸς σου. 4. πρὸ πάντων εὐχαριστοῦμεν σοι, ὅτι δυνάτος εἰς σοι ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰώνας. 5. μην ἔσκνηται, κύριε, τῆς ἐκκλησίας σου, τοῦ ῥύσασθαι αὐτὴν ἀπὸ παντὸς πονηροῦ καὶ τελείωσαι αὐτὴν ἐν τῇ ἀγάπῃ σου, καὶ σύναξον αὐτὴν ἀπὸ τῶν τεσσάρων ἀνέμων, τὴν ἀγιασθέαν, εἰς τὴν σὴν βασιλείαν, ἵν ἡτοίμασας αὐτήν ὅτι σοῦ ἔστιν ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰώνας. 6. ἐλθέτω χάρις καὶ παρελθέτω ὁ κόσμος οὗτος. Ὁσαννὰ τῷ θεῷ Δαυείδ. εἷς τὸ ἄγιος ἔστιν, ἐρχέσθω εἷς τίς ὁ οὐκ ἔστι, μετανοεῖτω, μαρὰν ἀθῷ ἀμήν. 7. τοῖς δὲ προφήταις ἐπιτρέπετε εὐχαριστεῖν ὅσα θέλοντως.

XI

1. "Ὁσ ἂν οὖν ἐλθὼν διδάξῃ ὑμᾶς ταύτα πάντα τὰ προειρημένα, δέξασθε αὐτὸν. 2. ἐὰν δὲ αὐτὸς ὁ διδάσκων στραφεῖς διδάσκῃ ἀλλήν διδαχὴν εἰς τὸ καταλύσαι, μὴ αὐτοῦ ἀκούσῃ τε εἰς δὲ τὸ προσθεῖται δικαιοσύνην καὶ γνῶσιν κυρίου, δέξασθε αὐτὸν ὡς κύριον.

1 Ο reads σό which is a common mistake for σοι, but Harnack prefers to emend to δτι δυνατὸς εἰς σοι σοι κ.τ.λ.

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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.
3. Περὶ δὲ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ προφητῶν, κατὰ τὸ δόγμα τοῦ εὐαγγελίου οὕτω ποιῆσατε. 4. πᾶς δὲ ἀπόστολος ἐρχόμενος πρὸς ὑμᾶς δεχθῆτω ὡς κύριος. 5. οὗ μενεὶ δὲ εἰ μὴ ἡμέραι μίαν ἕαν δὲ ἦ ἤχεια, καὶ τὴν ἄλλην τρεῖς δὲ ἕαν μείνῃ, ψευδοπροφήτης ἐστὶν. 6. ἔρχομενος δὲ ὁ ἀπόστολος μηδὲν λαμβανέτω εἰ μὴ ἄρτον, ἐως οὗ αὐλισθῇ ἕαν δὲ ἀργύριον αὐτῷ, ψευδοπροφήτης ἐστὶ.

7. Καὶ πάντα προφήτην λαλοῦντα ἐν πνεύματι οὐ πειράσετε οὔδε διακρίνετε, πάσα γὰρ ἀμαρτία ἀφεθήσεται, αὕτη δὲ ἡ ἀμαρτία οὐκ ἀφεθήσεται. 8. οὗ πᾶς δὲ ὁ λαλῶν ἐν πνεύματι προφητείας ἐστίν, ἀλλ’ ἕαν ἔχῃ τοὺς τρόπους κυρίου. ἀπὸ οὗ τῶν τρόπων γνωσθῆσεται ὁ ψευδοπροφήτης καὶ ὁ προφήτης. 9. καὶ πᾶς προφήτης ὀρίζει τότε τρίπεραν ἐν πνεύματι οὐ φάγεται ἀπ’ αὐτῆς, εἰ δὲ μὴ γε ψευδοπροφήτης ἐστί. 10. πᾶς δὲ προφήτης διδάσκων τὴν ἀλήθειαν, εἰ δ’ διδάσκει οὐ ποιεῖ, ψευδοπροφήτης ἐστί. 11. πᾶς δὲ προφήτης διδακτικὸς, ἀληθινὸς, τοιῶν εἰς μυστήριον κοσμικὴν ἔκκλησιας, μὴ διδάσκων δὲ ποιεῖν, ὅσα αὐτὸς ποιεῖ, οὐ κρίθησεται ἐφ’ ὑμῶν: μετὰ θεοῦ γὰρ ἔχει τὴν κρίσιν ὥσαντος γὰρ ἐποίησαν καὶ οἱ ἀρχαίοι προφήται. 12. ὅς δ’ ἂν εἰπῇ ἐν πνεύματι δός μοι ἀργύρια ἢ ἔτερα τινα, οὐκ ἀκούσεσθε αὐτοῦ. ἕαν δὲ περὶ ἄλλων ύπερούντων εἰπῇ δοῦναι, μηδεὶς αὐτὸν κρίνετο.

1 εἰ μὴ are omitted by C, but xii. 2 seems to make the correction quite certain.
3. And concerning the Apostles and Prophets, act thus according to the ordinance of the Gospel.¹

4. Let every Apostle who comes to you be received as the Lord, 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 speaking 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
dechθήτω· ἔπειτα ἐὰν δοκιμάσαντες αὐτὸν γνώσεσθε, σύνεσιν γάρ ἔξετε δεξιὰν καὶ ἀριστεράν. 2. εἰ μὲν παρὸδιος ἔστω ὁ ἐρχόμενος, βοηθεῖτε αὐτῷ, ὡς ἴσως σήμερον μὲν ἄν, ἄναγκη. 3. εἰ δὲ θέλει πρὸς ὑμᾶς καθήσθαι, τελευτήτερον ὃν, ἐργαζόμενον καὶ φαγότω. 4. εἰ δὲ οὐκ ἕξει τέχνην, κατὰ τὴν σύνεσιν ὑμῶν προσέκοψτε, πῶς μὴ ἄργος μεθ’ ὑμῶν ἐξελεῖται Χριστιανός. 5. εἰ δ’ οὐ θέλει οὕτω ποιεῖν, χριστέμπορός ἐστιν προσέχετε ἀπὸ τῶν τοιοῦτων.

XIII

Mt. 10, 10;
cf. Luke 10, 7;
I Cor. 9, 18, 14; I Tim. 5, 17, 18
1. Πᾶς δὲ προφήτης ἀληθινὸς θέλων καθήσθαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἀξίος ἐστὶ τῆς τροφῆς αὐτοῦ. 2. ὡσαυτῶς διδάσκαλος ἀληθινός ἐστιν ἄξιος καὶ αὐτὸς ὀσπερ ὁ ἐργάτης τῆς τροφῆς αὐτοῦ. 3. τάσαν οὖν ἀπαρχὴν γεννημάτων ληφὼν καὶ ἄλωνος, βοῶν τε καὶ προβάτων λαβὼν δώσεις τὴν ἀπαρχὴν τοὺς προφήτας· αὐτὸς γὰρ εἰσὶν οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς ὑμῶν. 4. εὰν δὲ μὴ ἔχετε προφήτην, δότε τοῖς πτωχοῖς. 5. εὰν συτίαν ποιήσῃ, τὴν ἀπαρχὴν λαβῶν δὸς κατὰ τὴν ἐντολὴν. 6. ὡσαυτῶς κεράμιον οὖν ἡ ἐλαίαν ἀνοίξας, τὴν ἀπαρχὴν λαβῶν δὸς τοῖς προφήταις. 7. ἀργυρίον δὲ καὶ ἰματισμοῦ καὶ παντὸς κτήματος λαβῶν τὴν ἀπαρχὴν, ὡς ἂν σοὶ δόξῃ, δὸς κατὰ τὴν ἐντολὴν.

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THE DIDACHE, XII. I–XIII. 7

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.

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.

1 Literally, “right and left understanding.”
THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

XIV

1. Κατὰ κυριακῆν δὲ κυρίου συναχθέντες κλάσατε ἁρτον καὶ εὐχαριστήσατε, προσεξομολογη- 
σάμενοι τὰ παραπτώματα ὑμῶν, ὅπως καθαρὰ ἡ 
θυσία ὑμῶν. 2. πᾶς δὲ ἔχων τὴν ἀμφιβολίαν 
μετὰ τοῦ ἐταίρου αὐτοῦ μὴ συνελθέτω ὑμῶν, ἐως 
ὅτι διαλλαγῶσιν, ἕνα μὴ κοινωθῇ ἡ θυσία ὑμῶν. 
3. αὐτὴ γὰρ ἔστιν ἡ ῥηθεῖσα ὑπὸ κυρίου: 'Εν 
παντὶ τόπῳ καὶ χρόνῳ προσφέρειν μοι θυσίαν κα-
θαρὰν. ὦτι βασιλεὺς μέγας εἰμὶ, λέγει κύριος, καὶ 
τὸ ὅνομά μου βασιλεύσετο ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν.

XV

1. Χειροτονήσατε οὖν ἐαυτοῖς ἐπισκόπους καὶ 
διακόνους ἁξίους τοῦ κυρίου, ἄνδρας πραεῖς καὶ 
ἀφιλαργύρους καὶ ἀληθεῖς καὶ δεδοκιμασμένους 
ὑμῶν γὰρ λειτουργούσι καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν λειτουργίαν 
τῶν προφητῶν καὶ διδασκάλων. 2. μὴ οὖν 
ὑπερίδητε αὐτούς: αὐτοὶ γὰρ εἰσίν οἱ τετιμημένοι 
ὑμῶν μετὰ τῶν προφητῶν καὶ διδασκάλων. 
3. 'Ελέγχετε δὲ ἀλλήλους μη ἐν ὀργῇ, ἀλλ' ἐν 
εἰρήνῃ ὡς ἔχετε ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ καὶ παντὶ 
ἀστοχοῦντε κατὰ τοῦ ἐτέρου μηδὲς λαλεῖτω μηδὲ 
παρ' ὑμῶν ἀκούετο, ἐως οὐ μετανοήσῃ. 4. τὰς 
τὰς εὐχὰς ὑμῶν καὶ τὰς ἐλεημοσύνας καὶ πάσας τὰς 
πράξεις οὕτω ποιήσατε, ὡς ἔχετε ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ 
τοῦ κυρίου ὑμῶν.

1 προσεξομολογησάμενοι. O. 2 ὑμῶν O.
XIV

1. On the Lord's Day of the Lord come together, break bread and hold Eucharist, after confessing your transgressions that your offering may be pure; 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 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 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.
1. Γρηγορείτε ύπερ τῆς ζωῆς ὑμῶν· οἱ λύχνοι ὑμῶν μη σβεσθήτωσαν, καὶ αἱ ὀσφύες ὑμῶν μη ἐκλυνεθῶσαν, ἀλλὰ γίνεσθε ἐτοιμοὶ οὐ γὰρ οἴδατε τὴν ὁραν, ἐν ἦ δὲ κύριος ὑμῶν ἔρχεται. 2. πυκνῶς δὲ συναγχήσεσθε ξητοῖντες τἀ ἀνήκοντα ταῖς ψυχαῖς ὑμῶν· οὐ γὰρ ὁφελήσει ὑμᾶς ὁ πᾶς χρόνος τῆς πίστεως ὑμῶν, ἵνα μὴ ἐν τῷ ἐσχάτῳ καρφῷ τελειωθῇ. 3. ἐν γὰρ ταῖς ἐσχαταῖς ἡμέραις πληθυνθήσονται οἱ ἰενοδοπροφῆται καὶ οἱ φθορεῖς, καὶ στραφήσονται τὰ πρόβατα εἰς λύκους, καὶ ἡ ἀγάπη στραφήσεται εἰς μίσος. 4. αὐξανοῦσης γὰρ τῆς ἀνομίας μισήσουσιν ἀλλήλους καὶ διαξουσι καὶ παραδώσουσι, καὶ τότε φανήσεται ὁ κοσμοπλανὴς ὡς νῖκος θεοῦ, καὶ ποιήσει σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα, καὶ ἡ γῆ παραδοθήσεται εἰς χείρας αὐτοῦ, καὶ ποιήσει ἅβεμιτα, ἀ οὐδέποτε γέγονεν εἰς αἰῶνας. 5. τότε ἢξει ἡ κτίσις τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰς τὴν πύρωσιν τῆς δοκιμασίας, καὶ σκανδαλισθήσονται πολλοὶ καὶ ἀπολούνται, 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, εἰτα σημεῖον φωνῆς σάλπιγγος, καὶ τὸ τρίτον ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν. 7. οὐ πάντων δὲ, ἀλλ’ ὡς ἐρρέθη· Ἡξει ο κύριος καὶ πάντες οἱ ἁγιοὶ μετ’ αὐτοῦ. 8. τότε ὀψεται ὁ κόσμος τὰς ἀναμνήσιμον 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. 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
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exact manner in which the number of the ten Em-
perors 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 de-
cended 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.
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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:—

\( \mathfrak{S} \) = Codex Sinaiticus.
C = Codex Constantinopolitanus.
G = the archetype of the eight Greek MSS.
L = the Latin version.
1. Χαίρετε, νῦν καὶ θυγατέρες, ἐν ὑνάματι κυρίου τοῦ ἀγαπήσαντος ἡμᾶς, ἐν εἰρήνῃ.

2. Μεγάλων μὲν ὅντων καὶ πλούσιων τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ δικαιωμάτων εἰς ὑμᾶς, ὑπέρ τι καὶ καθ᾽ ὑπερβολὴν ὑπερευφραίνομαι ἐπὶ τοῖς μακαρίοις καὶ ἐνδόξους ὑμῶν πνεύμασιν. οὕτως ἐμφυτοῦν τῆς δωρεᾶς πνευματικῆς χαρᾶς εἰλήφατε. 3. διὸ καὶ μᾶλλον συγχαίρω ἐμαυτῷ ἐλπίζων σωθῆναι, ὅτι ἁληθῶς βλέπω ἐν ὑμῖν ἐκκεχυμένον ἀπὸ τοῦ πλουσίου τῆς πηγῆς κυρίου πνεῦμα ἐφ᾽ ὑμᾶς. οὕτω με ἐξέπληξεν ἐπὶ ὑμῶν ἡ ἐμοὶ ἐπιτοθήτη ὡς ὑμῶν. 4. τεπεισμένος οὖν τοῦτο καὶ συνείδως ἐμαυτῷ, ὅτι ἐν ὑμῖν λαλήσας πολλὰ ἐπίσταμαι, ὅτι ἐμοὶ συνώδεσαν ἐν ὑμῖν δικαιοσύνης κύριος, καὶ πάντως ἀναγκάζομαι κἀγὼ εἰς τοῦτο, ἀγαπῶν ὑμᾶς ὑπὲρ τῆν ψυχῆν μου, ὅτι μεγάλη πίστις καὶ ἀγάπη ἑγκατοικεῖ ἐν ὑμῖν ἐπ᾽ ἐλπίδι ζωῆς αὐτοῦ.

5. λογισάμενος οὖν τοῦτο, ὅτι ἐὰν μελήση μοι περὶ ὑμῶν τοῦ μέρος τι μεταδοῦναι ἀφ᾽ οὗ ἔλαβον, ὅτι ἔσται μοι τοιούτως πνεύμασιν ὑπηρετήσαντι εἰς μισθόν, ἐσπούδασα κατὰ μικρὸν ὑμῖν πέμπτειν,

\[1\] οὕτως Λ, οὕτως Ν, ὁδὸς Ο.
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I

1. Hail, sons and daughters, in the name of the Lord who loved us, in peace.

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."

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 unicorn metà tis pisteos umon telleian exhte tin gnomosin.

6. Tiia ouv dogmatá estin kurion, xwris elptis, arxhe kai telen pisteos hymon kai dikaiosunh, krisew arxhe kai telen, agape eufrosynh kai agalliasew ergon dikaiosunh murtiria.  

7. Egnoriseun gar hymon de despotis dia tov proftwv ta paralelumhota kai ta evestota, kai tov melolontov douv aparchas hymn geusew, oin ta kath ekasta blenontes energeoumena, kathos elalhsen, ofeiloimen plousiosteron kai uphltereron prosagein tov phos auton.  

8. Engo de ouv xous, allx ois eis ex umon upodeilew oligna, de ou en tois parousin eufraenhsesebe.

II

1. Hemeron ouv ousoy poinhrw kai autov tov energeountos ekontos tis xousian, ofeiloimen eautois prosegontes ekhtein tis dikaiomata kurion.  

2. Tis ouv pisteos hymon ein sivn boethoi fwbos kai upomone, da se syrmachounta hymn makrothymia kai eugkratia.  

3. Toutrw ouv menonton tis pros kurion agnws, syneufrainonta  

1 The text of this whole passage is confused: tres sunt ergo constitutiones domini, vitae spec initium et consummatio L and no more; tiia ouv dogmatá estin kurion, xwris, plousis, elptis, arxhe kai telen hymon, kai dikaiosunh krisew arxhe, kai telen agape, eufrosynh, kai agalliasew ergon en dikaiosunais murtiria 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.

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your knowledge may be perfected along with your faith.

6. There are then three doctrines of the Lord: "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. 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."
αὐτοῖς σοφία, σύνεσις, ἐπιστήμη, γνῶσις. 4. πε-φανέρωκεν γὰρ ἡμῖν διὰ πάντων τῶν προφητῶν, ὅτε ὤντες θυσίων οὕτε ὀλοκαυτώματων οὕτε προσ-φορῶν χρήζει, λέγων ὅτε μέν. 5. Τί μοι πλήθος τῶν θυσιῶν ὑμῶν; λέγει κύριος. πλήρης εἰμὶ ὀλοκαυτώματος, καὶ στέαρ ἄρνων καὶ αἷμα ταύρων καὶ τράγων οὐ βούλομαι, οὐδὲ ἂν ἔρχησθε ὁφθηναι μοι. τίς γὰρ ἐξεζήτησεν ταύτα ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν ὑμῶν; πατεὶν μοι τὴν αὐλὴν ὑμῶν προσφήγησθέ. ἔαν φέρητε σεμίδαιν, μάταιον θυμίαμα βδέλυγμα μοί ἐστιν τὰς νεομηνίας ὑμῶν καὶ τὰ σάββατα ὅπως ἀνέχομαι. 6. ταύτα οὖν καθήργησεν, ὡς ὁ καινὸς νόμος τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἀνευ ἔγου ἀνάγκης σοι, μὴ ἀνθρωποποιήσω τὴν προσφοράν. 7. λέγει δὲ πάλιν πρὸς αὐτούς. Μὴ ἐγὼ ἐνετειλάμην τοῖς πατράσιν ὑμῶν ἐκπο-ρευόμενοι ἐκ γῆς Αλγύπτου, προσεκολάβα λοι ὀλοκαυτώματα καὶ θυσίαις; 8. ἀλλὰ οὗ τοῦτο ἐνετειλάμην αὐτοῖς. ἔκαστος ὑμῶν κατὰ τοῦ πλησίον ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ ἐαυτοῦ κακίαν μὴ μνησικα-κείτω, καὶ ὅρκους ψευδή μὴ ἀγαπᾶτε. 9. αἰσθά-νεσθαι οὐν ὁφείλομεν, μὴ ὅντες ἀσύνετοι, τὴν γνώμην τῆς ἀγαθοσύνης τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν, ὅτε ἡμῖν λέγει, θέλων ἡμᾶς μὴ ὀμοίως πλανομένους ἑκείνους ἁρτεῖν, πῶς προσάγωμεν αὐτῷ. 10. ἡμῶν οὖν, οὕτως λέγει. Θυσία τῷ κυρίῳ καρδία συντε-τριμένη, ὑσμὴ εὐωδίας τῷ κυρίῳ καρδία δοξά-ζουσα τῶν πεπλακότα αὐτήν. ἀκριβευσθαι οὖν ὁφείλομεν, ἀδελφοί, περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας ἡμῶν, ἐνα

1 τῷ κυρίῳ CL, τῷ θεῷ K (LXX).
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

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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μὴ ὁ πονηρὸς παρεῖσδυσιν πλάνης ποιήσας ἐν ἡμῖν ἐκφενδουήσῃ ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τῆς ζωῆς ἡμῶν.

III

1. Δέγει οὖν πάλιν περὶ τούτων πρὸς αὐτούς: Ἰνατί μοι νηστεύετε, λέγει κύριος, ὡς σήμερον ἀκουσθήσαι ἐν κραυγῇ τὴν φωνήν ὑμῶν; οὐ ταύτην τὴν νηστείαν ἐγὼ ἐξελέξαμη, λέγει κύριος, οὐκ ἀνθρωπον ταπεινοῦτα τὴν ψυχήν αὐτοῦ, 2. οὐδὲ ἀν κάμψητε ὡς κρίκον τὸν τράχηλον ὑμῶν καὶ σάκκον ἐνδύσησθε καὶ στοδόν ὑποστρώσητε, οὖδὲ οὖτως καλέσετε νηστείαν δεκτήν. 3. πρὸς ἡμᾶς δὲ λέγει: Ὅδοι αὐτή ἡ νηστεία, ἢν ἐγὼ ἐξελέξαμη, λέγει κύριος: λύε πάντα σύνδεσμον ἁδικίας, διάλυε στραγγαλαίας βιαίων συναλλαγμάτων, ἀπόστελλε τεθραυσμένους ἐν ἀφέσει καὶ πᾶσαι ἁδικοὶ συγγραφῆς διάστα. διάθρυππε τευνῳδὼς τὸν ἄρτον σου, καὶ γυμνὸν ἐὰν ἴδης περίβαλε· ἀστέγοις εἶναι εἰς τὸν οἴκον σου, καὶ ἐὰν ἴδης ταπεινῷ, οὐχ ὑπερόψη αὐτοῦ, οὐδὲ ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκείων τοῦ σπέρματός σου. 4. τότε βαγχσται πρώιμον τὸ φῶς σου, καὶ τὰ ἰμάτια ἱσσος ταχέως ἀνατελεῖ, καὶ προπορεύσται ἐμπροσθὲν σου ἡ δικαιοσύνη, καὶ ἡ δόξα τοῦ θεοῦ περιστελεῖ σε. 5. τότε βοήσεις, καὶ ὁ θεὸς ἐπακούσεσαι σου, ἕτελειον σου ἐρεῖ: Ὅδοι πάρειμι· ἐὰν ἀφέλης

1 ἰμάτια N* OL, ἱμάτια 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.
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
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ἀπὸ σοῦ σύνδεσμον καὶ χειροτονίαν καὶ ρήμα γογγυσμοῦ, καὶ δῶς πεινώντι τὸν ἄρτον σου ἐκ ψυχῆς σου καὶ ψυχὴν τεταπεινωμένην ἐλεήσῃ.

6. εἰς τούτο σὺν, ἀδελφοί, ὁ μακρόθυμος προβλέψας, ὡς ἐν ἀκεραιοσύνῃ πιστεύσει ὁ λαός, δι’ ἥτοιμασεν ἐν τῷ ἡγαπημένῳ αὐτοῦ, προεφανέρωσεν ἡμῖν περὶ πάντων, ἵνα μὴ προσρησάσομεθα ὡς ἐπήλυτοι τῷ ἐκείνων νόμῳ.

IV

1. Δεῖ σοι ἡμᾶς περὶ τῶν ἐνεστῶτων ἐπιτολῆς ἔραυνώντας εἰκότητες τὰ δυνάμενα ἡμᾶς σῶσειν. φύγωμεν οὖν τελείως ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἐργῶν τῆς ἁνομίας, μὴ ποτὲ καταλάβῃ ἡμᾶς τὰ ἐργα τῆς ἁνομίας· καὶ μισήσομεν τὴν πλάνην τοῦ νῦν καιροῦ, ἵνα εἰς τὸν μέλλοντα ἀγαπηθῶμεν. 2. μὴ δῶμεν τῇ ἑαυτῶν ψυχῇ ἀνεσίων, ὡς τε ἐχεῖν αὐτὴν ἔξοισιαν μετὰ ἀμαρτωλῶν καὶ πονηρῶν συντρέχειν, μὴ ποτὲ ὁμοιωθῶμεν αὐτῶις. 3. τὸ τέλειον σκάνδαλον ἡγιγμεν, περὶ οὐ γέγραπται, ὡς Ἐνωχ λέγει. Εἰς τούτο γὰρ ὁ δεσπότης συντέληκεν τοὺς καιρούς καὶ τὰς ἡμέρας, ἵνα ταχύνῃ ὁ ἡγαπημένος αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔπι τὴν κληρονομίαν ἡξη. 4. λέγει δὲ οὕτως καὶ ὁ προφήτης. Βασιλεῖαι δέκα ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς βασιλεύσουσιν, καὶ ἐξαναστήσεται ὁ πισθεὶς ὁ μικρὸς βασιλεὺς, διὰ ταπεινώσεις τρεῖς ὑφ’ ἐν τῶν βασιλέων. 5. ὁμοίως περὶ τοῦ

1 ἐπῆλυτοι Ν, προσῆλυτοι C, proselytae L; the use of the words in Philo suggests that they both mean proselytes, so that the evidence of L is ambiguous.

2 ἔραυνώντας Ν, ἰρευνώντας C.

3 ὅπισθεν CL, ὅπισθεν αὐτῶν Ν (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
Didache II, 7

1. οὐδὲν λέγει Δανιήλ· Καὶ εἶδον τὸ τέταρτον θηρίον τὸ πονηρὸν καὶ ἵσχυρὸν καὶ χαλεπώτερον παρὰ πάντα τὰ θηρία τῆς θαλάσσης, εἰς ὅσιος αὐτοῦ ἀνέτειλεν δήκα κέρατα, καὶ ἑξάκοντα μικρὸν κέρας παραφυάδιον, καὶ ὥστε ἐταπείνωσεν υφ’ ἐν τρία τῶν μεγάλων κέρατων. 2. οὐν οἴησαν οὐν ὁφείλετε. ἦτο δὲ καὶ τούτο ἐρωτῶ ὑμᾶς ὅσι ἐξ ἕξ ὑμῶν ὑμῶν, ἴδιος δὲ καὶ πάντας ἀγαπῶν ὑπὲρ την ψυχήν μου, προσέχειν υἱὸν ἔαυτος καὶ μὴ ὁμοιούσθαι τισιν ἐπισωρεύοντας ταῖς ἀμαρτίαις ὑμῶν λέγοντας, ὅτι ἡ διαθήκη ἐκείνων καὶ ἡμῶν. 7. ἡμῶν μὲν ἀλλ’ ἐκείνοις οὖν ὅσι τῆς ἀπώλεσον αὐτὴν λαβόντος ἡδὸν τοῦ Μωσέως. λέγει γὰρ ἡ γραφή· Καὶ ἢν Μωσῆς ἐν τῷ ὀρεί νηστεύων ἡμέρας τεσσαράκοντα καὶ νύκτας τεσσαράκοντα, καὶ ἐλάβεν τὴν διαθήκην ἀπὸ τοῦ κυρίου, πλάκας λιθίνοις γεγραμμένας τῷ δακτύλῳ τῆς χειρὸς τοῦ κυρίου. 8. ἀλλ’ ἐπιστραφέντες ἐπὶ τὰ εἰδώλα ἀπώλεσαν αὐτὴν. λέγει γὰρ οὕτως κύριος. Μωσῆς Μωσῆς, καταβηθὶ τὸ τάχος, ὅτι ἤνόμησεν ὁ λαὸς σου, οὗς ἐξήγγεις ἐκ γῆς Αιγύπτου, καὶ συνήκεν Μωσῆς καὶ ἔριψεν τὰς δύο πλάκας ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν αὐτοῦ· καὶ συνετριβή αὐτῶν ἡ διαθήκη, ἢν ἦν τοῦ ἡγαστημένου Ἰσραήλ ἐγκατασφραγισθῇ εἰς τὴν καρδίαν ἡμῶν ἐν ἑλπίδι τῆς πίστεως αὐτοῦ. 9. πολλά δὲ θέλων γράφειν, οὐχ ὡς διδάσκαλος, ἀλλ’ ὥσπερ αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ ὁμοίων οὐκ ἔχομεν μὴ ἐπιλείπειν, γράφειν ἐσπούδασα, περὶ ψηφιμά ὑμῶν. διὸ προσέχωμεν ἐν ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις· οὕδεν

Exod. 34, 28

Exod. 82, 16

Exod. 82, 7

Dent. 9, 12

1 θαλάσσης οὐ Ich, γῆς Ρ.
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.)

Wherefore let us pay heed in the last days, for the whole

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.
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Didache

xvi. 2

γὰρ ὁφελήσει ἡμᾶς ὁ πᾶς χρόνος τῆς πίστεως ἡμῶν, ἕαν μὴ γίνει ἐν τῷ ἀνόμῳ καιρῷ καὶ τοῖς μέλλουσιν σκανδάλους, ὅσ πρέπει νῦν ὁ θεός, ἀντιστῶμεν, ἵνα ὁ σχήμα παρείσδυσιν ὁ μέλας.

10. φύγωμεν ἀπὸ πάσης ματαιοτήτως, μησήσωμεν τελείως τὰ ἔργα τῆς πονηρᾶς ὁδοῦ. μὴ γάρ ἐαυτοῦς ἐνδύναντες μονάξετε ὡς ἢδη δεδικαιωμένοι, ἀλλ’ ἐπι τὸ αὐτὸ συνερχόμεθα συντίθειται περὶ τοῦ κοινῆ συμφέροντος. 11. λέγει γὰρ ἡ γραφὴ: Ὑπάλ οἱ συνετοὶ εὑρατοὶ καὶ ἐνώπιοι εὑράτων ἐπιστήμονες, γενόμεθα πνευματικοὶ, γενόμεθα ναὸς τέλειος τῷ θεῷ. ἐφ’ ὅσον ἐστὶν ἐν ἡμῖν, μελετῶμεν τὸν φόβον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ φυλάσσωμεν ἀγωνικόμεθα τὰ ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ, ἵνα ἐν τοῖς δικαιώμασιν αὐτοῦ εὐφρανθῶμεν. 12. ὁ κύριος ἀπροσωπολήμπτως κρίνει τὸν κόσμον. ἐκαστὸς καθὼς ἐποίησεν κομμεῖται. ἕαν ἡ ἁγαθός, ἡ δικαιοσύνη αὐτοῦ προηγήσεται αὐτοῦ· ἕαν ἡ πονηρός, ὁ μισθὸς τῆς πονηρίας ἐμπροσθεὶς αὐτοῦ. 13. ἵνα μὴ ποτε ἐπαναπαῦομενοι ὡς κλητοὶ ἐπικαθυντικῶς ὑποτικῶς τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν καὶ ὁ πονηρὸς ἀρχῶν λαβῶν τὴν καθ’ ἡμῶν ἑξουσίαν ἀπώστηται ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ κυρίου. 14. ἐτί δὲ κάκειν, ἀδελφοί μου, νοεῖτε· ὅταν βλέπετε μετὰ τηλικοῦτα σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα γεγονότα ἐν τῷ Ἰσραήλ, καὶ οὕτως ἐγκαταλελείφθαι αὐτοὺς: προσέχομεν, μὴ ποτε, ὡς γεγραπται, πολλοὶ κλητοὶ, δι’ αὐτοῦ δὲ ἐκκλεκτοὶ εὐφρανθῶμεν.

1 τῆς πίστεως ἡμῶν Ν, τῆς ζωῆς ἡμῶν C, vitae nostrae et fidei L.

2 ἵνα Ν, ἵνα οὖν C, ἵνα ... μέλας om. L.
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' 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."
1. Εἰς τούτο γὰρ ὑπέμεινεν ὁ κύριος παραδόθη- 
ναί τὴν σάρκα εἰς καταφθοράν, ἵνα τῇ ἀφέσει 
tῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἀγνισθῶμεν, ὃ ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ αἵματι 
tοῦ ἄνθρωπος αυτοῦ. 2. γέγραπται γὰρ 
περὶ αὐτοῦ ἄρ᾽ ἐν πρὸς τὸν Ἰσραήλ, ἀν 
δὲ πρὸς 

1. Ἰσ. 55, 5. 7

Prov. 1, 17

Gen. 1, 26

II Tim. 1, 10

I Tim. 8, 10
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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υπέμεινεν, 7. ἵνα τούς πατράσιν τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν ἀποδῷ, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐαυτῷ τὸν λαὸν τὸν καίνου ἐτοιμάζων ἐπιδείξῃ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ὧν, ὅτι τῇ ἀνάστασιν αὐτός ποιήσας κρινεῖ. 8. πέρας γέ τοι διδάσκων τὸν Ἰσραήλ καὶ τηλικαίτα τέρατα καὶ σημεία ποιῶν ἐκήρυσσεν, καὶ ὑπερηφάνησεν αὐτῶν. 9. ὅτε δὲ τῶν ἰδίων ἀποστόλων τοὺς μέλλοντας κηρύσσειν τὸ εὐαγγέλιον αὐτοῦ ἔξελέξατο, ὅταν ὑπὲρ πάσαν ἀμαρτίαν ἀνομωτέρους, ἴνα δείξῃ, ὅτι οὐκ ἦλθεν καλέσαι δικαίους, ἀλλὰ ἀμαρτώλους, τότε ἐφανέρωσεν ἑαυτὸν εἶναι νῦν θεοῦ. 10. εἰ γὰρ μὴ ἦλθεν ἐν σαρκὶ, οὐδ' ἂν πῶς οἱ ἀνθρωποὶ ἐσώθησαν βλέποντες αὐτόν, ὅτε τὸν μέλλοντα μὴ εἶναι ἦλθον, ἔρχον τῶν χειρῶν αὐτοῦ ὑπάρχοντα, ἐμβλέποντες οὐκ ἱσχύοντοι εἰς τὰς ἀκτίνας αὐτοῦ ἀντοφθαλμήσαι; 11. οὐκοῦν οὐ νῦν τῷ θεῷ εἰς τοῦτο ἐν σαρκὶ ἦλθεν, ἓν τὸ τέλειον τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν ἀνακεφαλαίωση τοῖς διόξασιν ἐν θανάτῳ τοὺς προφήτας αὐτῶν. 12. οὐκοῦν εἰς τοῦτο ὑπέμεινεν. Λέγει γὰρ ὁ θεὸς τὴν πληγὴν τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ ὅτι ἐξ αὐτῶν "Ọςαν πατάξωσιν τὸν ποιμένα ἑαυτῶν, τότε ἀπολεῖται τὰ πρόβατα τῆς ποίμνης. 13. αὐτὸς δὲ ἠθέλησεν οὕτω παθεῖν· ἐδει γὰρ, ἵνα ἐπὶ ξύλον πάθη. Λέγει γὰρ ὁ προφητεύων ἐπὶ αὐτῷ. Φείσαι μοι τῆς ψυχῆς ἀπὸ ῥομφαλᾶς, καὶ Καθίλωσόν μου τὰς σάρκας, ὅτι πονηρευομένων συναγωγαὶ ἐπανεστησάν μοι. 14. καὶ πάλιν λέγει: Ἰδοὺ, τέθεικα μοι τὸν νότον εἰς μάστιγας, τὰς δὲ σιγώνας εἰς ῥαπίσματα. τὸ δὲ πρόσωπόν μου ἐθηκα ὡς στερεάν πέτραν.

1 οὐδ' ἂν πῶς Ν, οὐδ' ἂν C, πῶς ἂν GL.

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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."
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VI

Is. 50, 8, 9

1. "Οτε οὖν ἐποίησεν τὴν ἐντολήν, τيبة λέγει; Τίς ὁ κρινόμενος μοι; ἀντιστήτω μοι ἢ τίς ὁ δικαιού-
μενός μοι; ἐγγισάτω τῷ παιδὶ κυρίου. 2. οὐαὶ υἱῶν
ὅτι υἱῶν πάντας ὅσι εἰμάτιον πάλαιωθήσεσθε, καὶ
σής καταφάγεται ὑμᾶς. καὶ πάλιν λέγει ὁ προ-
φήτης, ἐπεῖ ὅσι λίθος ἱσχυρὸς ἐτέθη εἰς συντριβήν.
Ἰδοὺ, ἐμβαλὼ εἰς τὰ θεμέλια Σιδῶν λίθον πολυ-
τελῆ, ἐκλεκτὸν, ἀκρογωνιαῖον, ἐντιμὸν. 3. εἶτα τῇ
λέγει; Καὶ δὲ ἐλπίσεις ἐπ’ αὐτῶν1 ζησταί εἰς τὸν
αιῶνα. ἐπὶ λίθον οὖν ἡμῶν ἡ ἐλπίς; μὴ γένοιτο,
ἀλλ’ ἐπεῖ ἐν ἱσχύι τεθεικεν τὴν σάρκα αὐτὸν
κύριος. λέγει γὰρ; Καὶ ἐθηκέ με ὅσι στερεάν
πέτραν. 4. λέγει δὲ πάλιν ὁ προφήτης. λίθον
ὅν ἀπεδοκίμασαν οἱ οἰκοδομοῦντες, οὕτος ἐγενήθη
εἰς κεφαλὴν γωνίας. καὶ πάλιν λέγει. λίθη
ἐστὶν ἡ ἡμέρα ἡ μεγάλη καὶ θαυμαστή, ἥν ἐποι-
ησεν ὁ κύριος. 5. ἀπλοῦστερον ὑμῖν γράφω,
ἵνα συνυπτῇ ἐγώ περίψημα τῆς ἀγάπης ὑμῶν.

Ps. 117 

22, 24

Ps. 22, 16; 

118, 12

Ps. 21, 19

Is. 8, 9, 10, 

cf. Wisd. 

2, 12

1 δι' ἐλπίσεις ἔπ’ αὐτῶν G, ὁ πιστεύων εἰς αὐτῶν NCL, 
probably owing to the influence of the LXX. ἐλπίσει is 
covered by the following ἐλπίς.
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
Δίκαιον, ὅτι δύσχρηστος ἦμιν ἐστὶν. 8. τὸ λέγει ὁ ἄλλος προφήτης Ἡσοῦ αὐτοῦς; Ἡμεῖς, τάδε λέγει κύριος ὁ θεός. Εἰσέλθατε εἰς τὴν γῆν τὴν ἁγαθήν, ἂν ἁμοσεν κύριος τῷ Ἀβραάμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ, καὶ κατακληρονομήσατε αὐτήν, γῆν ῥέουσαν γάλα καὶ μέλι. 9. τῷ δὲ λέγει ἡ γυνώσις; μάθετε. ἔλπίσατε, φησίν, ἐπὶ τὸν ἐν σαρκὶ μέλλοντα φανεροῦσθαι ὑμῖν Ἰησοῦν. Ἀνθρωπος γὰρ γῆ ἔστιν πᾶσχουσα ἢ πρὸς ποροσώμον γὰρ τῆς γῆς ἡ πλάσις τοῦ Ἀδὰμ ἐγένετο. 10. τῷ οὖν λέγειν Εἰς τὴν γῆν τὴν ἁγαθήν, γῆν ῥέουσαν γάλα καὶ μέλις, εὐλογητὸς ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν, ἀδελφοί, ὁ σοφίαν καὶ νοῦν θέμενος ἐν ἡμῖν τῶν κρυφῶν αὐτοῦ. λέγει γὰρ ὁ προφήτης παραβολὴν κυρίον· τῖς νοήσει, εἰ μὴ σοφὸς καὶ ἑπιστήμων καὶ ἀγαπῶν τὸν κύριον αὐτοῦ; 11. ἐπεὶ οὖν ἀνακαίνισας ἡμᾶς ἐν τῇ ἁφέσει τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν, ἐποίησεν ἡμᾶς ἄλλον τύπον, ὡς παιδίων ἔχειν τὴν ψυχήν, ὡς ἂν ἦν ἀναπλάσσοντος αὐτοῦ ἡμᾶς. 12. λέγει γὰρ ἡ γραφὴ περὶ ἡμῶν, ὡς λέγει τῷ νῷ. Ποιήσωμεν καὶ εἰκόνα καὶ καθ’ ὁμοιώσων ἡμῶν τὸν ἄνθρωπον, καὶ ἀρχέσωσαν τῶν θηρίων τῆς γῆς καὶ τῶν πετεινῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῶν ἱχθύων τῆς θαλάσσης. καὶ εἰπεν κύριος, ἰδὼν τὸ καλὸν πλάσμα ἡμῶν· Αὐξάνεσθε καὶ πληθυνέσθε καὶ πληρώσατε τῆν γῆν· ταῦτα πρὸς τῶν νῦν. 13. πάλιν σοι ἐπιδείξω, πῶς πρὸς ἡμᾶς λέγει. 2 Δευτέραν πλάσιν ἐπὶ ἐσχάτων

1 φησίν ΝC CL Clem. Alex. om. Ν*G.  
2 λέγει CL(g), λέγει κύριος Ν.
bind the Just one, for he is unprofitable to us.’” 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 Jesus ¹ 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

¹ A 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.
ἐποίησεν. λέγει δὲ κύριος· Ἦδον, ποιῶ τὰ ἐσχατα ὡς τὰ πρῶτα. εἰς τὸ ὅπο τὸν ἐκήρυξεν ὁ προφήτης· Εἰσέλθατε εἰς θην ἰένουσαν γάλα καὶ μέλι καὶ κατακυριεύσατε αὐτής. 14. οὗτος ὁ ἁμαρτωλὸς ἄναπτυχόμεθα, καθὼς πάλιν ἐν ἐτέρῳ προφητῇ λέγει· Ἦδον, λέγει κύριος, ἐξελὼ τούτων, τούτων διὰ τὸ προέβλεπεν τὸ πνεῦμα κυρίου, τὰς λυθίνας καρδίας καὶ ἐμβαλὼ σαρκίνας· ὅτι αὐτὸς ἐν σαρκὶ ἐμπλήθη φανεροῦσαί καὶ ἐν ἡμῖν κατοικεῖν. 15. νῦν γὰρ ἁγίος, ἀδελφοί μου, τὸ κυρίον τὸ κατοικητήριον ἡμῶν τῆς καρδίας. 16. λέγει γὰρ κύριος πάλιν· Καὶ ἐν τίνι ὀφθήσομαι τῷ κυρίῳ τῷ θεῷ μου καὶ δοξασθήσομαι· λέγε — Ἒξωμολογησόμαι σοι ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀδελφῶν μου, καὶ ἡ σαρκὶ σοι ἀνάμεσον ἐκκλησίας ἁγίων. οὐκοῦν ἡμεῖς ἐσμέν, οὐς εἰσήγαγεν εἰς τὴν γῆν τὴν ἁγαθήν. 17. τί οὖν τὸ γάλα καὶ τὸ μέλι; ὅτι πρῶτον τὸ παιδίον μέλιτε, εἰτά γάλακτι ξωποιεῖται· οὕτως οὖν καὶ ἡμεῖς τῇ πίστει τῆς ἐπαγγελίας καὶ τῷ λόγῳ ξωποιούμενοι ξησομεν κατακυριεύοντες τῆς γῆς. 18. προειρήκαμεν ἡμῖν δὲ ἐπάνω. Καὶ αὐξανέσθωσαν καὶ πληθυνέσθωσαν καὶ ἀρχέτωσαν τῶν ἱχθύων. τότε οὖν ὁ δυνάμενος νὰν ἄρχειν θηρίων ἡ ἱχθύων ἡ πετειών τοῦ οὐρανοῦ· αἰσθάνεσθαι γὰρ ὁφείλομεν, ὅτι τὸ ἄρχειν ἐξουσίας ἐστὶν, ἵνα τοῦ ἐπιτάξας κυριεύσῃ. 19. εἰ οὖν οὐ γίνεται τούτο νὰν, ἀρα ἡμῖν εἰρήκεν, πάτε· ὅταν καὶ αὐτὸς τελειωθῶμεν κληρονόμους τῆς διαθήκης κυρίου γενέσθαι.

1 προειρήκαμεν ὑ, προειρήκε CG, L omits the whole sentence.
days he made a second creation; and the Lord says, 
"See, I make the last things as the first." To this 
than 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 glori-

filed?" 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.
1. ὁ καλὸς κύριος προεφανέρωσεν ὡς ἦν, ἵνα γνώμεν, ὥς κατὰ πάντα εὐχαριστοῦντες ὑπέλομεν αἰνεῖν. 2. εἰ δὲν ὁ νόός τοῦ θεοῦ, ὁν κύριος καὶ μέλλων κρίνειν ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς, ἔπαθεν, ἵνα ἡ πληρὴν ἀυτοῦ ἡμῶν ἡμῶν· πιστεύσωμεν, ὅτι ὁ νόος τοῦ θεοῦ ὁ δὲν ἦδυνατο παθεῖν εἰ μὴ δι' ἡμᾶς. 3. ἀλλὰ καὶ σταυρωθεῖς ἐποτίζετο ὡς καὶ χολὴ, ἀκούσατε, πῶς περὶ τούτου πεφανέρωκαν οἱ ἱερεῖς τοῦ ναοῦ. γεγραμμένης ἀντολῆς. Ὡς ἀν μὴ νηστεύσῃ τὴν νηστείαν, θανάτῳ ἐξολεθρευθήσεται, ἐνετέλλατο κύριος, ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἠμετέρων ἀμαρτιῶν ἐμελλεν τὸ σκέδος τοῦ πνεύματος προσφέρειν θυσίαν, ἵνα καὶ ὁ τύπος ὁ γενόμενος ἐπὶ Ἰσαὰκ τοῦ προσευχήθησεν ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον τελεσθῇ. 4. τί οὖν λέγει ἐν τῷ προφήτῃ; Καὶ φαγέτωσαν ἐκ τοῦ τράγου τοῦ προσφερόμενου τῇ νηστείᾳ ὑπὲρ πασῶν τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν. προσέχετε ἀκριβῶς. Καὶ φαγέτωσαν οἱ ἱερεῖς μόνοι πάντες τὸ ἐντερον ἀπλυτον μετὰ ὄζους. 5. πρὸς τί; ἐπειδὴ ἐμὲ ὑπὲρ ἀμαρτιῶν μελλοντα τοῦ λαοῦ μου τοῦ καινοῦ προσφέρειν τὴν σάρκα μου μέλλετε ποτίζειν χολήν μετὰ ὄζους, φάγετε ὑμεῖς μόνοι, τοῦ λαοῦ νηστεύοντος καὶ κοπτομένου ἐπὶ σάκκου καὶ σποδοῦ. ἵνα δείξη, ὅτι δεῖ αὐτὸν παθεῖν υπ' αὐτῶν. 6. ἐνετέλλατο, προσέχετε. Δάβετε δύο τράγους καλοὺς καὶ ὑμοίους καὶ προσευχήσατε, καὶ λαβέτω ὁ ἱερεὺς τού ἐνα εἰς ὅλοκαῦτομα υπὲρ ἀμαρτιῶν. 7. τὸν
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, "Whosoever 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
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δὲ ἔνα τὸ ποιήσωσιν;  Ἑπικατάρατος, φησίν, δὲ εἰς. προσέχετε, πῶς ὁ τύπος τοῦ Ἰησοῦ φανεροῦται. 8. Καὶ ἐμπτύσατε πάντες καὶ κατακευτήσατε καὶ περιθέβετε τὸ ἐριον τὸ κόκκινον περὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ, καὶ οὕτως εἰς ἔρημον βληθῆτω. καὶ ὃταν γένηται οὕτως, ἀγει ὁ βαστάζων τὸν τράγον εἰς τὴν ἔρημον καὶ ἁφαιρεῖ τὸ ἐριον καὶ ἐπιτίθεσιν αὐτὸ ἐπὶ φρύγανον τὸ λεγόμενον ραχήλ, οὐ καὶ τοὺς βλαστούς εἰς ἐλώθαμεν τρώγειν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ εὑρίσκοντες οὕτως μόνης ἡς ῥαχοὺς οἱ καρποὶ γλυκεῖς εἶσιν. 9. τὸ οὐν τούτῳ ἔστιν; προσέχετε. Τὸν μὲν ἔνα, ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον, τὸν δὲ ἔνα ἑπικατάρατον, καὶ ὅτι τὸν ἑπικατάρατον ἑστεφανώμενον; ἐπειδὴ ἐφαύτητοι αὐτοῦ τὸ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ πολέμου ἔχοντα τὸν κόκκινον περὶ τὴν σάρκα καὶ ἔρούσιν. Οὐχ οὕτως ἔστιν, ἵνα ποτὲ ἡμέρας ἐσταυρώσαμεν ἐξουθενήσαντες καὶ κατακευτήσαντες καὶ ἐμπτύσαντες; ἀληθῶς οὕτως ἤν, ὁ τότε λέγων ἐαυτῷ ψεύδω εἶναι. 10. πῶς γὰρ ὁμοίως ἐκεῖνο; εἰς τούτῳ ὁμοίους τοὺς τράγους, καλούς, ἱσοὺς, ἱνα, ὅταν ἰδὼν αὐτὸν τότε ἐρχόμενον, ἐκπλαγώσων ἐπὶ τῇ ὁμοιότητι τοῦ τράγου. οὖκοιν ὅτε τὸν τύπον τοῦ μέλλοντος πάσχειν Ἰησοῦ. 11. τῷ δὲ, ὅτι τὸ ἐριον μέσον τῶν ἀκανθῶν τιθέασιν; τύπος ἔστιν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ θέμενος, ὅτι οἱ ζῶν θέλει τὸ ἐριον ἀραὶ τὸ κόκκινον, δεῖ αὐτὸν πολλὰ παθεῖν διὰ τὸ εἶναι

1 οἰκήσωσιν Ν, οἰκήσουσιν CG.
2 ραχήλ Ν, ραχήλ G, ραχήλ Ω.
3 ραχοὺς ΝG, ραχής Ω. τῆς ραχοὺς can scarcely be right, but in face of the evidence can hardly be rejected.
4 ἐξουθενήσαμεν ἐμπτύσαντες Ν.

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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 Rachël, of which we are accustomed to eat the shoots when we find them in the country: thus of Rachël 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

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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 (βαξίς = a brier, and sometimes a wild-olive, and βαξίς = 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.
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φοβερὰν τὴν ἀκαυθαν, καὶ θλιβέντα κυριεύσαι αὐτοῦ. οὖτω, φησίν, οἱ θέλοντες με ἰδεῖν καὶ ἀφασθαί μου τῆς βασιλείας ὀφείλουσιν θλιβέντες καὶ παθόντες λαβεῖν με.

VIII

1. Τίνα δὲ δοκεῖτε τύπον εἶναι, ὅτι ἐντεταλται τῷ Ἰσραήλ προσφέρειν δάμαλιν τοῦς ἄνδρας, ἐν οἷς εἰσὶν ἀμαρτίαι τέλειαι, καὶ σφάξαντας κατακαίειν, καὶ αἰσχροὶ τότε τὴν σποδὸν παιδία καὶ βάλλειν εἰς ἀγγη καὶ περιτιθέναι τὸ ἔριον τὸ κόκκινον ἐπὶ ξύλον (ὥδε πάλιν ὁ τύπος ὁ τοῦ σταυροῦ καὶ τὸ ἔριον τὸ κόκκινον) καὶ τὸ ύσσωπον, καὶ οὐτως ραντίζειν τὰ παιδία καθ’ ἑνα τὸν λαὸν, ἵνα ἀγνίζωνται ἀπὸ τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν; 2. νοείτε, πῶς ἐν ἀπλότητι λέγει ὑμῖν. ὁ μόσχος ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἑστὶν, οἱ προσφέροντες ἄνδρες ἀμαρτωλοὶ οἱ προσενέγκαντες αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν σφαγήν. εἶτα συκέται ἄνδρες, συκέται ἀμαρτωλῶν ἡ δόξα. 3. οἱ ραντίζοντες παίδες οἱ εὐαγγελισάμενοι ἦμῖν τὴν ἀφεσιν τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν καὶ τῶν ἀγνισμῶν τῆς καρδίας, οἷς ἐδοκεῖν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου τὴν ἐξουσίαν (οὗσιν δεκάδου εἰς μαρτύριον τῶν φυλῶν ὃτι δεκάδου φυλαὶ τοῦ Ἰσραήλ), εἰς τὸ κηρύσσειν. 4. διὰ τὸ δὲ τρεῖς παίδες οἱ ραντίζοντες; εἰς μαρτύριον Ἄβρααμ, Ἰσαὰκ, Ἰακὼβ, ὃτι οὖν μεγάλοι τῷ θεῷ. 5. ὅτι δὲ τὸ ἔριον ἐπὶ τὸ ξύλον; ὃτι ἡ

1 εἶτα . . . δόξα om. L.
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 glory 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-

1 This seems to be the only possible translation, but the text must surely be corrupt.
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βασιλεία Ἰησοῦ ἐπὶ ξύλου,1 καὶ ὅτι οἱ ἐλπίζοντες ἐπ' αὐτοῦ ξύσονται εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα. 6. διὰ τι δὲ ἀμα τὸ ἔριμον καὶ τὸ ύσσωπον; ὅτι ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ αὐτοῦ ἡμέραι ἔσονται πονηραὶ καὶ ρυπαραὶ, ἐν αἷς ἡμέτεροι σωθησόμεθα. ὅτι καὶ ὁ ἀληθῶν σάρκα διὰ τοῦ ρύπου τοῦ ύσσωπον ἴαται. 7. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὕτως γενόμενα ἡμῶν μὲν ἐστιν φανερά, ἐκεῖνος δὲ σκοτεινά, ὅτι οὐκ ἠκούσαν φωνῆς κυρίου.

IX

1. Λέγει γὰρ πάλιν περὶ τῶν ὁτίων, πῶς περι-έτεμεν ἡμῶν τὴν καρδίαν. Λέγει κύριος ἐν τῷ προφήτῃ. Εἰς ἁκοὴν ὄντιον ὑπήκουσαν μοι. καὶ πάλιν λέγει. Ἀκοῆ ἀκούσονται οἱ πόρρωθεν, ἀ ἐποίησα γνώσονται. καὶ. Περιτμῆθητε, λέγει κύριος, τὰς καρδίας ἡμῶν. 2. καὶ πάλιν λέγει: Ἀκοῦε Ἰσραήλ, ὅτι τάδε λέγει κύριος ὁ θεὸς σου. Ps.23(34),3; καὶ πάλιν τὸ πνεῦμα κυρίου προφητεύει.2 Τίς ἐστιν ο θέλων ζησαί εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα; ἁκοῆ ἀκούσατω τῆς φωνῆς τοῦ παιδὸς μου. 3. καὶ πάλιν λέγει: Ἀκοῦε οὐρανέ, καὶ ἐνωτίξου γῆ, ὅτι κύριος ἑλάλησεν ταύτα εἰς μαρτύριον. καὶ πάλιν λέγει: Ἀκούσατε λόγον κυρίου, ἀρχοντες τοῦ λαοῦ τού-του. καὶ πάλιν λέγει: Ἀκούσατε, τέκνα, φωνῆς βοῶντος εἰς τῇ ἑρήμῳ. οὐκοῦν περιέτεμεν ἡμῶν τὰς ἁκοὰς, ἵνα ἀκούσαντες λόγον πιστεύσωμεν ἡμεῖς. 4. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ περιτομὴ, ἐφ' ἥ πεποίθασιν, κατήγγειλεν. περιτομὴν γὰρ εἴρηκεν οὐ σαρκὸς γεννηθήναι. ἀλλὰ παρέβησαν, ὅτι ἀγγελὸς πονηρὸς

1 ξόλον Ν, ξόλῳ Σ. 2 καὶ πάλιν ... προφητεύει GL, om. ΝC.

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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 the circumcision
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, 3. 4 έσοφιζεν αυτούς. 5. λέγει πρός αὐτούς· Τάδε λέγει κύριος ὁ θεὸς υμῶν (οὐδὲ εὐρίσκω ἐντολήν). Μή σπείρητε ἐπ’ ἀκάνθαις, περιτίθητε τῷ κυρίῳ υμῶν. καὶ τί λέγει; Περιτίθητε τῇ σκληρο-καρδίᾳ υμῶν, καὶ τὸν τραχήλον υμῶν οὐ σκληρ-ρυνείτε. Λάβε πάλιν· Ἰδοὺ, λέγει κύριος, πάντα τὰ ἐθνὶ ἀπερίτυπη ἀκροβυστίαν, ὡς λαὸς ὀστὸς ἀπερίτυπος καρδίας. 6. ἀλλ’ ἐρεῖς· Καὶ μὴν περιτέτμηται ὁ λαὸς εἰς σφραγίδα. ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶς Σύρος καὶ Ἀραβὰ καὶ πάντες οἱ ἱερεῖς τῶν εἰδώλων. ἀρα οὐν κάκεινοι ἐκ τῆς διαθήκης αὐτῶν εἰσίν; ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι ἐν περιτομῇ εἰσίν. 7. μάθετε οὖν, τέκνα ἄγαπης, περὶ πάντων πλούσιων, ὅτι Ἀβραὰμ, πρῶτος περιτομην δοὺς, ἐν πνεύματι προβλέψας εἰς τὸν Ἱσαοῦν περιέτε-μεν, λαβὼν τριῶν γραμμάτων δόγματα. 8. λέγει γάρ· Καὶ περιέτεμεν Ἀβραὰμ ἐκ τοῦ οὐκοῦ αὐτοῦ ἄνδρας δεκαοκτῶ καὶ τριακοσίους. τὸς οὖν ἡ δοθεῖσα αὐτῷ γυναῖκι; μάθετε, ὅτι τοὺς δεκα-οκτῶ πρότοις, καὶ διάστημα ποιήσας λέγει τριακοσίους. τὸ δεκαοκτῶ Ἐδέκα, ἢ ὀκτὼ· ἔχεις Ἱσαοῦν. ὅτι δὲ ὁ σταυρὸς ἐν τῷ ταῦ ήμελλεν ἔχειν τὴν χάριν, λέγει καὶ τοὺς τριακοσίους. δὴν οὖν τὸν μὲν Ἱσαοῦν ἐν τοῖς δυσλίγ γράμ-μασιν, καὶ ἐν τῷ ἐν τῶν σταυρῶν. 9. οἴδειν ὅ τὴν ἐμφυτον δωρεάν τῆς διδάχης αὐτοῦ θέμενος ἐν ἡμῖν. οὐδεὶς γνησιώτερον ἔμαθεν ἀπ’ ἐμοῦ λόγον· ἀλλὰ οἶδα, ὅτι ἄξιοι ἔστε ὑμεῖς.
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 their 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 Jesus 8—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 THI.
3 Because IH are in Greek the first letters of the word Jesus.
4 The Greek symbol for 300 is T.
1. "Οτι δε Μωυσῆς εἶπεν· Οὐ φάγεσθε χοίρον οὗτε ἀετὸν οὗτε ὄξυπτερον οὗτε κόρακα οὗτε πάντα ἵχθυν, ὅσ οὐκ ἔχει λεπίδα ἐν ἕαυτῷ, τρία ἔλαβεν ἐν τῇ συνέσει δόγματα. 2. πέρας γέ τοι λέγει αὐτοῖς ἐν τῷ Δευτερονομίῳ. Καὶ διαθήσο-μαι πρὸς τὸν λαὸν τούτον τὰ δικαιώματά μου. ἀρα οὖν οὐκ ἔστιν ἐντολή θεοῦ τὸ μὴ τρώγειν, Μωυσῆς δὲ ἐν πνεύματι ἐδάλησεν. 3. τὸ οὖν χοιρίον πρὸς τούτο εἶπεν· οὐ κολληθήσῃ, φησίν, ἀνθρώποις τοιούτοις, οὕτως εἰσὶν ὅμοιοι χοίρων· τουτέστιν ὅταν σπαταλῶσιν, ἐπιλαυθάνωται τὸν κύριον, ὅταν δὲ υστεροῦνται, ἐπιγινώσκουσιν τὸν κύριον, ὡς καὶ ο χοῖρος ὅταν τρώγει τὸν κύριον οὐκ οἴδεν, ὅταν δὲ πεινᾷ κρανγάζει, καὶ λάβων πάλιν σιώπα. 4. Οὔδε φάγῃ τὸν ἀετὸν οὐδὲ τὸν ὄξυπτε-ρον οὐδὲ τὸν ἵκτινα οὐδὲ τὸν κόρακα· οὐ μή, φησίν, κολληθῆσῃ οὐδὲ ὁμοιώθῃ ἀνθρώποις τοιούτοις, οὕτως οὐκ οἴδαςιν διὰ κόπου καὶ ἱδρῶτος πορίζ-ειν εἰαυτοῖς 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 ὄρνη ταύτα μόνα εἰαυτοῖς οὐ προῖζει τὴν τροφήν, ἀλλὰ ἀργὰ καθῆμαν ἐκζητεῖ, πῶς ἀλλοτρίας σάρκας καταφάγη, ὅτα λοιμὰ τῇ πονηρίᾳ αὐτῶν.

5. Καὶ οὐ φάγῃ, φησίν, σμύραινον οὐδὲ πολυ-ποδα οὐδὲ σηπίαν· οὐ μή, φησίν, ὁμοιώθῃ κολλῶμενος ἀνθρώποις τοιούτοις, οὕτως εἰς τέλος

1 χιλίων Κ, χιλίοις ΤΩ. 2 κολλῶμενος GL, om. ΝC.

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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

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eἰσὶν ἀσεβεῖς καὶ κεκριμένοι ἤδη τῷ θανάτῳ, ὡς καὶ ταῦτα τὰ ἱχθύδια μόνα ἐπικατάρατα ἐν τῷ βυθῷ νῦχεται, μὴ κολυμβῶντα ὡς τὰ λοιπὰ, ἀλλὰ ἐν τῷ γῇ κάτω τοῦ βυθοῦ κατοικεῖ. 6. ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν δασύποδων οὐ φάγῃ. πρὸς τί; οὐ μὴ γένει, φησίν, παιδοφόρος οὐδὲ ὁμοιωθήσῃ τοῖς τοιούτοις, ὅτι ὁ λαγώνς κατ' ἐναυτὸν πλεονεκτεῖ τὴν ἀφόδευσιν ὑπὸ γὰρ ἔτη ζῇ, τοσαύτας ἐχει τρύπας. 7. ἀλλὰ οὐδὲ τὴν ύαιναν φάγῃ οὐ μὴ, φησίν, γένεις μοιχὸς οὐδὲ φθορεύς οὐδὲ ὁμοιωθήσῃ τοῖς τοιούτοις. πρὸς τί; ὅτι τὸ ξύον τοῦτο παρ' ἐναυτὸν ἄλλασσει τὴν φύσιν καὶ ποτὲ μὲν ἄρρεν, ποτὲ δὲ θῆλυ γίνεται. 8. ἀλλὰ καί τὴν γαλήνη ἐμίσησεν καλῶς. οὐ μὴ, φησίν, γεννηθής τοιούτως, οἷον ἀκοῦσαν ἀνομίαν ποιοῦντας ἐν τῷ στόματι δι' ἀκαθαρσίαν, οὐδὲ κολληθήσῃ ταῖς ἀκαθάρτοις ταῖς τὴν ἀνομίαν ποιούσαις ἐν τῷ στόματι. τὸ γὰρ ξύον τοῦτο τῷ στόματι κύει. 9. περὶ μὲν τῶν βρωμάτων λαβῶν Μωϋσῆς τρία δόγματα οὔτως ἐν πνεύματι ἐλάλησεν οἱ δὲ κατ' ἐπιθυμίαν τῆς σαρκὸς ὡς περὶ βρώσεως προσεδέξαντο. 10. λαμβάνει δὲ τῶν αὐτῶν τριῶν δογμάτων γνῶσιν Δανείδ καὶ λέγει· Μακάριος ἀνήρ, διὸ σὺν ἐπορεύθη ἐν βουλή ἀσεβῶν, καθὼς καὶ οἱ ἱχθύες πορεύονται ἐν σκότει εἰς τὰ βάθη καὶ ἐν ὦν ἀμαρτωλῶν οὐκ ἔστη, καθὼς οἱ δοκοῦντες φοβεῖ- σθαι τὸν κύριον ἀμαρτάνουσιν ὡς ὁ χοῖρος, καὶ ἐπὶ καθέδραν λοιμῶν οὐκ ἐκάθισεν, καθὼς τὰ πετεινὰ καθήμενα εἰς ἀρπαγὴν. ἔχετε τελείως
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. Sed nec "leporum manducabis." Non eris, inquit, corruptor puerorum nec similabis talibus. Quia lepus singulis annis facit ad adsel-landum singula foramina; et quotquot annis vivit, totidem foramina facit. 7. Sed "nec beluam, inquit, manducabis"; hoc est non eris moecus aut adulter, nec corruptor, nec similabis talibus. Quia haec bestia alternis annis mutat naturam et fit modo mas-culus, modo femina. 8. Sed et quod dicit mustelam odibis. Non eris, inquit, talis, qui audit iniquitatem et loquitur immunditiam. Non inquit adhaerebis immundis qui iniquitatem faciunt ore suo. 9. 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.
καὶ περὶ τῆς βρώσεως. 11. πάλιν λέγει Μωϋσῆς: Φάγεσθε πάντα διχηλοῦν καὶ μαρυκόμενον. τί λέγει; ὅτι τὴν τροφὴν λαμβάνων οἶδεν τὸν τρέφοντα αὐτὸν καὶ ἐπὶ αὐτῷ ἀναπαυόμενος εὐφραίνεσθαι δοκεῖ. καὶ ἔτεκεν βλέπων τὴν ἐντολήν. τί οὖν λέγει; κολλάσθη μετὰ τῶν φοβουμένων τὸν κύριον, μετὰ τῶν μελετώντων ὃ ἔλαβον διάσταλμα ῥήματος ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ, μετὰ τῶν λαλούντων τὰ διδαχόμενα κυρίον καὶ τηροῦντων, μετὰ τῶν εἰδότων, ὅτι ἡ μελέτη ἐστὶν ἐργον εὐφροσύνης, καὶ ἀναμαρυκόμενον τὸν λόγον κυρίου. τί δὲ τὸ διχηλοῦν; ὅτι ὁ δίκαιος καὶ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ κόσμῳ περιπατεῖ καὶ τὸν ἁγιόν αὐτὸν ἐκδέχεται. βλέπετε, πῶς ἐνομοθέτησεν Μωϋσῆς καὶ Καλώς. 12. ἄλλα πόθεν ἐκεῖνοι τάτα νοήσαι ἢ συνιέναι; ἡμεῖς δὲ δικαίως νοησάντες τὰς ἐντολὰς λαλούμεν τῷ κύριος. διὰ τούτῳ περιέστεμεν τὰς ἁκολούθαις ἡμῶν καὶ τὰς καρδιὰς, ἵνα συνιώμεν ταῦτα.
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 ξωῆς, καὶ ἑαυτοῖς ὄρυξαν βόθρον θανάτου.

3. Μὴ πέτρα ἐρημός ἔστιν τὸ ὄρος τὸ ἄγιον μου Ἑβραίος: ἔσεσθε γὰρ ὡς πεπεσοῦσα νοσσοῦ ἀνυπτάμενοι νοσσιαῖς ἄφθρομοι. 4. καὶ πάλιν λέγει ὁ προφήτης: 'Ἐγὼ πορεύομαι ἐμπροσθέν σου καὶ ὄρη ὁμαλά καὶ πύλαις χαλκᾶς συντρίψω καὶ μοχλοὺς σύδηρος θυμολάσω, καὶ δόξαν σοι θησαυροῦσα σκοτεινοῦς, ἀποκρύφους, ἀφέροις, ίνα γνῶσιν ὅτι ἐγὼ κύριος ὁ θεός. 5. καὶ Κατοικήσεις εἰς ὑψηλὸς σπηλαίῳ πέτρας ἵππωδες. καὶ τὸ ὑδωρ αὐτοῦ πιστὸν· βασιλεὰ μετὰ δόξης ὄψεσθε, καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ ὑμῶν μελετήσει φόβον κυρίου. 6. καὶ πάλιν ἐν ἄλλῳ προφήτη λέγει: Καὶ ἔσται ὁ ταύτα ποιῶν ὡς τὸ ξύλον τὸ πεφυτευμένον παρὰ τὰς διεξόδους τῶν ὕδατων, ὁ τὸν καρπὸν αὐτοῦ δώσει ἐν καιρῷ αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὸ φύλλον αὐτοῦ ὄντως ἀπορυθμεῖται, καὶ πάντα, ὅσα ἤν ποιή, κατευνάζωθησεται. 7. οὐχ οὕτως οἱ ἀσεβεῖς, οὐχ οὕτως, ἄλλῳ ἡ ὡς ὁ χριστός, ὃν ἔκρυπτεν ὁ ἄνεμος ἀπὸ προσώπου τῆς γῆς. διὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἀναστήσονται ἀσεβεῖς ἐν κρίσει οὐδὲ ἀμαρτωλοὶ ἐν βουλῇ δικαιών, ὅτι γνώσεις κύριος ὃδὲν δικαίων, καὶ ὅδὲν ἀσεβῶν ἀπολέεται. 8. αἰσθάνεσθε, πῶς τὸ ὑδωρ καὶ τὸν σταυρὸν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ὄρισεν. τοῦτο γάρ λέγει· μακάριοι, οὗ ἐπὶ τὸν σταυρὸν ἐπισάκεστε κατέβησαν εἰς τὸ ὑδωρ, ὅτι τὸν μὲν μισθὸν λέγει ἐν καιρῷ αὐτοῦ· τοτε, φησίν, ἀποδόσω. νῦν δὲ ὁ λέγει· τὰ φύλλα οὐκ ἀπορυθμεῖται, τοῦτο λέγει· ὅτι πᾶν ῥήμα, ὃ ἐδώ εξελέυσεται ἐξ ὑμῶν διὰ τοῦ στόματος υμῶν ἐν πίστει καὶ ἀγάπῃ, ἔσται εἰς ἐπιστροφὴν καὶ ἐπιτίδα πλοῦτος. 9. καὶ πάλιν ἐτερος προφήτης λέγει. Καὶ ἦν ἡ γῆ τοῦ Ἰσαάκωβ

πηγὴν χωῆς, καὶ ἑαυτοῖς ὄρυξαν βόθρον θανάτου. 3. Μὴ πέτρα ἐρημός ἔστιν τὸ ὄρος τὸ ἄγιον μου Σιώ, ἔσεσθε γὰρ ὡς πεπεσοῦσα νοσσοῦ ἀνυπτάμενοι νοσσιαῖς ἄφθρομοι. 4. καὶ πάλιν λέγει ὁ προφήτης· 'Ἐγὼ πορεύομαι ἐμπροσθέν σου καὶ ὄρη ὁμαλά καὶ πύλαις χαλκᾶς συντρίψω καὶ μοχλοὺς σύδηρος θυμολάσω, καὶ δόξαν σοι θησαυρούσα σκοτεινοῦς, ἀποκρύφους, ἀφέροις, ἰνα γνῶσιν ὅτι ἐγὼ κύριος ὁ θεός. 5. καὶ Κατοικήσεις εἰς ὑψηλὸς σπηλαίῳ πέτρας ἵππωδες. καὶ τὸ ὑδωρ αὐτοῦ πιστὸν· βασιλεα μετὰ δόξης ὄψεσθε, καὶ ἡ ψυχή ὑμῶν μελετήσει φόβον κυρίου. 6. καὶ πάλιν ἐν ἄλλῳ προφήτη λέγει· Καὶ ἔσται ὁ ταύτα ποιῶν ὡς τὸ ξύλον τὸ πεφυτευμένον παρὰ τὰς διεξόδους τῶν ὕδατων, ὁ τὸν καρπὸν αὐτοῦ δώσει ἐν καιρῷ αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὸ φύλλον αὐτοῦ ὄντως ἀπορυθμεῖται, καὶ πάντα, ὅσα ἤν ποιή, κατευνάζωθησεται. 7. οὐχ οὕτως οἱ ἀσεβεῖς, οὐχ οὕτως, ἄλλῳ ἡ ὡς ὁ χριστός, ὃν ἔκρυπτεν ὁ ἄνεμος ἀπὸ προσώπου τῆς γῆς. διὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἀναστήσονται ἀσεβεῖς ἐν κρίσει οὐδὲ ἀμαρτωλοὶ ἐν βουλῇ δικαίων, ὅτι γνώσεις κύριος ὃδὲν δικαίων, καὶ ὅδὲν ἀσεβῶν ἀπολέεται. 8. αἰσθάνεσθε, πῶς τὸ ὑδωρ καὶ τὸν σταυρὸν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ὄρισεν. τοῦτο γάρ λέγει· μακάριοι, οὗ ἐπὶ τὸν σταυρὸν ἐπισάκεστε κατέβησαν εἰς τὸ ὑδωρ, ὅτι τὸν μὲν μισθὸν λέγει ἐν καιρῷ αὐτοῦ· τότε, φησίν, ἀποδόσω. νῦν δὲ ὁ λέγει· τὰ φύλλα οὐκ ἀπορυθμεῖται, τοῦτο λέγει· ὅτι πᾶν ῥήμα, ὃ ἐδώ εξελέυσεται ἐξ ὑμῶν διὰ τοῦ στόματος υμῶν ἐν πίστει καὶ ἀγάπῃ, ἔσται εἰς ἐπιστροφὴν καὶ ἐπιτίδα πλοῦτος. 9. καὶ πάλιν ἐτερος προφήτης λέγει. Καὶ ἦν ἡ γῆ τοῦ Ἰσαάκωβ
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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ἐπαινομένῃ παρὰ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν. τούτο λέγει τὸ σκεῦος τοῦ πνεύματος αὐτοῦ δοξάζει. 10. εἶτα τί λέγει; Καὶ ἢν ποταμὸς ἐλκὼν ἐκ δεξιῶν, καὶ ἀνέβαινεν εἰς αὐτοῦ δένδρα ὀραία καὶ δὲ ἂν φώγη εἰς αὐτῶν, ζήσεται εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα. 11. τούτο λέγει οὗτοι ημεῖς μὲν καταβαίνομεν εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ γέμουτε ἀμαρτίων καὶ ῥύτου, καὶ ἀναβαίνομεν καρποφοροῦντες ἐν θ' καρδία τοῦ φῶβου καὶ τὴν ἐλπίδα εἰς τὸν Ἱσσοῦν ἐν τῷ πνεύματι ἔχοντες. Καὶ δὲ ἂν φάγῃ ὕπο τούτων, ζήσεται εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, τούτο λέγει: ὅσον φησίν, ἀκοὺστε τούτων λαλομένων καὶ πιστεύση, ζήσεται εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.

XII

1. Ὁμοίως πάλιν περὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ ὁρίζει ἐν ἄλλῳ προφήτῃ λέγοντι: Καὶ πότε ταύτα συντελεσθήσεται; λέγει κύριος· ὅταν ξύλον κλίθῃ καὶ ἀναστῇ, καὶ ὅταν ἐκ ξύλου αἷμα στάξῃ, ἔχεις πάλιν περὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ καὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ· σθαι μέλλουτος. 2. λέγει δὲ πάλιν τῷ Μωϋσῆι, πολεμουμένου τοῦ Ἱσραήλ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀλλοφύλων, καὶ ἢν ὑπομνήση αὐτοὺς πολεμομένους, ὅτι διὰ τὰς ἀμαρτίας αὐτῶν παρεδόθησαν εἰς θάνατον· λέγει εἰς τὴν καρδίαν Μωϋσέως τὸ πνεῦμα, ἢν ποιήσῃ τόπον σταυροῦ καὶ τοῦ μέλλουτος πάσης χειρὸς, ὅτε, εὰν μὴ, φησίν, ἐλπίσωσιν ἐπ' αὐτῷ, εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα πολεμηθῇσονται. τίθησιν οὖν Μωϋσῆς ἐν ἐφ' ἐν ὅπλον ἐν μέσῳ τῆς πυγμῆς, καὶ ψηλότερος σταθεὶς πάντων ἐξετευνεν τὰς χειρας, καὶ

1 τῷ Μωϋσῇ NC, ἐν τῷ Μωϋσῇ GL "in Moses" i.e. in the "Pentateuch" which was spoken of as "Moses."
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 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
οὗτος πάλιν ἑνίκα ὁ Ἰσραήλ. εἰτα, ὅποταν καθεἰλευ, ἐθανατούντο. 3. πρὸς τί; ὅνα γνώσων ὅτι οὐ δύνανται σωθῆναι, ἐὰν μὴ ἐπ᾿ αὐτῶ ἐλπίσωσιν. 4. καὶ πάλιν ἐν ἐτέρῳ προφήτῃ λέγειν. ὁλὴν τὴν ἡμέραν ἐξεπέτασα τὰς χειράς μου πρὸς λαὸν ἀπειθῆ καὶ ἀντιλέγοντα ὅδῳ δικαία μου. 5. πάλιν Μωϋσῆς ποιεῖ τύπον τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, ὅτι δὲι αὐτῶν παθεῖν, καὶ αὐτῶς ξωοποιήσει, ὃν δόξουσιν ἀπολογελέκειαι, ἐν σημείῳ πύττους τοῦ Ἰσραήλ,

 Num. 21, 6 ff. (ἐποίησεν γὰρ κύριος πάντα ὅφιν δάκινεν αὐτοὺς, καὶ ἀπέθνησεν ἑπειδὴ ἡ παράβασις διὰ τοῦ ὄφεως ἐν Εὔρη έγένετο), ἵνα ἐλέγξῃ αὐτοὺς, ὅτι διὰ τὴν παραβασίν αὐτῶν εἰς θλίψιν θανάτων παραδοθήσονται. 6. πέρας γέ τοι αὐτῶς Μωϋσῆς ἐντειλάμενος. Οὐκ ἔσται ύμῖν οὗτε χωνευτόν οὔτε γυλπτόν εἰς θεόν ύμῖν, αὐτῶς ποιεῖ, ἵνα τύπον τοῦ Ἰησοῦ δείξῃ. ποιεῖ οὖν Μωϋσῆς χαλκοῦν ὅφιν καὶ τίθησιν ἐνδόξας καὶ κηρύγματι καλεῖ τὸν λαόν. 7. ἔλθοντες οὖν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἐδέοντο Μωϋσέως, ἵνα περὶ αὐτῶν ἀνένεγκῃ δέσιν περὶ τῆς λάσεως αὐτῶν, εἶπεν δὲ πρὸς αὐτοὺς Μωϋσῆς·

 Num. 21, 8, 9 "Οταν, φησίν, δηχθῇ τις ύμῶν, ἐλθέτω ἐπὶ τὸν ὅφιν τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ ξύλου ἐπικείμενον καὶ ἐλπισάτω πιστεύσας, ὅτι αὐτὸς δὲν νεκρὸς δύναται ξωοποιῆσαι, καὶ παραχρῆμα σωθήσεται. καὶ οὕτως ἐποίουν. ἔχεις πάλιν καὶ ἐν τούτοις τὴν δόξαν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, ὅτι ἐν αὐτῷ πάντα καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν.

 Num. 19, 27 8. τί λέγει πάλιν Μωϋσῆς Ἰησοῦ, νῦν Νανή, ἐπιθεῖς αὐτῷ τοῦτο τὸ ὄνομα, ὅτι προφήτη, ἵνα μόνον ἀκούσῃ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς; ὅτι πάντα ὁ πατήρ

1 ἀπειθῆ Ν, ἀπειθοῦντα Cg (LXX).
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 Joshua 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.
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φανεροῖ περὶ τοῦ νῦν Ἰησοῦ. 9. λέγει οὖν Μωϋσῆς Ἰησοῦ, νῦν Ναυὴ, ἐπιθείς τούτῳ τῷ ὄνομα,
Exod. 17, 14 ὅποτε ἐπεμψεν αὐτοῦ κατάσκοπον τῆς γῆς. Δάβε
βιβλίων εἰς τὰς χειρὰς σου καὶ γράψου, ἃ λέγει
κύριος, ὅτι ἐκκόψει ἐκ ρίζῶν τούτων οἶκον πάντα τοῦ
'Αμαλήκ τοῦ νῦν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπ' ἔσχατον τῶν ἡμερῶν.
10. ἢδε πάλιν Ἰησοῦς, οὐχὶ νῦς ἀνθρώπου, ἀλλὰ
νῦς τοῦ θεοῦ, τύπῳ δὲ ἐν σαρκὶ φανερωθείς. ἐπεὶ
οὗν μέλλουσιν λέγειν, ὅτι Χριστὸς νῦς Δανειδ
ἐστιν,1 αὐτὸς προφητεύει Δανειδ, φοβοῦμενος καὶ
Ps. 110, 1 συνήκον τὴν πλάνην τῶν ἀμαρτωλῶν· Ἐπεν
κύριος τῷ κυρίῳ μου. Κάθου εἰ δεξιῶν μου, ἔώς
ἐν τῷ τούτοις ἐχθροῦς σου ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν σου.
Is. 45, 1
11. καὶ πάλιν λέγει οὗτος Ἠσαίας. Ἐπεν κύριος
τῷ Χριστῷ μου κυρίῳ, οὐ ἐκράτησα τῆς δεξιᾶς
αὐτοῦ, ἐπακούσας ἐμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ ἔθνῃ, καὶ
Mk. 12, 37 ἰσχυρῶν βασιλέων διαρρήξων. ἢδε, πῶς Δανειδ λέγει
ἐκ τῶν κύριων, καὶ νῦν οὗ λέγει.
οὗτος κληρονομεῖ ἢ
Gen. 25, 21 πρῶτος, καὶ εἰ ἡ διαθήκη εἰς ἡμᾶς ἢ εἰς
Gen. 25, ἐκείνους. 2. ἀκούσατε οὖν περὶ τοῦ λαοῦ τί λέγει
22-23 ἡ γραφή· Ἐδεικτὸ δὲ Ἰσαάκ περὶ Ῥεβέκκας τῆς
cf. Rom. 9, γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ, ὃτι στείρα ἦν καὶ συνέλαβεν.
10-12 εἴτε ἐξῆλθεν Ῥεβέκκα πυθέσθαι παρὰ κύριον,
1 Χριστὸς νῦς Δανειδ ἐστιν Χ, ὁ Χριστὸς νῦς ἐστιν Δανειδ
CG.

XIII

1. Ἡ ἰδωμεν δὲ εἰ οὗτος ὁ λαὸς κληρονομεῖ ἢ
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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
υπερέξει λαὸς λαοῦ καὶ ὁ μεῖζων δουλεύσει τῷ ἐλάσσουν. 3. αἰσθάνεσθαι ὅφειλετε, τίς ὁ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ τίς ἡ Ἱεβέκκα, καὶ ἐπὶ τίνων δέδειχεν, ὅτι μεῖζων ὁ λαὸς οὕτως ἡ ἐκεῖνος. 4. καὶ ἐν ἄλλῃ προφητείᾳ λέγει φανερώτερον ὁ Ἰακώβ πρὸς Ἰωσήφ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ, λέγων Ἱδοὺ, οὐκ ἐστέρησεν μὲ κύριος τοῦ προσώπου σου· προσάγαγέ μοι τοὺς υἱοὺς σου, ἵνα εὐλογήσω αὐτούς. 5. καὶ προσήγαγεν Ἐφραίμ καὶ Μανασσῆ, τὸν Μανασσῆθελὼν ἵνα εὐλογηθῇ, ὅτι προσβύτερος ἦν· ὁ γὰρ Ἰωσήφ προσήγαγεν εἰς τὴν δεξίαν χεῖρα τοῦ πατρὸς Ἰακώβ. εἶδεν δὲ Ἰακώβ τῦτον τῷ πνεύματι τοῦ λαοῦ τοῦ μεταξὺ· καὶ τί λέγει; Καὶ ἐποίησεν Ἰακώβ ἐναλλάξ τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπέθηκεν τὴν δεξίαν ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν Ἐφραίμ, τοῦ δευτέρου καὶ νεότερου, καὶ εὐλογήσεως αὐτῶν. καὶ εἶπεν Ἰωσήφ πρὸς Ἰακώβ· Μετάθες σου τὴν δεξίαν ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν Μανασσῆ· ὅτι πρωτότοκος μου υἱὸς ἐστιν. καὶ εἶπεν Ἰακώβ πρὸς Ἰωσήφ· Οἶδα, τέκνον, οἶδα· ἀλλ' ὁ μεῖζων δουλεύσει τῷ ἐλάσσους, καὶ οὕτως δὲ εὐλογηθήσεται. 6. βλέπετε, ἐπὶ τίνων τέθεικεν, τὸν λαὸν τούτον εἶναι πρῶτον καὶ τῆς διαθήκης κληρονόμον. 7. εἰ οὖν ἔτι καὶ διὰ τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ ἐμνήσθη, ἀπέχομεν τὸ τέλειον τῆς γνώσεως ἦμῶν. τί οὖν λέγει τῷ Ἀβραὰμ, ὅτε μόνος πιστεύσας ἐτέθη εἰς δικαιό-σύνην; Ἱδοὺ, τέθεικά σε, Ἀβραὰμ, πατέρα ἑθῶν τῶν πιστεύσων διὰ ἀκροβυστίας τῷ θεῷ.
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.”

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Greek

1. Ναὶ. ἄλλα ἰδοὺεν, εἰ ἡ διαθήκη, ἢν ὁμοσέν τοῖς πατράσιν δούναι τῷ λαῷ, εἰ δέδωκεν. 1 δέδωκεν αὐτῷ δὲ οὐκ ἐγένοντο ἄξιοι λαβεῖν διὰ τὰς ἀμαρτίας αὐτῶν. 2. λέγει γὰρ ὁ προφήτης: Ἰδοὺ Ἕλλογος γιατί δεῖ ὁ Άδης, τοῦ λαβεῖν τὴν διαθήκην κυρίου πρὸς τὸν λαόν ἡμέρας τεσσεράκοντα καὶ νύκτας τεσσεράκοντα. καὶ ἔλαβεν Ὁῳς ἤμοι παρὰ κυρίου τὰς δύο πλάκας τὰς γεγραμμένας τῷ δακτύλῳ τῆς χειρὸς κυρίου ἐν πνεύματι καὶ λαβὼν Ὁῳς κατέφερεν πρὸς τὸν λαόν δούναι. 3. καὶ εἴπεν κυρίος πρὸς Ὁῳς. Ὁῳς ἤμοι, καταβρέθη τὸ τάχος, ὅτι ὁ λαός σου, ὅτι έξεχάγαγες ἐκ γῆς Διόνυσου, ἡμόμησεν καὶ συνήκεν Ὁῳς, ὅτι ἐποίησαν ἐαυτοῖς πάλιν ἱκνεύματα, καὶ ἔρριψεν ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν, καὶ συνετρίβησαν αἱ πλάκες τῆς διαθήκης κυρίου. 4. Ὁῳς μὲν ἔλαβεν, αὐτῷ δὲ οὐκ ἐγένοντο ἄξιοι. πῶς δὲ ἡμεῖς ἐλάβομεν, μάθετε. Ὁῳς θεράπων ὅσον ἔλαβεν, αὐτὸς δὲ κύριος ἡμῖν ἔδωκεν εἰς λαόν κληρονομίας, δη ἡμᾶς ὑπομείνας. 5. ἐφανερώθη δὲ, ἢν κἀκεῖνοι τελειώθωσιν τοῖς ἀμαρτήμασιν, καὶ ἡμεῖς διὰ τοῦ κληρονομοῦντος διαθήκην κυρίου Ἰησοῦ λάβωμεν, διὸ εἰς τὸν ἦτοιμον, ἢ να αὐτῶς ἀμαρτίας, τὰς ἡμῶν καταπανημένας ἡμῶν καρ-

1 el δέδωκεν Ν, el δέδωκεν ζητῶμεν C(GL); the grammar of the sentence is emended by G to ἄλλα τῆν διαθήκην, ἦν ... λαῷ, el δέδωκεν ζητῶμεν.  
2 χειρῶν ΝC, χειρῶν τὰς πλάκας GL.
THE EPISTLE OF BARNABAS, xiv. i–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, 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
Διὰς τῷ θανάτῳ καὶ παραδεδομένας τῇ τῆς πλάνης ἀνομίας λυτρωσάμενος ἐκ τοῦ σκότους, διάθηται ἐν ἦμῶν διαθήκην λόγῳ. 6. γέγραπται γὰρ, πῶς αὐτῷ ὁ πατὴρ ἐντελεῖται, λυτρωσάμενον ἦμᾶς ἐκ τοῦ σκότους ἐτοιμάσαι ἑαυτῷ λαὸν ἁγιον. 7. λέγει οὖν ὁ προφήτης: Ἔγω κύριος, ὁ θεός σου, ἐκάλεσά σε ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ κρατήσω τῆς χειρός σου καὶ ἐνισχύσω σε, καὶ ἐδωκά σε εἰς διαθήκην γένους, εἰς φῶς ἑθνῶν ἀνοίξαι ὀφθαλμοὺς τυφλῶν καὶ ἑξαγαγεῖν ἐκ δεσμῶν πεπεδήμενους καὶ εἰς οἴκου φυλακῆς καθημένους ἐν σκότει. γινώσκομεν οὖν, πάθεως ἐλυτρώθημεν. 8. πάλιν ὁ προφήτης λέγει: Ἥδιον, τέθεικα σε εἰς φῶς ἑθνῶν, τοῦ εἰναι σε εἰς σωτηρίαν ἐως ἐσχάτον τῆς γῆς, οὕτως λέγει κύριος ὁ λυτρωσάμενος σε θεός. 9. καὶ πάλιν ὁ προφήτης λέγει: Πνεῦμα κυρίου ἐπ᾿ ἐμέ, οὐ εἰνεκεν ἐχρισεν με εὐαγγελίσασθαι ταπεινοῖς χάριν, ἀπεστάλκεν με ἱάσασθαι τοὺς συντετριμμένους τὴν καρδίαν, κηρύξαι αἰχμαλώτους ἀφεσιν καὶ τυφλοῖς ἀνάβλεψιν, καλέσαι ἐνιαυτὸν κυρίου δεκτὸν καὶ ἡμέραν ἀνταποδόσεως, παρακαλέσαι πάντας τοὺς πενθοῦντας.

XV

1. Ἔτι οὖν καὶ περὶ τοῦ σαββάτου γέγραπται ἐν τοῖς δέκα λόγιοις, ἐν οἷς ἐλάλησεν ἐν τῷ ορεί. Σὺνά πρὸς Μωϋσῆν κατὰ πρόσωπον. Καὶ ἀγιάσατε τὸ σάββατον κυρίου χερσόν καθαραῖς καὶ καρδία καθαρὰ. 2. καὶ ἐν ἐτέρῳ λέγει: Ἡ ἐν 1 ταπεινοῖς χάριν G, ταπεινοῖς L, πτωχοῖς N (LXX) om. C.
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. “Sanctify also the Sabbath of the Lord with pure hands and a pure heart.” 2. And in another place he says, “If my
φυλάξωσιν οἱ νῦν μου τὸ σάββατον, τότε ἐπιθήσω τὸ ἔλεος μου ἐπ' αὐτούς. 3. τὸ σάββατον λέγει ἐν ἄρχὴ τῆς κτίσεως. Καὶ ἔπροῆσαν οἱ θεοὶ ἐν ἐς ἡμέραις τὰ ἔργα τῶν χειρῶν αὐτοῦ, καὶ συνετέλεσαν ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἕβδομῇ καὶ κατέπαυσαν ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ ἤγιασεν αὐτὴν. 4. προσέχετε, τέκνα, τί λέγει τὸ συνετέλεσεν ἐν ἐς ἡμέραις. τούτῳ λέγει, ὅτι ἐν ἔξαιρασίοις ἔτεσιν συνετέλεσει κύριος τὰ σύμπαντα· ἡ γὰρ ἡμέρα παρ' αὐτῷ σημαίνει χίλια ἔτη. αὐτὸς δὲ μου μαρτυρεῖ λέγων· Ἡδον, ἡμέρα κυρίου ἔσται ὡς χίλια ἔτη. οὐκοῦν, τέκνα, ἐν ἐς ἡμέραις, ἐν τοῖς ἔξαιρασίοις ἔτεσιν συνετελεθήσεται τὰ σύμπαντα. 5. καὶ κατέπαυσεν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἕβδομῇ. τούτῳ λέγει· ὅταν ἔλθων ὁ νῦς αὐτοῦ καταργήσει τὸν καίρον τοῦ ἀνόμου καὶ κρινεῖ τοὺς ἀσεβείας καὶ ἀλλάξει τοὺς ἡμίον καὶ τὴν σελήνην καὶ τοὺς ἀστέρας, τότε καλῶς καταπαύσεται ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἕβδομῇ. 6. πέρας γέ τοι λέγει· Ἀγιάσεις αὐτὴν χερσίν καθαραίς καὶ καρδία καθαρᾷ. εἰ οὖν ἦν ο θεὸς ἡμέραν ἤγιασεν ψυτὶς τις δύναται ἀγιάσαι καθαρός ὅλη τῇ καρδίᾳ, ἐν πᾶσιν παπλανήμεθα. 7. ίδε ὅτι ἀρα τότε καλῶς καταπαύσαμενοι ἀγιάσομεν αὐτὴν, ὅτε δυνησόμεθα αὐτὸν δικαίωσιντες καὶ ἀπολαβόντες τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν, μηκὲτι οὐσὶς τῆς ἀνομίας, καὶ νῦν δὲ γεγονότων πάντων ὑπὸ κυρίου· τότε δυνησόμεθα αὐτὴν ἀγιάσαι, αὐτὸς ἀγιασθέντες πρῶτον. 8. πέρας γέ τοι λέγει αὐτοίς· Τὰς νεομηνίας ὡμῶν καὶ τὰ σάββατα ὁὐκ ἀνέχομαι. ὅρατε, τῶν λέγει· οὐ τὰ νῦν σάββατα ἐμοὶ δεκτά, ἀλλὰ δ ἐπεοίκηκα, ἐν φι καταπαύσας τὰ πάντα ἀρχὴν ἡμέρας ὀγδόης.
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
THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

ποιήσω, ὦ ἐστιν ἄλλου κόσμου ἀρχήν. 9. διὸ καὶ ἀγορεύς τὴν ἡμέραν τὴν οὐδόν εἰς εὐφροσύνην, ἐν ᾧ καὶ ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἀνέστη ἐκ νεκρῶν καὶ φανερώθησε ἀνέβη εἰς οὐρανοὺς.

XVI

1. Ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ περὶ τοῦ ναοῦ ἄρον ὑμῖν, ὡς πλανώμενοι οἱ ταλαίπωροι εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν ἦλπίσαν, καὶ οὐκ ἐπὶ τὸν θεὸν αὐτῶν τὸν ποιησάντα αὐτοὺς, ὡς δυνα οἶκον θεοῦ. 2. σχεδὸν γὰρ ὡς τὰ ἐθνη ἀφἱέρωσαν αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ ναῷ. ἀλλὰ πῶς λέγει κύριος καταργῶν αὐτὸν, μάθετε: Τῆς ἐμέτρησεν τὸν οὐρανὸν σπιθαμῆ ἡ τῆν γῆν δρακόντι, οὐκ ἐγὼ; λέγει κύριος: ὁ οὐρανὸς μοι θρόνος, ἡ δὲ γῆ ὑποτόδιον τῶν ποδῶν μου· ποιῶν οἶκον οἰκοδομήσετέ μου, ἡ τῆς τόπου τῆς καταπαύσεως μου; εγνώκατε, ὅτι ματαία ἡ ἐλπὶς αὐτῶν. 3. πέρας γε τοι πάλιν λέγει: Ἰδοὺ, οἱ καθελόντες τὸν ναὸν τούτον αὐτὸν αὐτῶν οἰκοδομήσουσιν. 4. γίνεται. διὰ γὰρ τὸ πολέμειν αὐτοὺς καθηρέθη ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν νῦν καὶ αὐτὸι οἱ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὑπηρέται ἀνουκοδομήσουσιν αὐτῶν. 5. πάλιν ὡς ἔμελλεν ἡ πόλις καὶ ὁ ναὸς καὶ ὁ λαὸς Ἰσραὴλ παραδίδοσαι, ἐφανερώθη. λέγει γὰρ ἡ γραφή: Καὶ ἐσταὶ ἐπὶ ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν, καὶ παραδώσει κύριος τὰ πρόβατα τῆς νομῆς καὶ τὴν μάνδραν καὶ τὸν πῦργον αὐτῶν εἰς καταφθόραν. καὶ ἐγένετο καθ' ἡ ἐλάλησεν κύριος. 6. ξητήσωμεν δὲ, εἰ ἐστιν ναὸς θεοῦ. ἐστιν, ὅπου αὐτὸς λέγει ποιεῖν καὶ καταρτίζειν. γέγραπται γὰρ. Καὶ
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 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
Εσται, τής ἐβδομάδος συντελουμένης οἰκοδομηθη-ςεται ναὸς θεοῦ ἐνδόξως ἐπὶ τῷ ὅνοματι κυρίου. 7. εὕρισκω οὖν, ὅτι ἐστιν ναός. πῶς οὖν οἰκοδο-μηθῆσεται ἐπὶ τῷ ὅνοματι κυρίου, μάθετε. πρὸ τοῦ ἡμᾶς πιστεύσαι τῷ θεῷ ἢν ἡμῶν τὸ κατοικη-τήριον τῆς καρδίας φθαρτὸν καὶ ἁσθενεῖ, ὡς ἀληθῶς οἰκοδομητὸς ναὸς διὰ χειρὸς, ὅτι ἢν πλήρης μὲν εἰδολολατρείας καὶ ἢν οίκος δαιμονίων διὰ τὸ ποιεῖν, ὅσα ἢν ἐναντία τῷ θεῷ. 8. Οἰκοδομηθῆ-ςεται δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ ὅνοματι κυρίου. προσέχετε δὲ, ἢν ο ναὸς τοῦ κυρίου ἐνδόξως οἰκοδομηθῇ. πῶς, μάθετε. λαβόντες τὴν ἄφεσιν τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν καὶ ἐλπίσαντες ἐπὶ τὸ ὄνομα ἐγενόμεθα καϊνοῦ, πάλιν εὐς ἀρχής κτιζόμενοι: διὸ ἐν τῷ κατοικητηρίῳ ἡμῶν ἀληθῶς ο θεὸς κατοικεῖ ἐν ἡμῖν. 9. πῶς; ὁ λόγος αὐτοῦ τῆς πίστεως, ἡ κλησίς αὐτοῦ τῆς ἐπαγγε-λίας, ἡ σοφία τῶν δικαιωμάτων, ἀι ἐντολαί τῆς διδαχῆς, αὐτὸς ἐν ἡμῖν προφητεύων, αὐτὸς ἐν ἡμῖν κατοικοῦν, τοὺς τῷ θανάτῳ δεδουλωμένους ἂν νόησων ἡμῖν τὴν θύραν τοῦ ναοῦ, ὁ ἐστιν στόμα, μετάνοιαι διδοὺς ἡμῖν, εἰσάγει εἰς τὸν ἀφθαρτὸν ναόν. 10. ὁ γὰρ ποθῶν σωθῆναι βλέπει οὐκ εἰς τὸν ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλ' εἰς τὸν ἐν αὐτῷ κατοικοῦντα καὶ λαλοῦντα, ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐκπλησσόμενος, ἐπὶ τῷ μυθέποτε μῆτε τοῦ λέγοντος τὰ ἁμαρτα ἁκηκοέναι ἐκ τοῦ στῶματος μῆτε αὐτὸς ποτε ἐπιτεθυμηκέναι ἁκούειν. τούτῳ ἐστιν πνευματικὸς ναὸς οἰκοδομούμενος τῷ κυρίῳ.

1 τοῦς... δεδουλωμένους CGL, τοῖς δεδουλωμένοις N (probably a correction of the unexpected accusative).
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.
THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

XVII

1. Ἐφ' ὅσον ἦν ἐν δυνατῷ καὶ ἀπλότητι δηλῶσαι ὑμῖν, ἐπιτίθει μον ἡ ψυχὴ τῇ ἐπιθυμίᾳ μου μὴ παραλειπέναι1 τι τῶν ἀνηκόντων εἰς σωτηρίαν. 2. εἰς γὰρ περὶ τῶν ἐνεστῶτων ἡ μελλόντων γράφω ὑμῖν, σὺ μὴ νοήσῃτε διὰ τὸ ἐν παραβολαῖς κείσθαι. ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως.2

XVIII

1. Μεταβόμεν δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ ἐτέραν γνώσιν καὶ διδαχὴν. Ὁδοὶ δύο εἰσὶν διδαχῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας, ἢ τοῦ φωτὸς καὶ ἢ τοῦ σκότους. διαφορὰ δὲ πολλὴ τῶν δύο ὀδῶν. ἐφ' ἦς μὲν γὰρ εἰσιν τεταγμένοι φωταγωγοὶ ἀγγέλοι τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐφ' ἦς δὲ ἀγγέλοι τοῦ σατανᾶ. 2. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐστὶν κύριος ἀπὸ αἰώνων καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, ὅ δὲ ἄρχων καιροῦ τοῦ νῦν τῆς ἀνομίας.

XIX

1. Ἡ οὖν ὁδὸς τοῦ φωτὸς ἐστιν αὐτής ἐὰν τις θέλων ὁδὸν ὀδεύειν ἐπὶ τὸν ὁρισμένον τόπον, σπεύδῃ τοὺς ἔργους αὐτοῦ. ἐστιν οὖν ἡ δοθεῖσα ἡμῖν γνῶσις τοῦ περιπατεῖν ἐν αὐτῇ τοιαύτῃ. 2. ἀγαπηθεῖσας τὸν ποιησάντα σε, φοβηθήσῃ τὸν σε πλάνην.

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1 τῇ ἐπιθυμίᾳ μον μὴ παραλειπέναι τι τῶν ἀνηκόντων εἰς σωτηρίαν ΝοG, μὴ παραλειπέναι τι Ν*Ρ.
2 With the addition of the doxology the Latin version comes here to an end.
XVII

1. So far as possibility and simplicity allow an 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. Now let us pass on to another lesson and 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 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.
THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

σαντα, δοξάσεις τὸν σε λυτρωσάμενον ἐκ θανάτου. ἔσῃ 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 ὑψόσεις σεαυτὸν, ἐσῃ δὲ ταπεινόφρον κατὰ πάντα: οὐκ ἄρεις ἐπὶ σεαυτὸν δόξαν. οὐ λήμψῃ βουλὴν πονηρὰν κατὰ τοῦ πλησίον σου, οὐ δώσεις τῇ ψυχῇ σου θράσος. 4. οὐ πορνεύσεις, οὐ μοιχεύσεις, οὐ παιδοφοβήσεις. οὐ μὴ σου ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ ἐξέλθῃ ἐν ἀκαθαρσίᾳ τινι. οὐ λήμψῃ πρόσωπον ἐλέγξαι τινὰ ἐπὶ παραπτώματι. ἔσῃ πρα.fml, ἔσῃ ἡσύχιον, ἔσῃ τρέμων τοὺς λόγους οὗς ἠκούσας. οὐ μην ικακῆς τῷ ἄδελφῳ σου. 5. οὐ μὴ διψυχής, πότερον ἐσται ἢ οὐ. οὐ μὴ λάβῃς ἑπὶ ματαιώ τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου. ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὑπὲρ τῆς ψυχῆς σου. οὐ φονεύσεις τέκνων ἐν φθορᾷ, οὐδὲ πάλιν γεννηθὲν ἀποκτενεῖς. οὐ μὴ ἄρῃς τὴν χεῖρα σου ἀπὸ τοῦ υἱοῦ σου σὺ ἂν ἄρῃ τῆς θυγατρὸς σου, ἄλλα ἂν ἄρῃ νεότητος διδάξεις φόβον θεοῦ. 6. οὐ μὴ γένῃ ἐπιθυμῶν τὰ τοῦ πλησίον σου, οὐ μὴ γένῃ πλεονέκτης. οὐδὲ κολληθήσῃ ἐκ ψυχῆς σου μετὰ ψυχῆν, ἄλλα μετὰ ταπεινῶν καὶ δικαίων ἀναστραφῆς. τὰ συμβαίνοντά σου ἐνεργήματα ὡς ἀγαθὰ προσδέξῃ, εἰδὼς, ὅτι ἄνευ θεοῦ οὐδὲν γίνεται. 7. οὐκ ἔσῃ δυνάμων οὐδὲ γλωσσάδης;¹

¹ γλωσσάδης Ν, διγλωσσός CG; G also adds παρὰ γὰρ θανάτου ἐστὶν ἡ διγλωσσία (from Apost. Const.) “for to be double-tongued is the snare of death.”
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 reproving 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
υπογαγήσης κυρίους ὡς τύπῳ θεοῦ ἐν αἰσχύνῃ καὶ φόβῳ· οὐ μὴ ἐπιτάξεις δούλῳ σου ἡ παιδίσκη ἐν πικρία, τοῖς ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτόν θεὸν ἐλπίζουσιν, μὴ ποτε οὐ μὴ φοβηθήσονται τὸν ἐπὶ ἀμφοτέροις θεῶν· οὗτις ἦλθεν κατὰ πρόσωπον καλέσαι, ἀλλ' ἐφ' οὖς τὸ πνεῦμα ἠτοίμασεν. 8. κοινωνήσεις ἐν πάσιν τῷ πλησίον σου καὶ οὐκ ἔρεις ἰδια εἰναι· εἰ γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἀφθάρτῳ κοινωνοὶ ἔστε, πόσῳ μᾶλλον ἐν τοῖς φθαρτοῖς; οὐκ ἔσται πρόγλωσσος· παγίς γὰρ τὸ στόμα θανάτου. ὃςον δύνασαι, ὑπὲρ τῆς ψυχῆς σου ἀγνεύσεις. 9. μὴ γίνου πρὸς μὲν τὸ λαβέων ἐκτείνων τὰς χεῖρας, πρὸς δὲ τὸ δοῦναι συντρίπτων. ἀγαπήσεις ὡς κόρην τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ σου πάντα τὸν καλοῦντά σοι τὸν λόγον κυρίου. 10. μνησθήσῃς ἡμέραν κρίσεως νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας, καὶ ἐκζητήσεις καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν τὰ πρόσωπα τῶν ἁγίων, ἡ διὰ λόγου κοπιῶν καὶ περευόμενος εἰς τὸ παρακάλεσαι καὶ μελετῶν εἰς τὸ σῶσαι ψυχῆν τῷ λόγῳ, ἡ διὰ τῶν χειρῶν σου ἐργασῆ εἰς λύτρωσιν ἀμαρτίων σου. 11. οὐ διστάσεις δοῦναι οὐδὲ διδοὺς γογγύσεις· γνώσῃς δὲ, τίς ὁ τοῦ μισθοῦ καλὸς ἀνταποδότης. φυλάξεις ἡ παρέλαβες, μήτε προστίθεις μήτε ἀφαιρέων. εἰς τέλος μισήσεις τὸ πονηρόν. κρίνεις δικαίως. 12. οὐ ποιήσεις σχίσμα, εἰρήνευσεις δὲ μαχομένους συναγαγὼν. ἐξομολογήσῃς ἐπὶ ἀμαρτίαις σου. οὐ προσήξεις ἐπὶ προσευχὴν ἐν συνειδήσει πονηρᾶ. αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ ὁδὸς τοῦ φωτὸς.
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.
THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

XX

1. Ἡ δὲ τοῦ μέλανος ὁδὸς ἐστὶν σχολιὰ καὶ κατάρας μεστή. ὁδὸς γὰρ ἐστὶν θανάτου αἰωνίου μετὰ τιμωρίας, ἐν γὰρ ἐστὶν τὰ ἀπολλύοντα τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτῶν. εἰδωλολατρεία, θρασύτης, ὑψος δυνάμεως, ὑπόκρισις, διπλοκαρδία, μοιχεία, φόνος, ἀρπαγή, ὑπερηφανία, παράβασις, δολος, κακία, αὐθαίεια, φαρμακεία, μαγεία, πλεονεξία, ἀφοβία θεοῦ.

2. διώκται τῶν ἁγαθῶν, μισοῦντες ἀληθείαν, ἀγαπῶντες ψεύδος, οὐ γινώσκοντες μισθὸν δικαιοσύνης, οὐ κολλώμενοι ἁγαθῷ, οὐ κρίσει δικαίας, χηρά καὶ δραμής οὐ προσέχοντες, ἀγρυπνοῦντες οὐκ εἰς φόβον θεοῦ, ἀλλὰ ἐπὶ τὸ πονηρὸν, ἃν μακρὰν καὶ πόρρω πραύτης καὶ ὑπομονή, ἀγαπῶντες μάταια, διώκοντες ἀνταπόδομα, οὐκ ἔλεοντες πτωχῶν, οὐ πονοῦντες ἐπὶ καταπονούμενω, εὐχερεῖς ἐν καταλαλίασ, οὐ γινώσκοντες τὸν ποιήσαντα αὐτῶν, φονεῖς τέκνων, φθορεῖς πλάσματος θεοῦ, ἀποστρεφόμενοι τὸν ἐνδείκτην, καταπονοῦντες τὸν θλίβομενον, πλουσίων παράκλητοι, πενήτων ἄνομοι κρίται, πανθαμάρτητοι.

XXI

1. Καλὸν οὖν ἐστὶν μαθῆνα τὰ δικαιώματα τοῦ κυρίου, ὅσιο γέγραπται, ἐν τούτοις περιπατεῖν. ὁ γὰρ ταῦτα ποιῶν, ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ δοξασθήσεται. ὁ ἐκεῖνα ἐκλεγόμενος μετὰ τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ συναπολεῖται. 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.

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-
διὰ τούτο ἀνταπόδομα. 2. ἔρωτῶ τοὺς ὑπερέχοντας, εἰ τινὰ μον γνώμης ἄγαθῆς λαμβάνετε συμβουλίαν· ἔχετε μεθ’ έαυτῶν εἰς οὗς ἐργάσησθε τὸ καλὸν· μὴ ἐλλείπητε. 3. ἐγγὺς ἡ ἡμέρα ἐν τῇ συναπολείται πάντα τῷ ποιητῷ· ἐγγὺς ὁ κύριος καὶ ὁ μισθὸς αὐτοῦ. 4. ἔτι καὶ ἔτι ἐρωτῶ ὑμᾶς· έαυτῶν γίνεσθε νομοθέται ἁγαθοί, έαυτῶν μένετε σύμβουλοι πιστοὶ, ἀρατε ἐξ ὑμῶν πᾶσαι ὑπὸ κρίσεων. 5. ὁ δὲ θεός, ὁ τοῦ παντὸς κόσμου κυριεύων, δόῃ ύμῖν σοφίαν, σύνεσιν, ἐπιστήμην, γνῶσιν τῶν δικαιωμάτων αὐτοῦ, ὑπομονήν. 6. γίνεσθε δὲ θεοδίδακτοι, ἐκζητοῦντες τί ζητεῖ κύριος ἃφ’ ύμῶν, καὶ ποιεῖτε ἵνα εὑρεθῆτε ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κρίσεως. 7. εἰ δὲ τὰς ἔστιν ἁγαθοὺς μνεία, μνημονεύετε μοι μελετῶντες ταῦτα, ἵνα καὶ ἡ ἐπιθυμία καὶ ἡ ἀγρυπνία εἰς τι ἁγαθὸν χωρῆσῃ. ἐρωτῶ ύμᾶς, χάριν αὐτούμενος. 8. ἔως ἔτι τὸ καλὸν σκεύος ἐστιν μεθ’ ύμῶν, μὴ ἐλλείπητε μηδενὶ έαυτῶν, ἀλλὰ συνεχῶς ἐκζητεῖτε ταῦτα καὶ ἀναπληροῦτε πᾶσαι ἐντολὴν· ἐστὶν γὰρ ἀξία. 9. διὸ μᾶλλον ἐσπούδασα γράψαι ἃφ’ ὀν ἡδυνὴθην, εἰς τὸ εὐφράνειν ύμᾶς. σώζεσθε, ἁγάπης τέκνα καὶ εἰρήνης. ὁ κύριος τῆς δόξης καὶ πάσης χάριτος μετὰ τοῦ πνεύματος ύμῶν.

'Επιστολὴ Βαρνάβα.

1 αὐτῶν GL, έαυτῶν NC.
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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