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THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

I



# THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY  
KIRSOPP LAKE

IN TWO VOLUMES

I

I CLEMENT II CLEMENT IGNATIUS  
POLYCARP DIDACHE  
BARNABAS

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## INTRODUCTION

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

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

## INTRODUCTION

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,<sup>1</sup> 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.

<sup>1</sup> 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 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 Constanlinopolitanus*, a Greek minuscule written by Leo the Notary in 1056 a.d. and discovered by Bryennius in Constantinople in 1875; it also contains the second epistle of Clement the epistle of Barnabas, the Didache, and the interpolated text (see pp. 167 ff.) of the epistles of Ignatius. A photographic edition of the text is given in Lightfoot's edition of Clement.

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

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

The Latin version, also extant in only one MS which formerly belonged to the Monastery of Florennes, and is now in the Seminary at Namur. The MS. was probably written in the eleventh century, but the version which it represents is extremely ancient. It seems to have been used by Lactantius, and may perhaps be best regarded as a translation of the late second or early third century made in Rome. The text was published in 1894 by Dom Morin in *Anecdota Maredsolana* vol. 2 as §. *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 Künigliche 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 ersle Clemensbrief in altkoptischer Übersetzung*. The later and more fragmentary MS. is in Strassburg and was published in 1910 by F. Roseli as *Bruchstücke des I. Clemensbriefes*; it probably was written in the seventh century.

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

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

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

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

A = Codex Alexandrinus.

C = Codex Constantinopolitanus.

L = Latin Version.

S = Syriac Version.

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

Clem = Clement of Alexandria.

## KAHMENTOS

### ηΠΟ2 ΚΟΡΙΝΘΙΟΥ2 Α

'H eKKXpaia rov Oeov rj TrapoiKOvera Votpr/v tt/  
 fKKXtjCLa rov θεοῦ ri/ TrapoiKovuTj úópivOov, KXrj-  
 Totç rp/iacrpévois èv ffeXrjpari Oeov èia tov Kvpiov  
 ■ppâtv 'Iyaov Xpirrov. Xçpis vpív Kai eipr/vr] arro  
 TravTOKpáropos θεοῦ èia 'Iraov Xpiarov rrXrj-  
 Ovvoei'rp

#### I

1. Aià ras aicftvièlovs Kai èrraXXtjXovs yevo-  
 pévas fjþìv trvpijtopàs Kai irepwrTcitateis,<sup>l</sup> fipàèiov  
 vopiÇopev èiriarpò<sup>^</sup>ipv TreTroirj<T0ai rrepi ràtv ètri-  
 jprprovpèvtùv Trap' vpìv irpaypáratv, çyarrroi, rrjs  
 re àXXorpias Kai Çéviy; rois çkXektòÍs tov Oeov,  
 piapas Kai àvoaiov aráirews t<sub>jv</sub> àXiya irpoacotra  
 rrpòTerri Kai avûàèrj inrap<sup>^</sup>ovra els roaovrov  
 arrovoias ç<sup>^</sup>çKavaav, atare ro aepvov Kai irepi-  
 fiórprov Kai irâaiv çvOpárrots çiziyárriprov ovopa  
 vpâtv peyaXus ^Xavifpr]pp0rjvai. 2. ns yap Trapeiri-  
 èpprpras irpos vpâs T-pv rravâperov Kai [Befiaiov  
 vpâtv Trlanv ovk çèoKipacrev; r<sup>^</sup>v re crotijtpova  
 Kai çirieiKÍ] èv Xpiarât evcréfieiaiv ovk eôavpaaev;  
 Kai to peyaXoTrpeirès rps iftiXo<sup>^</sup>evlas vpâtv rfios  
 ovk eKrijpv<sup>^</sup>ev; Kai rrpt reXelav Kai aafitaXy yvâtaiv

<sup>l</sup> C reads irepurraa-en 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 mis- Reason for  
fortunes and calamities! which have befallen us, ^nīn'g  
we consider that our attention has been somewhat  
delayed in turning to the questions disputed  
among you, beloved, and especially the abominable  
and unholy sedition, alien and foreign to the elect  
of God, which a few rash and self-willed persons  
have made blaze up to such a frenzy that your  
name, venerable and famous, and worthy as it  
is of all men's love, has been much slandered.

2. For who has stayed with you without making The ancient  
proof of the virtue and stedfastness of your faith? Corinth  
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."

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

ovk epaKapttrev ; 3. aTrpoaanroX^pTTTWS yap irávra ζiroteire Kai εν τοις νοπιποτς; τον fjeov èwo-  
 peveaffe, viroTaaaopevoi τοις πυονπένοτς; vpwv, Kai  
 Tiprv rpv KadrijKOvaav ÛTrovérovTe; τοις wap' vpîv  
 wpeaftvTepots;- viois re pispia Kai crepvà voeiv  
 èweTpéweTe' yvvatîpv re εν apa>pw Kai aepvp Kai  
 áyvrj crvveiSi/crei wàvTa èwiTeXeiv wappyyéXXeTe,  
 <jTepov<ra<; KadijKovToi; τοος άvSpas éavTÛv εν -re  
 Tip Kavóvt Tip vTTOtayfs í>wap)ζovcra<; rà Kara top  
 oikov aepvw; oïKOvpyelv ètètèaaKere, wàvv aco-  
 <j)rovovaa<j.

## II

1. ITàpTeç re èTawetvoijipoveìTe pifièn aXaÇo-  
 venopevoi, vwoTaaaopevoi pàXXov rj inroraaaovret,  
 Acte 20, ss ifðiov àtèoPTfiç t| Xap^ávovre<; τοις è<f>oèioK τοi  
 Xpiarovl apKovpevot, Kai wpoae^ovTef tovç Xoyov<;  
 avTOÛ èwtpLeX&s èvearepiacpivot, pso τοις awXây-  
 'Xyow, Kai Ta wadripaTa aiiTov yv ipro ôtfidaXpiüv  
 vpwv. 2. oÛtcüç otptfvrij ^affeîa Kai Xtirapà  
 èSéSoTo irâaiv Kai aKopeawos wóOos eis; aya-  
 QoTTOLiav, Kai wXppp; wvevpsiTo^ àyiov eK^vai';  
 èwì wavras èycveTo' 3. peTTOÍ. Te ζalas fiowXíy;,  
 εν àyadp wpoOvpia. peT eii<re/3ov<; TreiroiOyaetûi  
 èÇeTciveTe Ta; ^eîpa^ vpwv irpà; τον wavTOKpaTopa  
 Oeov, LKeTevovTe^ avTov tXéto;2 yevéaÔai, eî t í a/coPTeç  
 T]pàpTeTe. 4. àywv rjv vpîv r;pépa<; Te Kai vvktoif  
 inrèp Tràtrrp tt j; ζζcX^Ôt ^toç, eic to aw^eadat peT

1 @eoi " of üod " is read by A.

2 ÍKtuv C.

## I. CLEMENT, i. 2-n. 4

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

## II

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

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

- eXeovçl /caí avveiè/jaecoil ròv àpiðp,òv rà>v è/cXe/cr&v avrov. 5. eIXiKpiveii Kai à/cépatoi, pre Kai àvvpai-/ca/cot eli àWpXovi. 6. rràaa arderK /caí rràv ay(ia-p,a ftèeXvKròv r/v vpèiv. erri roii rraparræpiaaiv rcòv rrXpalov èrrevdeire- ra varepppara avrà>v ùèia èkpvire. 7. àperap-eXproi pre erri rrdap dyadorroia, 'ùroipoi eli rràv èpyov dyadón. 8. rp rravapérro /caí aefðaapicp rrdXireia /cel/coap,pp,evoì rrdvra èv rtp tpo/jep auro» èrrereXeïre' ra rrhoa-ráypara /caí rd èucaidtpara rov Kvplov erri rd rfièdrp rpi /capèiai vpM/v èyépparerò.
- Tit. s, 1
- Prov. 7,8

## Ili

- Deut. 32,25 1. Hàaa èð^a /caí rrKarvapði èèódv vpiv, /caí èrrereXéaOiq ro yeypappévov "Etpayev /caí émeu, /caí errXarvvdv, /caí èrrayóvdp, Kai arreXaKrtæv ó pyarrppévoi. 2. e/c rovrov ÇljXoi Kal <j>θóvoi, Kai épn, Kai ardan, èiwypòì Kai aKaraaraía, rróXep-oi Kai aλpaXa>aia. 3. ovràn èrrpyépdpaav oí arip.0l erri rovi èvnpiovi, ol dèò^oi erri rovi èvèð^ovi, ol acfipovei erri rovi ýpovlpovi, ol véoi erri rovi rpea/Bvrépovi. 4. Sià rovro rróppco drreartv p èl/caioavvp Kai eippvp, èv ra> àrroXirreiv eKaarov ròv <j>οβov rov deov Kai èv ri) rrlareì avrov dpftXvarrrrjaai, pvpèe èv roii vop,lpon rww
- is. s, 5
- la. so, 14

*I Slavs 0.*

8 This must be corrupt: <rvraioθii<rétos is perhaps the best emendation.



## I. CLEMENT, ii. 4—in. 4

that the number of his elect should be saved with mercy and compassion.<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup> 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, The and that which was written was fulfilled, “My at<sup>o</sup>Co!inth 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

<sup>1</sup> 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.”

<sup>2</sup> “God” is found only in L; the other authorities have “his fear,” but the meaning is plain.

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*irpoaraypároiv avrov iropeveaffai, /ZTjòè iroXireve-  
affai Kara το /caffrjKOv rip Xpiará, àXXà e/caarov  
fiaBÍÇeiv /cara ràç èiridvpías ττ)ç /capBias avrov  
rrfi irovppàs, jpiXov dBi/cov /caí aaeftp aveiXipfroras,  
isd. s, 24 Bi ov /caí ffavaros eìapXffev eìs rov /coapuov,*

### IV

en. 4,3-8 1. *Véypairrai yap ovrcos' Kat èyévero peff'*  
*rjpepas, rpley/cev Káiv aito rwv /capitón/ rrjs yrjs*  
*ffvaiav rà> ffecp, /caí "A/3eX rpley/cev /caí avròs aità*  
*roiv irpairoroKoiv rôiv irpoftárwv /cai aità r&v*  
*areárwv airóni. 2. /caí èireiBev o ffeos ètri 'A/?eX*  
*/caí ètri rois Bcópois avrov, èiri Bè Káiv /caí ètri*  
*raìs ffvaíats avrov ov irpoaea^ev. 3. /caí éXv-*  
*ittfffi) Kain Xíav /caí avvéiteaev rà> itpoetónta*  
*avrov. 4. /caí eìirev ó ffeòs irpos ièiaiv' ìvari*  
*TrepíXviros ζγέvon, /caí jvarí avvéireaev ro irpoatù-*  
*rròv aov ; ov/c èàv òpffms irpocrevey/cys, òpffws Bè*  
*prj BiéXrjS, ypapres ; 5. ijcrvxacrov irpos ae rj*  
*àirocrrpöÿTj avrov, /caí crü apeéis avrov. 6. /cai*  
*elirev Kàiv irpòs vA^eX ròv àBeX<f>òv avrov' ùieX-*  
*ffaivev eis rò ireBíov. icai èyévero èv rà> eivai avrovs*  
*èv rà> ireBiai, àvéarrj Kaiv èiri "A^eX rov àBeX^iov*  
*avrov /caí àiré/creivev avrov. 7. opâre, àBeXÿoi,*  
*ÇrjXos /caí (fiffóvos àBeXÿo/croviav /careptyacraro.*  
on.27,4iff. 8. *Bià ÇrjXos ó irarrjp i)pwv 'la/ciofi àiréBpa aito*  
en. 37 *irpoaánrov 'Haav rov àBeXcjiov avrov. 9. ÇrjXos*  
*èiroir]aev 'Iwa^ p^xpi ffavârov Bia>xffpvai /cai*  
*péxpi BovXeias eiaeXffeiv. 10. iprjXos cfivyeiv r/váy-*  
*/caaev Mojú'cnji' arto irpoaáitov lapaco ftacriXea/s*  
*Alyvirrov èv rà> à/covaii avrov arto rov op,o<]>jfXow*

## I. CLEMENT, ni. 4-IV. 10

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

### IV

1. For it is written thus:—“And it came to pass Examples after certain days that Cain offered to God a sacrifice of the fruits of the earth, and Abel himself Abel 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? 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.

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

- Exod. 2, 14 *Τις* ere *KaTearqaev KpiTrjv r) èiKaoTrjv* «/» -*qpéav* ;  
*prj àveXeîv pe ai) OéXeip ov Tpóτρον àveiXes eyp'es*  
 Num. 12 *τον Alyinmov* ; 11- *óra* *ξι)Χος 'Aapiδov Kai*  
*Xiapiap êçtù t i)ç TrapepftoXrp i]vXÍa0pcrav.* 12.  
 Num. 16 *çtjXoç Aa0àv Kai 'A/3eipà>v Çâ>vra<*; *KaTijyayev eîç*  
*abov èia to araaiaaai ainovs Trpôç τοv OepaTrovra*  
 I Sam. 18 ft. *τον Oeov Xiwwar/v.* 13. *êià ç'i/Xoç Aaveiá (j)0ovov*  
*èa"Xev ov povov viro t mv aXXoifivXcov, aXXà Kai viro*  
*'ZaovX PaaiXéav; 'lapaijX èèiiô-^Oij.*

### N

1. 'AXX' "va t w v *appaimi viroèeiypaTtov Ttav-*  
*aátpeOa, eX0aipev ètri roùç eyyiVTa yevopévovj*  
*aOXyrd^' XápMpev t i]ç yeveàt ppmi rd yevvaîa*  
*viroèeiypaTa.* 2. *èia Çr/Xov Kai <j>0óvov oí péyi-*  
*aTOi Kai èiKaioTaroi arvXoi èièà>j(0riaav Kai ea>ç*  
*OavaTOV TjdXTiaav.* 3. *Xàpiiopev Tipo òipOaXpàv*  
*Tjpiδov Tovf àyaffovj aTroaroXovs'* 4. *ITérpov, os*  
*èia ipiXov aèiKov ov^ eva oiùèè évo, àXXà irXeiova^*  
*virpveyKev ttoovovs Kai ov t o papTvprjrra^ eiropevOrj*  
*eîç τοv ò<f>etXópevov tottov t ^ç èo^rj<;.* 5. *èia ÇrjXov*  
*Kai epiv ΠαûΧοç vTropovrjs plpafieîov viréèei^ev,*  
 6. *eittUKVi èeapa <f>opéaa<; (jwyaèevdei^i, Xi0a-*  
*a0eis, KTjpmi; yevópevos èv Te rrj àvaToXrj Kai èv t \$*  
*èvaei, to yevvaîov Tljv Triarewî avTov kXÓoç eXa-*  
*pev,* 7. *èiKaio<Tvvrjv èièà^as oXov τοv Koapov, Kai*  
*ç7ri to Teppa t ^ç èvaeai<; èX0à>v Kai papTvprjaas ètri*  
*Twv riyovpévaiv, ov t coç aTryXXayy τοv KÓapov Kai*  
*eîç τοv ayîov tottov aveXrjp^Oii,l viropovrp; yevó-*  
*pevos péyiaTOi; viroyppappos.*

1 So SLK, (i)ropeúflj) AC probably from v. 4.

1. CLEMENT, IV. 10-v. 1

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

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

### VI

1. Τοῖς τοῖς τοῖς τοῖς ἀνιπακρῖν ὁκριωç ρροXireνcrapevois  
*avvi]6poladp rroXv rrXfjdos èKXeKTÛv, oiripeç ττοX-*  
*Xaîç aiKi'ais Kai paaávoisx Sià ÇrjXos iraffóvres*  
*vrróieitya KíXXiarov ζyévovro ζv rjpîv. 2. Sta*  
*tfiXos ðioi^deitrai yvvaíKes Aaval'Ses Kai AipKai, I*  
*alKÍapara Selva Kai àvoata rraffovaai, erri ττορττ]ç*  
*TricrTecüÇ fiéfiarov Spórov Karpvrpaav Kai eXaftov*  
*yèpas yevvaïov al àaúeveîs rà> aáipart. 3. ÇiÿXoç*  
*àrrpXXorpiwaev yaperàs àvSpçòv Kai r/XXoiwaev ττο*  
*pi]6ev VITO TOV TTarpOS r;pb>V 'ASÛP' ΤοÛτ 0 VVV*  
*ðarovv ζk rS>v òtrréatv pou Kai aàp^ ζk ríjs aapKos*  
*pov. 4. ÍtjXoç Kai epis 7ροXeî<; peyáXat Kare-*  
*aTpejrev Kai edvp peytlXa è^epi^waev.*

Gen. 2, 23

### VII

1. *Taira, ayarrjrrol, ov póvov vpâs vov9erovvre<:*  
*er. laréXXopev, àXXà Kai èavrovç vrrpipvriffKovTe^*  
*ζv yàp TW avrà ècrpèν CKappart, Kai ó avToç r/plv*  
*àyà>v èrrÍKeirat. 2. Sto àrroXlrrmpev ras Keva? Kai*  
*paralas ^pOvrlas, Kai eX6a>pév erri ròv evKXerj*  
*Kai aepvov rfp rrapaiócretùs r/pàv Kavova, 3. Kai*  
*tiatpxv, ri KaXov Kai ri reprrvòv Kai ri rrpoaSeKrov*  
*èvdyrriov rov rroirjaavros r;pás. 4. àreviacupev*  
*eis rò alpa rov Xptcrrov Kai yv&pev, ws eariv*

1 LK perhaps imply *iroXXàs aixias Kai Qaa-avous.*

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

## I. CLEMENT, vi. i-vii. 4

### VI

1. To these men with their holy lives was gathered 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 Dircae,<sup>1</sup> 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, 3. and let us see what is good and pleasing and acceptable in the sight of our Maker. 4. Let us fix our gaze on the Blood of Christ, and let us

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

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

*tlpiov tS Trarpi avrou,1 oti Bià ttjv ppeTepav  
 awTTjpiav èicyydèv TravTi tS Koapt pTavoias  
 X<iptv virr/veyKev. 5. BieXdatpev els ràç yeveàs  
 Tracas, Kai KaTapáffatpev oti èv yeveâ Kai yeveâ  
 wisd. 12, 10 *peravotas tottov 'zBwKev o BecTroTps roîç /SovXo-  
 Gen. 7 pévois eiricTpat^pvai zTT avTov. 6. N<ûe eKppv^ev  
 Jon. 3; peTiívoiy, Kal oí vsraKovcraVtes èaióOpaav. 7. Iw-  
 vas Niveuirais KaTacTpotppv eKppv^ev oí Bè peTa-  
 vopaavTes ètri tois ripapTppaarv avTWV è^iXdaavTO  
 t òv Oeòv ÌKeTevaavTes Kal èXaftiov aiúTpplav, Kai-  
 Trep aXXÓTpioi tov Oeov ovTes.**

### Vili

1. Oí XeiTOvpyol tt)s xàpiTOS rov Oeov Bià irvev-  
 paTOS àyiov irepl peTavoias èXàXpaav, 2. Kal  
 avròs Bè o Beairòrps twv airavTiov irepl peravoias  
 Ezek. ss. *zXàXpaev pera opKOV Zcò yàp èyó>, Xéyei Kvpios,  
 ov /BovXopai Tov dàvarov rov ápaprioXov z>s  
 Tpv perávoiy, Trpoariffels Kal yviapyv àyaOpv  
 3. MeTaPoi/trare, oIkos lapar/X, àirò rijs àvoplas  
 vpGiV eITTOv tois viois tov Xaov pov. 'Eav maiv al  
 àpapTiai vp&v útto ttjs yps ea>s tov ovpavov Kal  
 èàv òxtiv TTvppoTepai kokkov Kai péXavatTepai craK-  
 Kov, Kal èiriaTpaippTe wpos pe oXps tijs KapBias  
 Kal eiTrpTe' Hà/rep- ziraKovaopat vpüv z>s Xaov  
 àyiov. 4. Kal èv erepw tottiü Xéyet ovtiòs'*

1 Tip OI\$ Kai rrarpì avrov A, Ty irarpì airrov ry C. The text is found in SLK.



1. CLEMENT, vu. 4-viii. 4

know that it is precious to his Father,<sup>1</sup> 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 Noah 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. Jonah and xmcvitC8

VIII

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

<sup>1</sup> 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.

<sup>2</sup> 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. i, 16-20 *Xovaaade Kai Kadapoi yéveaOe, à<j>éXea0e Ta? rrovppias aitò r&v -^>vywv vpGiv àirévavri rS>v o<f>9aXpm> p,ov' rrvaaade arro rwv rrovppiww vp,wv, pàdere KaXòv rroieiv, éK^prprcare xpíciv, pvcraade àSiKovp^vov, Kpivare è>p^>avâ> Kai SiKaicóaaare ^ppa' Kai Sevre Kai SieXey^d&p^v, Xéyei Kvpto<j- Kai èàv wffiv ai àpapriai vpâ>v &?! yöiviKovv, ¿>¿ yióva \evKavG)' èàv Se a>aiv ó>? kókkivov, æ? epiovXevKavà" Kai èàv OeXpre KateicaKovapre pov, rà àyaiüà τ^ς yrp (páyeaffe' èàv Se pp OeXpre ppòè eiaaKovapré pov, pày\_atpa vpàs; KaréSerar τo yàp arópa Kvπίov éXáXpaev raúra. 5. yravραç ovv tovç áya7rrjTovç; aúrov ^ovXópevos peravoia<; p^ratr^eiv èarypt^ev Tjj TravTOKp'aropiKip ;2ovXrjpa~i ai>Tov.*

## IX

1. Alò viraKovatapev rrj peyaXoTrpeTreìKai èvSófyf ftoVXrprei avTov, Kai ixé-rai yevopevoi roû eXéou? Kai τt }? ^jOT/a-TOTT/TO? avrai) 'irpoairéatùpev Kai è7ri(TTpétya>p£v èiri roò? oïKTippovs avrov, àiroXi-TTOPTe? rpv paraiOTTOviav τt/v re èptv Kai τo eì? dàvarov àyov frjXo<,. 2. àrevlawpev eK; tov? TeXeico? XeiToVpy^aavrai; rp peyaXoirpeireì So^p avrov. 3. Xá^wpev 'Evcó^;, ôç èv vjraKop SiKaios evpetiei^ pereTeÒp, Kai 011% evpédp avrov dàvaros. 4. Nòie τt iio-t 0? evpedeis Sia rrp; Xeirovpyias avrov iraXiy-yeveaiav KÓapio eKppv^ev, Kai Sieatocev Si avrov ó Secrn-órps rà eiaexOóvra èv òpovoia, Çâ>a ei? rpv Ki/Barrón.

Gen. 5, 24 ;  
 Heb. 11, 5  
 Gen. 6.8; 1.7;  
 Heb. 11. 7;  
 II Pet. 2, 5

## I. CLEMENT, vin. 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 Examples of glorious will; let us fall before him as suppliants of obedience 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 Enoch found righteous in obedience, and was translated, and death did not befall him. 4. Noah was found Noah 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.

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

### X

- is. 4i 8\* !• 'A/?paál/¿, ó <fiXoç *TtpoaayoπevOeis, oriaTos*  
 nchron. *evpédy èv t l) airròv viryKOOv yevéadai to Ís prjyaaiv*  
 James 2, 28 *TOV 6eOV. 2. OVTOS Si' ¿TTa/CO^Ç è^ÍXdeV SK TT)S*  
*yijs avTov Kai ¿K t i)s avyyeveias avrov Kai ck tov*  
*'o Íkov tov Trarpàt avTov, ottios yrjv oXiyyv Kai. avy-*  
*yévetav àaffevij Kai o Íkov p,iKpòv KaTaXwrwv KXrjpo-*  
*vo/u'tar/ t vç èrrayyeXias tov Oeov. Xeyei yap avTÔr*  
 Gen. 12,1-3 3. "A ttcX^è ¿k TÍjs yijs aov Kai ck t t/ç avyyeveias  
*(TOV Kai ¿K tov o Íkov TOV TTaTpOS (70V eic TT)V*  
*yrj fjv av aoi èel^w Kai Troipao) ae eis edvos*  
*pÁya Kai evXoyr/ao} ae Kai p.eyaXvvò> to ovop,a*  
*aov, Kai eap evXoypp,évos- Kai evXoypaat tovs*  
*evXoyovvTas ae Kai Kaaapáaopai tovc KaTapa>*  
*pévovs ae, Kai evXoyrjffyaovTai èv aol Trâaat ai*  
*ÿvXal t iJç yps- 4. Kai ttiÍXiv èv t S) ètia^mpiaOrivai*  
 Gen. is, *avTov ¿Tro Acot eiTTcv avTw o deos, A-vafiXetyas*  
 14-16 *toic ¿(fiOaXpoa; aov i'Se ¿irò tov tottov, ov vvv*  
*av eí, Trpoc; /Boppàn Kai Xl/3a Kai àvaToXaç Kai*  
*GàXaaaav, oti iràaay t jv yr/v, ïjv av opas, aol*  
*èà>aa> avTTjV Kai tû) aTrépp.aTi aov èws alSrvos.*  
*5. Kai Trotriacû to aTrépp.a aov æs Try apyiov t jv*  
*yrjv' el èvvaTai tis è^apiOpijjai Tiy àpiyiov Try*  
*yíjv, Kai to aireppia aov è^apiòp.rjOrjaeTai. 6. Kai*  
 Gen. 15,5,6» *iraXiv Xéyec 'E^ijyayev o deos tov 'Afipaapi Kai*  
 Rom. 4,8 *avTip- 'Avà/3Xeifrov els tov ovpavov Kai*  
*ápl0yrjaov tovs àTepas, el Bwijay èl;apiGpifjai*  
*avTOVS' ovtcùs eaTai to aTréppa aov. ¿Triaaevaev*  
*Sè 'Aftpaàp, tð) 0eS>, Kai eXoylaGií avTÔ> eis èiKaio-*  
 Gen. 18,21 *ai'vrjv. Í. èià TtaTIV Kai (juXo^evíav è'Sófy*

I. CLEMENT, X. i-x. 7

X

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

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

Gen. 22;      *aVTlp vlÒi ζV yppa, Kai Bl VTTaKOpi TrpotrpveyKev*  
 avrov *Ovaivav rã> Beai tt^oç to opo<j ol eBei^ev*  
*avTip.*

### XI

Gen. io;      1. *Alá (ftiXo^evian Kai evaé;3eivav Acor eawBp eK*  
 UPet.2,8. ? *'£0\$ζiζ;K>Vt Ti|ç irepi^áipov Tráapi KpiBetapi Bià*  
*irupòì Kai Belov, irpòBpXov yroipaai à SeuTróTiy?,*  
*on to Ûç eXiri^ovrai ζit' àirròv ovk eyKaraXeiierei,*  
*Toùç òè erepoKXiveii vTrdpxovTai eìç KoXaaiv Kai*  
*aiKiapòn rlBpaiv. 2. avve^eXBovcrpi yàp av-rtò*  
*Tpi yvvaiKOi eTepoyvd>p.ovoì inrap^ovapi Kai ovk*  
*èn ópavola, eli tovto appeiov ζréBp, Mare yeveaBai*  
*avrpn arpXpn àXoç eioç ttç ppepai ravTpi, eìç*  
*to yvcoaròv èivai iràaiv, ori ó Bi^u^oi Kai oi*  
*Scrrrà^bl^Teç irepi rifa tov Beov Bwapews eli Kpipa*  
*Kai eli aiipeiuxriv iràaan Tali yeveali yivovrai.*

### XII

Josh. 2;      1. *Alà TTiaTlv Kaj (biXoEevian èaó>Ori Paa/3 rj*  
 James 7, 25;      *TTOpvr/,<sup>o</sup> a €K7T€p,(pvèVT0)V yàp v7T0 17JCT0V TOV TOV*  
 Hub. 11; 31;      *Naurç Karaa-KOTroiv eli rpv 'Sepi^w, eyva> o*  
 Josh. 2,1-3      *^aaiKevi ríji y>ji, on rjKaaiv KaiaaKOnevaai t ^p*  
                          *yóypav avriüv, Kai è^éTrepjyrev dvêpai roui*  
                          *a-vXXpp-yfroprevovi avrovi, ottcoç crvXXppif>0evTei*  
 Josh. 2, e      *BavartoffSiaiv. 3. p ovv yiXÔÇevoi 'Paà/X elaBe-*  
                          *^apiévp avTOVi eKpv^rev eli to vTrepàov viro rpv*

1 So L; ACSK conform to the LXX and read *ér rã> òpíoiy.*

2 *ù/ ζiriAeyopéni iripyri* CLSK perhaps from Hebr. 11, 31, The text is found in A Clement.

## I. CLEMENT, X. 7-xii. 4

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

### XI

1. For his hospitality and piety Lot was saved out of Sodom when the whole countryside was judged by fire and brimstone, and the Master made clear that he does not forsake those who hope in him, but delivers to punishment and torture those who turn aside to others. 2. For of this a sign was given 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<sup>2</sup> Rahab was saved. 2. For when the spies were sent to Jericho by Joshua the son of Nun, the King of the land knew that they had come to spy out his country, and sent men to take them, that they might be captured and put to death. 3. So the hospitable Rahab took them in, and hid them in the upper room under the stalks of flax. 4. And when the

<sup>1</sup> Or possibly, with the other reading, "on one of the mountains."

<sup>2</sup> Or possibly "w)io was called a harlot,"

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

- Josh. 2, s *XivoKaXáppv. 4. èrrtaradévraiv 8è râv rrapà tov fiaaiXéais Kai Xeyóvrwv Upoi; ae eíarjXdov oí KarácKOTToi rps 7779 ppúv é^áyaye avrovs, ó yap*
- Josh. 2,4,5 */BaaiXevs ovrws KeXevei, ij8e àireKpidp- VÁapXdov pèv oí àvòpes, ovs ^preire, irpos pe, ¿XX' evdéais ÚTrfjXOov Kai rropevovrai T-p oèàr VTroàeiKvvovaa àurois èvaXXd^.* 5. *Kaì elirev 777009 T0Ù9 àv8pas'*
- Josh. 2,9-13 *VivuiakOvaa yivóiaKW èya>, ori Kvpios o Theos rrapa8i8a>aiv vpiv rpv yrjv ravrpv ó yap <j>ó/3os Kat ó Tpaos vpévv èiréireaev rois Karoucovaiv avrpv. à>s èàv ovv yévprai Xa^elv aùrpv vpàs, oiaawaare pe Kai tov oÍkov tov tiarpas pov.* 6. *Kai eüirav avrp-* "Eiarai ovrtos, ¿>9 èXaXpaas fjptv. ¿>s èàv oúv yvàs rrapayivopévovs ppàs, aovareis rravras rovs aovs virò to aréyos aov, Kai Siaatiüffpaovraf oaoi yap èàv evpedúaiv e^w t i}ξ
- Josh. 2,14 *oiKias, aTToXovvrai.* 7. *Kai rpoaédevTO avrrj covvat aypeïov, ottiçùs ¿KKpepiiap eK tov oikov aÜTÎjs KOKKIVOV, TTrÔàpXov TTOIOVVTeS, OTI ètà TOV aiparos tov Kvpiov Xvrpwais earat rraatv rots iriarevovaiiv Kai èXrri^ovaiv ètri rov ðeov.* 8. *opàre, ayairproi, ori ou póvov maris, aXXa Kai rrocjiTj-reía èv Trj yvvauci yéyovev.*

### XIII

1. *tTaTretvo<l>porja(i3pev ovv, à8éX<f>oi, àrrodepevoi rrâaav àXaÇoveïav Kai rvÿos Kai à<j>poavvi]v Kai opyàs, Kai TTOiijawpev rà yeypappévon, Xeyei yap*
- l sam22 iö-<sup>TM</sup> *7ri'e^/xa Tô àyiov Mi; KaV)(áa0<i3 ó aoÿos èv rp*
- i Cor. 1,31 aocfna avrai) pp8e ó ia%vpòs èv rp i&xÿi avrov*
- II Cor.10,17 *¿ ifXovaiOS èv T<ÿ TjXoVTtp avrov, ¿XX' 17 ó*



1. CLEMENT, Xu. 4-xin. i

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, The need of 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

•Sàxrt» JLv iVDaooUgnatigayola iSDaodoavdvJL a<? 70  
 .Sliznv JL3 iVDaoDli^tpiayojLq ag watvam 'SUL íadoD se t is sj  
 -Uano iVDaova yoDvUdy^ .dvkj; ivDjLvdkaki 'kydU ts '5 'A0ĴĴ  
 S0Art»x>Zi70Ji aOD vDltDaaiayki iva/ av1a.Xk1T0yu.va3  
 aliD vDvat ;j;IODavs vgamvvaBDvUdX -g -SoDaoXa  
 Swyvai aod sirrih ivvmidDoyyvu.v od Sis 'j;ibdvdd  
 ivat aids Sia rt7x>rto^7£rto»77^a isaiDio 'amaLmd^av itmi  
 aiovr/Uyag Ó7ox SqoDava aadmo7Jia Smaaqaixoap-id ava  
 'avLari aariovioiuq aoanqaii ag aoyyvD 'avvqoXaD  
 aliD no dyk. aliÿÿÿÿ -g •<ii3ffnoyaa<v%3 siokkXdv  
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## AIX

## •mkoy

»x ñor! VDaoidadu iva/ (ioíXo dU rnat aandu. <toU 7J¿?  
 ú yyv 'majvay^JULa vaad 7J¿Jl -f .Sokoy Soikn z '90 ■!  
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 S>m -arda iVDSdliffo^ SmDao 'aDoçitg sm .aida tvdod .[g^o^ri  
 -UqUiojl mDqo 'sdistou. sm .arda üga<j>D va^ 'aDSiffan j .  
 .SDÍffliaya vai .asJDis dvk> srnDao  
 •amdaffod^vd iva/ aviaanaioLa amaiDn^i^ aavliyvy  
 ino 'rtoxiáj aoidaat qod amkoy amD waadUadsd  
 VDmyvid .aUaaDOivan^ ivai vdidat aiaioju iva/ aoDav  
 aTaulijaca aod 'mgvyXava/ Aidaat aa ioaadmXavai

I. CLEMENT, xin. i-xiv. 5

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

XIV

1. Therefore it is right and holy, my brethren, obedience for us to obey God rather than to follow those who in pride and unruhness are the instigators <sup>b</sup> or an <sup>abstinence from</sup> sedition, 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.”

## The apostolic fathers

Pb. st., 35-37 5. /cal iráXiv Xéyei" Etúov àaefstij vTrepvyjrovpievov  
*Kai èirairópevov tú? rà? Keδpov<; tov Aipicínov*  
*Kai TrapijXPov, Kai Ìδou ovk r/v, Kai è^e^Tijaa tov*  
*tottov avTOv, Kai ou% evpov. jiiXaccre àxaKláv*  
*Kai Ìδe evdvTpTa, oti jsttiv èyKaTÙXeippa*  
*àvOpótirtp eiprjviK<p.*

### XV

1. *Toivvv KoXXrj@ü>pev toIs per èi>ae/3eiai eippv-*  
*evovaiv, Kai pi) to Ì ped' virokpicreas j3ovXopζvoicj*  
 Mk2?'e8' *e"PilV7iv- 2. Xéyei yáp irov Qvtos ò Xaðs tois*  
*^eiXecriv pie Tipil, rj δè Kapδia avTww Trippai arreaTiv*  
 Ps. 61, 5 *aTT èpov. 3. Kai TráXiv Tm aTopiaTi avTtáv*  
*evXoyovaiv, Trj δe Kapδia aiiTww KaTTipSivTo-*  
 Ps. 77,36.37 *4. Kai TráXiv Xeyec HyaTryaav avTov Tip arð-*  
*paTi avTÒiv Kai Trj yXaxra-p avTtáv è-^revaavTO*  
 Ps. 30,19 *avrov, ij Sè Kapδia avrwv ovk evdeia per avrov,*  
*ovδè ζTriiTTwdpcTav èv Ttj diadrjKrx avrov. 5. Sià*  
*tovto aXaXa yevydpTa) Ta %eifXrj Ta δζXia Ta*  
 Ps. 12, s-5 *XaXovvra KaTa tov SiKalov àvopiaiv. Kai ttoXiv*  
*'VApoXeOpevaai Kvpios irávTa Ta Ta 8oxia,À*  
*yXwaaav peyaXop-ppova, toví eiiovTa^ Tipv*  
*yXwaaav i]p<Àv peyaXvvovpev, Ta X<ÍV VP-üv*  
*Trap' i]pív ècTTiv ri? rjpiáv Kvpiós èvTiv; 6. atro*  
*TÍj TaXarfraipiaç toiv títoj^Óiv Kai tov crTev-*  
*aypov t Siv irev^TOiv vvv àvaarpaopai, Xéyei Kvpio<j'*  
*Orjcropai èv aaiTppiip, 7. Trappaiàoopai èv avTÒ>.*

1 δζXia . . . 5<IXitx are omitted by all the textual authorities (including Clem.) except S. It is probable that this is a primitive corruption in the text, and that the reading of S is a correct emendation, which, it may be observed, was independently made by Lightfoot before the discovery of S.

I. CLEMENT, XIV. 5-xv. 7

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

XV

1. Moreover let us cleave to those whose peacefulness is based on piety and not to those whose wish for peace is hypocrisy. 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. Ta7retvo(1> povovrvrw yap ècrrtv o XpoTTOs, ovK èrratpopérvv èm, TO TTolpWIOV ai/TOV. 2. TO (TKÍjTTTrov t i/ç p,eyaXa><rvvps rov Oeov, o Kvpios 'Ipaovs XpiCTOS, ovK yXOev èv KofiTrtp àXaÇoveias ovos vttoppiavi, as, Kaírep ðvvà/aevos, àXXa Ta7reivo<f>povS>v, KaOibs to Trvevpa to àyiov Tropi avTov èXàXpaev (jipaiiv yáp- 3. Kupie, tiç etti- (TTèVCrev Tp CIKOp ÍjpMV ; Kai, 0 /Spa^LCOV KVpLOV t IvI ctTreKaXv^dT} ; àvpyyeiXap, ev èvavTiov avTov, ¿S Traioiw, ¿ç piÇa èv yp St^aytry ovk ecTiv aiiTÚ elèos ovSè ðò£a, Kai eïBopiev avTov, Kai, ovk etysev eÍðos ovðe KciXXos, àXXa to eiðos avTov aTifiov, skXsettov rrapà to «So? t ðiv àvOpâyrrvw avOpa>TTOs èv rrXpyp mv Kai irovop Kai eièàis (pepeiv fiaXaKiav, oti àirécrTpaTrTai to TrpoaaiTrov avrov, TjTi,íaaOp Kai ovk éXoyícroy 4. ovtos Tas áfiapTÍas ppMV (jrépei Kai Trepi ypbwv ¿Swá-Tai, Kai yp-eís eXoyiaáp,eOa avTov eivat èv Ttovrp Kat, èv TrXpyî} Kai èv. KaKióaei.- 5. avTos ðè èTpaVP,aTL<T0p ðia Tas àfiapTÍas ppMV Kai p,ëp.aXàKicTTab ðia Tàs àvopias ypSiV. Traicela elppvps rjpMV èir avTov t & paðXanri avrov rjp,eís lá0rjp, ev. 6. TrávTes (vs irpó/SaTa èTrXav> }0pp, èv, àvOpa>7ros Tp ¿ðà> avTov èTfXavp0p' 7. Kai Kvptos TrapéSaiKev avTov virèp TMv àj. apTiS>v ppMv, Kai ai>~os ðia to KeKaKS>a-0ai ovk àvolyeb to arrpia. 0ç irpófiaTov èrri a\$>ayyv p%0p, Kai cós àJ.vos èvavToov tov KeipavTos â^>a>vos, ovTcos ovk àvovyei to <TTop,a avTov. ev Tp TarreL-vànrei p Kpocris avTov pp0p, 8. Tpv yeveav avTov

is. 53,1-12

XVI

1. For Christ is of those who are humble-minded, The not of those who exalt themselves over His flock, of cLrit  
2. 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

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

rii Sipycreraî; on aiperai àrro rijs yps fj Çwp avrov. 9. atro rûv àvopiaev rov Xaov pov "jKei eis ôàvarov. 10. Kai Sàura rovs rrovijpovs àvrì rps raifirjs avrov Kai rovs rrXovaiovs àvrì rov Oavárov avrov- ori àvopíav ovk èrroiprev, ovSè evpédr) SóXos èv ra> arópari avrov. Kai Kvpio<! fiovXerai Kaàaplaai avrov rps rrXypys- 11. èàv Sûre rrepì àpaprias, p ^[rv^p vpûv oprerai arréppM pMKpófiiov. 12. Kai Kvptos fàovXerai à<f>éXeiv atro rov rróvov rijs avrov, Sellai avrà <f>à>s Kai rrXàaai rp avvéaei, SiKaiwaai S'iKaiov eS SovXevovra rroXXois- Kai ras àpaprias avràtv avròs àvoiaei. 13. Sia rovro avros KXppovopi'prei rroXXovs Kai rûv ìcr-yypûv piepieì crKvXa" àvQ' a>V irapeSódrj eis Oàvarov 7) '^V^p avrov, Kai èv rois àvópois èXoyicràp. 14. Kai avròs àpiaprias rroXXwv àvpveyKev Kai Sia ras àpiaprias avrwv rrapeSodp. 15. Kai rraXa> avròs tfricnv 'Eyò> Sé eìpn a-KwXii^ Kai ovk àvdptviros, òveiSos àvOpùrraiv Kai è^ovàè-vppia Xaov. 16. rravres oí àewpovvres pie è^epivK-rpptcràv pie, èXàXpocrav èv yeiXeaiv, ÒKivi^aav Ke^>aXrjv^ "HXrrio-ev erri Kvpiov, pva-àa-6a> avrov, awtràrai avrov, ori béXeì avrov. 17. ópare, àvSpes àyarrproi, n's ó vrroypap.piòs ó SeSopxvos pp.iv ei yàp ó Kvpios ovra>s eraireivocl<rov7]<rev, ri rroiijawpev ijpeís ol vrrò ròv ^vyov réjs papiros avrov Si avrov eXdóvres;

Γ». 22, 6-s



I. CLEMENT, XVI. 8-xvi. 17

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

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

XVII

- Hob. ii, 37 1. Mz/zi/rai yevápeOa KaKeivav, o'irtves èv Sep-  
 paaiv alyeiois Kai ppXairais rrepierraryaav  
 Kypvaaovres rpv eXeivaiv rov Ψiarov' Xeyopev  
 èè 'HXiav Kai 'ILXiaaié, eri Sé Kai 'leÇeKipX, row;  
 rpo(f)>ijras- rrpòs rovroi; Kai rov; pepaprvpppevov;.  
 2. èpapruppGp peydXai; 'K/Bpaàp Kai </>tXoç Trpoa-  
 pyopevdp rov Oeov, Kai Xéyei àrevi^mv eis rpv  
 Gen. is, 27 Só^av rov Oeov raireivoippovcòv 'Eycò Sé elpi yrj  
 Kai airoSó;.  
 jub i, i 3. ere Sé Kai rrepi Tw/9 ovrvs  
 yéypairrai' 'l\_i>/3 Se pv SiKaios Kai àpepmos,  
 aXr;Oivós, Geoae/Bps, àire-^òpevos Ò<sub>110</sub> rrvavròs  
 KaKov. 4. ζXX' àù'οç éavrov Karpyopeí Xeyaiv  
 Job 14,4, 5 OùSeiç Kaffapòs àirò pvrrov, ovS' àv pia; r/pepas rj  
 Num. 12, 7 jpoi] avrov. 5. Xiiovarp mcrròs èv oX<p rS> oiKip avrov  
 L 3,2 eKXrjdri, Kai Sià rrjs virppeaiás avrov eKpivev o  
 Oeos AiyvTTTov Sià rS>v paariywv Kai r&v aiKia-  
 páriov avriòv' àXXa KciKeívos So^aaOeis peyaXtas  
 ovk èpeyaXoppôvriaev, ζXX' eúirev è/c rfjs /Barov  
 Exod. 3, i1; yyyr[pariapov avrtp SiSopévov Ttç elpi éyw, ori  
 4'lu pe rrepireis; 'Eyw Sé eìpi iayjióu/novos Kai [BpaSv-  
 yXtoaaos. 6. Kai rraXiv Xéyei'Sé elpi\*  
 àrpis ζTro KvOpas.

XVIII

1. Tt Sè eiTTtopev èrri rà pepaprvpypévip SaveiS;  
 Ps. 89,20; è§> ov1 elrrev ó 9eos' HLüpv avSpa Kara rpv  
 Acts is, 22 Kap^)/av pxnp SaveiS ràv rov 'Jeaac, èv èXéei  
 altoviip e^piaa avrov. 2. ζXXà Kai avros Xeyet  
 Ps. si 1-17 tt^Ôç ràv Oeón 'EXépaón pe, à Geos, Kara ro péya

l So L Clem, irpbs bv ACS.

## I. CLEMENT, XVII. i-xviii. a

### XVII

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

### XVIII

1. But what shall we say of the famous David? The 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

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

*eXeoç aov, Kai Kara to TjXrj0o<; rS>v oiKnppûv aov e^aXeti^ov to ávop[r]pá pov. 3. èiri TrXeiov irXvnov fie citto t j)ç cipolziaç pov, Kai airó TÎjç çpapaia\*; pov Ka0áπiaov pe' on Tipi àvopiaov pov èyà> yivióaKW, Kai y apapna pov èvónrión pov èaav èiairai/ros. 4. croi pova> rjpaPTov, Kai to rrovjpijv èvónrnón aov eTrovrjaa, oirás àv SiKaiioO-ys èv toÎs Xóyois aov, Kai viKijrrrp èv tm KpíveaOaí ce, 5. idov yàp èv avopiais avveXijptyOyv, Kai èv àpapaiais èKÎaayaév pe y pyrrjç pov. 6. lêov yàp àXyOeiaov yyàiryaaç' ra aSyXa Kai Ta Kpixpia Tr;ç aoyias aov èByXaiaàs poi. 1. pavneis pe vaaánrw, Kai Ka0apia0rj-aopar 7rXweíç pe, Kai virep ~%ióa XevKav0rjaopai. 8. iiKOVTieis pe áyaXXiaaiv Kai evjöoavvyv. ayaWtaaovTai otría TeTaireivwpéva. 9. diro-aTpeijrov to irpoacoirón aov òtto tmv àpapnvw pov, Kai iraaa^ t ôç àvopiai; pov è^àXev^rov. 10. Kap-Biaov Kadapàn KTiaov èv èpoi, ó #eðç, Kai Trvepa eð^èç èyKaivtaov èv toiç èyKaTois pov. 11. prj airopii(rrji; pe iiro tov Trpoáánrov aov, Kai to Trvepa to áyiov aov pi] àvTaveXy; àir èrov. 12. ÛTrðeoç poi TT)V àyrj.WÎaav toii awTTjpiov aov, Kai TTvepnan pyepoviKlò anipiaón pe. 13. èulðà^to àvópovç t Àç oðoiíç aov, Kai àcre/3eíç èTriaTpeí[rovatv èiri ae. 14. pvaai pe è% aiptiTiov, ð Oeós, ð 0eo<; TÎjç aaiT-ppia^ pov. 15. àyaXXiàaeTai ij yXüaaá pov t l/v èiKaioavvyv aov. Kvpte, to aTopa pov àvoí^eíç, Kai Ta y^eiXi] pov àvayyeXec ttjv atveaiv aov. 16. óti ei rj0éXTjaa<; Ovaíav, eianca av oXoKavTiopaTa ovK evéj0Krjaei<i. 17. Ovaia t S> 0eS> irvepa awTeapippevon Kapè>iav avvTeTpippévrvj Kai TeTaTretvaipevTjv ð Oeòç ovk è^ovOevibaei,*

I. CLEMENT, XVIII. z-xviii. 17

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

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

### XIX

1. *Twp TOCOVTOIV OVI> Kai TOIOVTCaV outois p, ep.apTVpr/peva>v to Tairetvorfipov Kai to vTroêeèç ðià τ > )ç ÚTraKoijs ov p, óvon rijpMS, aXXà Kai Tas irpo i) pã>v yeveas jBcXi Íovs eTroLpaev, tous Te Kara- èe^apévovs rá Xoyta avrov ev <f>oß<p Kai aXpdeca.*

Heb. 12, i 2. *tt0XXwp onv Kai peyáXwv Kai èvðó'pvn p,eTetXri- <θ>ί ε9 Ttpá^ewv éTravabpápMpev èirl tov ápyjps Traπα8εδορζνον ppáv ttjs elppvps jkottov, Kai (nevlcroipev els tov TraTepa Kai ktictpv tov Gvp/rravTOS Kζcrp.ov Kai Tais p,eyaXoirpeTréai Kai VTrepfiaXXovcrais avTov ða>peais Tíjs elppvps epepye- aíais Te KÓXXpOóipev. 3. lba>p.ev aiiTov KaTa étávotav Kai ép.pjζsr'úpev toIs op-pMatv Tíjs ^rvyrjS els to p.aKpó6vp.ov avTov fiovKyp-a' vopawfiev, Trois ζóppvTOS virápxei irpbs Tracrav Trjv kt íctv auTov.*

### XX

1. *Oí oupavoi Tp ZioiKpaet avTov aaXevópevoi èv elpr'jvr) viroTaaaovTai avToi. 2. pp.epa Te Kat, vv^ tov TeTaypAvov vit avTov ðpop,ov btavnovacy, prfièv àWyXois élaTTobí^ovTa. 3. -pXíós Te Kai aeXpvT), àaTépaiv Te %opoi KaTa t'qv éiaTaypv aiiToi èv óp.ovoía bi^a Ttácrcps TrapeKfíáaews è^eXiacrovaiv tovs eirrTerayp-evovs avTOÍs ópiapovs- 4. yíj Kvojöpopvcra KaTa to ðeXpp.a avTov toIs lèlois Kai pois Tpv TravTrXpdvi avdpunrors Te Kar Oqpr'r'iv Kai iraatv toIs ovotv eir avrrjS Çmois ava- TtWei, Tpotppv, p-y Zt^oaTaTOvaa pybe aXXoioúcra*

I. CLEMENT, XIX. i-xx. 4

XIX

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

XX

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

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

*ri rûv BeSoyfiaríafievoiv vir avrov. 5. àfivaaatv re ave^v)(yiaara Kai vepreatv aveKOiypyra kXlfiaral tois avrois avvererai rpoaráy/iaaiv. 6. to lcutov àrreipov QaXaaifs Kara rrjv Siffiiovpyiav avrov avaradev et'ç ràç avvayioyàs oû napeK/Baivei rà rrepiredeifieva aùrrj KXeìOpa, àXXà Kaθa>s Ziera^ev avrfj, ovteoç rroièi. \*1. eiirev yap'' Ecoç œSe rjfeis, Kal rà KVfiarà aov èv aol avvrpiftr]-aerai. 8. co/ceapòç ànépavros àvffpdirois Kai oi p,er avrov KÔafioi raïs avraïs rayais rov Searrov SievOvvovrai. 9. Kaipol èapivol Kal Oepivol Kal fieriortopivol Kal ^eifiepivol èv eippvy fierairapa-èuàoaiv àXXpXoïs. 10. àvéficov araOfiol Kara ròv iciov Katpòv rijv Xeirovpyiav avràv cwrpo-aKoiras èirireXovatv àévaoui re irrfyai, irpos àrróXavalv Kal vyeiav àTffiiovpyrfeiaai, ài^a èXXei^recos rrapéovrai rovs rrpòs fyoffs àvdpio-TTOis fiaÇovs' rá re eXá^iara rm> ^atiov ras avvéXevaets aùr&v èv ofiovoía Kai eipijvr] iroiouvrai. 11. ravra rrávra ó fiéyas Brffiiovpyòs Kal Bearrórifv rûv àrràvrwv èv elpyvy Kal ofiovoia rpoaera^ev èivat, epepyerSiv rà rrávra, vrrepeKrreriaaSis zè TffjMS rovs irpoarre^tevyoras rois oiKrtpfiois avrov ècà roû Kvpiov fffjMv 'Irfcrov Xpicrrov, 12. w if δόξα Kal i) fieyaXaiavvTf els rovs aléavas réav alwvtov. àfirfv.*

*l Kjiü<.aia AC, qui situ (sic) L, “boundaries” K. The emendation given in the text seems the most probable treatment of the difficulty.*



I. CLEMENT, XX. 4-xx. 12

none of his decrees. 5. The unsearchable places of the abysses and the unfathomable realms of the lower world are controlled by the same ordinances. 6. The hollow of the boundless sea is gathered by his working into its allotted places, and does not pass the barriers placed around it, but does even as he enjoined on it; 7. for he said "Thus far shalt thou come, and thy waves shall be broken within thee." 8. The ocean, which men cannot pass, and the worlds beyond it, are ruled by the same injunctions of the Master. 9. The seasons of spring, summer, autumn, and winter give place to one another in peace. 10. The stations of the winds fulfil their service without hindrance at the proper time. The everlasting springs, created for enjoyment and health, supply sustenance for the life of man without fail; and the smallest of animals meet together in concord and peace. 11. All these things did the great Creator and Master of the universe ordain to be in peace and concord, and to all things does he do good, and more especially to us who have fled for refuge to his mercies through our Lord Jesus Christ, 12. to whom<sup>1</sup> be the glory and the majesty for ever and ever, Amen.

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

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

XXI

1. 'Oparre, ayairpToi, pp ai eveyecrîat aîiTov ai rroXXai yévwvrai eis Kpipal ppîv, èav pp ahitos avTOV rroXiTevopevoi rà KaXa Kai evápeara evwrrtov aînou rroiwpev peð' òpovoias. 2. Xeyei rov. so, 27 yáp ttow Ilvevpa Kvpiov Xvvyos èpevwvw rà Tapíela Tps yacrTpoS' 3. ÏOMpev,2 Triàs èyyvs ecTiv, Kai ori ovðèn ~XeXp9ev aîiTov t &v èvvoicôv ppâtv ot/5è t &v ðiaXoytcrpSiv w rroiowpeOa- 4. ètucaiov onv èariv pp XeiTroTaKTeîv ppâs àirð tov QeXppaTOS avrov. 5. paKXov àvôpmTrois â<f>poai Kai àvop-rois Kai èrraipopévois Kai èyKavyaapévois èv àXa-Çovela. tov Xoyou üvttmv TrpoaKoyjrtopev p tð' ðe&. 6. tov Kvpiov 'îpaovv XpiffTov, ov to aîpa virep ppâv eð<j9p, èvTpairó)pev, rouç Trpopyovpévovg ppèav ai&eaOtapev, tovç Tepea^vrérov; Tippaatpev, tov^ véovs iraiSevawpev Tpv iraiSeiav tov cf>o/3ov tov ðeov, t ùç yvvaÎKav ppS>v èiri to ciyaOov Biop0a>aó>pe0a. 7. to à^iayayrpTOV Tps ayveias pffos èvbei^àadoiaav, to ciKepaiov Tps TtpavTpTos avTôiv fiowXppa ζTro^ei^aTtoaaav, to èirieiKes Tps yXcoaaps avTwn èià Tps aiyps <f>avepov iroiπααTw-aav, Tpv àyàirpv avTtvv pp nara 'irpoaKXicreis, àXXa irâcriv to is cf>o/3ovpevois tov ðeov oaitos itrpvirape^e-Ttixjav. 8. to, TSKva ppwv Tps èvüpiaTip iraièeias peTaXap^aveTcoaav padeTU>aav, ti Taireivoifipo-avvp irapà 9e& iayvei, ti ayairp ayyp Trapa ðeá> SvvaTai, Triàs ó cf>o/3os avTov KaXos Kai peyas Kai

1 A(C) read Kplfm iraaiv Tîpîv.

8 L implies efâcapev (sciamus), "let us know."

XXI

1. Take heed, beloved, lest his many good works Christian 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,<sup>1</sup> 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

<sup>1</sup> Or possibly "the Presbyters," but the context makes this improbable.

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

*aáfyav TTíúTai tovì èv avrS> oatavs àvaarpe(f>0-  
pévovs èv Kadapâ diavola. 9. épevvr;rrii yáp èariv  
èvvoiwv kc Û èv9vp,ÿaea>v' ov p irvop avTov èv ÿpìv  
èarlv, Kai orav OéXp, àveXeî avrrjv.*

### XXII

1. *Tavra 8è iràvra fie/Baioip èv~Kpi<TT<p iriarts-  
Kai yàp aùrôç 8ià tov irveiiparoi tov àylov ovtoìi  
Ps.34, ii-iT TrpoaKcCXéITai vpâi' Aeûre, TEKva, aKovaaTe p,ov,  
<f>óβov Kvpíov Siðáφα> Vytiâç. 2. tiç èaTtv àv6pa>-  
tfoç ó βέαν> Ça>pv, àya-rrwv ppépas ièelv àyaOàs ;  
3. Travaov ttjv yXwaaàn aov àiro KaKov, Kat, yp^Xp  
aov tov pp XaXpaat 8oXov. 4. ζkkXivov airo  
KaKov, Kai 7Toírjaov àyaÔðv. 5. ^pTpaov eippvpv,  
Kai èioi^ov avTrpr 6. ô(j>6aXpoî Kvpíov èirì biKai-  
ovi, Kai orra avTov Trpos Sérjaiv avTÔw irpoatoirov  
èè Kvpíov èirì iroiovvTai KaKa, tov ègoXeOpevaai  
èK yrp; to pvppðavnov avTWV. 7. eKeKpa^ev o  
èbKatoi, Kai ò Kvpios elapKovaev avTov, Kai ck  
iraawv tmv ÔXÍ^rewv avTov èpvaaTO avrovil  
Ps. 32, io 8. IloXXai al páaTiyei tov àpapTwXov, tovç 8è  
èXTrl^ovrai èirì Kvpiov eXeos KVKXcôaei.*

### XXIII

1. 'O olKTÍpparv KaTa iràvTa Kai eveyeTiKOi  
iraTpp èxet airXâyxya èirì tovç <j>0βovpevov<;  
avTov, ttjtîwç té Kai Trpoapvûi ràç ^a/xραç avTov  
Ps. 34, 19 | S adds iroXAal al ÔXi^çts tou SiKalou, Kai ;k iraaav avrûv  
;vtTfTai aÛTÔF ó Kvpios, but the evidence of ACLK. suggests that  
it is an insertion from the text of LXX ; cf. I. Clem. XV. 5,  
and the note on the text.

## I. CLEMENT, XXI. 8-xxin. i

gives salvation to all who live bolily 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 allthecon- these things, for he himself through his Holy Spirit nls'îè“ch?f calls us thus :—“Come, Children, hearken to me, w.m the I will teach you the fear of the Lord. 2. Who is Sclptur“ 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.l 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 Humility compassion on those that fear him, and kindly and *sfaLrity* lovingly bestows his favours on those that draw near

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

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

ζιτοSίSoί τοις irpoaεpXopέvois avrà άrrXp \$tavola.  
 2. Cìo pp 8ii;rvxá>pev, ppòè Iv^aXXéaOa) p ^rvxp  
 ppâtv ètri, raí? vrrep/SaXXovaais Kai epò^oiç  
 èaopeaís avrov. 3. Troppa) yevéado) à<f>' ppâ>v p  
 yparbp avrp, orrov Xéyev TaXairrcopoi elatv oi  
 ha^ruxot, ot OiaραÇovres rfj oi Xéyovres'  
 Tavra pKovaapev nai ètti tüp rrarépcov r/pûtv, Kai  
 tèov, yeyppaKapev, Kai ovbèν ppîv tovtoδv avv^έ-  
 fipKev. 4. S) àvoproì, avpfiâXere êavrovç %vXar  
 Xâftere aprreXov rparrov pèv rffuXXopoc, eira  
 (SXatrròs ytverat, eira <f>vXXov, eira ardos, Kai  
 perù ravra op<f>al;, etra aTa^vXp TrapearpKvía.  
 ζpare, orí ζv Kaipâ) ðXiytp els ireTreipov Kararrâ ó  
 KapTTOs tov ^vXov. 5. èrr' àXpdeias raxv Kai  
 èÇai.ÿvps reXetoidpaeTat, to fiovXrjpa avrov, crvr-  
 eTTipapTvovaps Kai Tps ypaipps, ori. raxv y^ei  
 isaiah MÛUcb.s.V Kal XP0Vle^> Ka^ »7^6ί ó Kvptos eis tov  
 vaov avrov, Kai ó aytoç, ov vpeis rrhoaSoKare.

## XXIV

1. Karavopcrtopev, áyarrproí,, ttwí ó ^earrórpç  
 eTTiZeiKwrai èipeK&s pplv ryv péXXovaav àvâ-  
 crracrcv eaecrdai, fjS rpv àrrapyjpv èrhoipaaro tov  
 i. Cor. u, 20 Kvptov 'Ipaovv XpicTov ζK veKpwv àvaarpaas.  
 2. tScopev, àyaTTproi, rpv Kara Katpòn ycvopévpv  
 àvâaraaiv. 3. ppépa Kai vvj; àvâaractv pplv èp-  
 Xovaiv Koipârat, p vv^àvlararaip ppépa' pppépa  
 arreiav, vii^ ζTrepyeraí. 4. Xápiwpev rovs Kapprovç-

## I. CLEMENT, XXIII. i-xxiv. 4

to him with a simple mind. 2. Wherefore let us not be double-minded, nor let our soul be fanciful concerning his excellent and glorious gifts. 3. Let this Scripture be far from us in which he says "Wretched are the double-minded, who doubt in their soul and say 'We have heard these things even in the days of our fathers, and behold we have grown old, and none of these things has happened to us.' 4. Oh, foolish men, compare yourself to a tree : take a vine, first it sheds its leaves, then there comes a bud, then a leaf, then a flower, and after this the unripe grape, then the full bunch."<sup>1</sup> 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

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

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

Mk. 4,3 and 5,1  
 36 a. 1 Cor. 15,  
 o aTTopo'i ttwç Kat, riua rpoirou yiverai ; 5. efcnXOev  
 ó aTrepaiν Kai épaxev eis rpν SKaarou rāw  
 aTrepparaυ, arcua rreaiura eicç rrju yfju ^ppà Kai  
 yvpvá ScaXverar eir çk ríp %iaXvaea><j rj peya-  
 XeioTTji t ijç irpovóa<; tov èecrrrorov áui<TTTj aiu aura,  
 Kai çk tov éuàç TrXeíoua av^ei Kai çKcfiépei Kapirov.

### XXV

1. "ibaivev to irapábo^ov arjpeíou to yivopevov  
 èu TOÍÇ CIPaToXIKOK TOTOÍÇ, TOVTHTTIU TOIC TTSpl  
 rpu 'Apaß'iaυ. 2. opueou yáp èanu, ò rrhoaouo-  
 pâmerai ýoút!;- tovto pouoyevès ínrap^ov çj ery  
 rreuraKoaía, yevopeuou re pòp irpos arroXvaíu tov  
 ùTrodaveíu aiiTO, arjKou eavrcp iroiéi çK Xi/3auov Kai  
 <rp.vpuT] <; Kai rà>u Xoitt &u ápcopáraiv, eicç bu irX^pw-  
 déuTO<j tov xpóuov eiaepxerai Kai reXevTa. 3.  
 <T7)7roz.ép7jç èè TTfi ffapKos aKaiXr]^ tiç yeuúarai, oç  
 çk t i)ç iKp.àèò<; tov TSTeXevTT]KOT0<; ^cvov àuarpe-  
 (fiòpeuof TTrepofiveî- eira yewaíocç yevopeuos aïpei  
 rbv a-TjKov çKeíuou, oiroy ra bara tov Trpoyeyouoç  
 èariu, Kai ravra /SacrtÛçtitv biavvei àiro rfjs Apa-  
 /SiKrjs ftcópac; e<uç tt jç Aiyvirrov ei<f rrju Xeyop^viju  
 'HXtoviroXiu, 4. Kai r/pÁpas, fiXeiróurairu Tráuratv,  
 èTwrràs etti tou tov ijXiov /3a>pbu ridyaiu avra  
 Kai ovrax; eicç tovttl^cto) àcpoppâ. 5. ol oiíu l'epeicç  
 eTTiaKeiTouTai ràç àvaypacpà^ rà>v xpouwv Kai  
 evpi<TKOv<riv avrov rrevraKoaioarov eroçç TreirX>/-  
 pcopéuov èXTjXvôévai.



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, the  
2. There is a bird which is called the Phoenix. resurrection  
This is the only one of its kind, and lives 500 years; tion  
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.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The same story, with variations, is found in Herodotus (ii. 73), Pliny (Ara. *Hist.* x. 2), etc. It was supposed by Christians to be sanctioned by the LXX version of Ps. xlii. 12, where there is a confusion between = phoenix', and = palm tree.

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

### XXVI

1. Méya Kai Oavpaarov ovv vopiÇopev eívat, el ç èpptoypyàç rwv áirávrçov avaaraaiv Troipçerai t úv óffico? aÚTW ðovXevffaprcap èv rrerroiOpaei iricrreais ayaOps, ottou Kai ði opvéov ðeçKW<riv ppív ro peyaXetov r^ç eTrayyeXiac; avrov; 2. Xéy« Ps.28,7? yáp ttov Kai è^avaarpaev; pie, Kai è^opoXoyp- Ps. 3 s aopal soi, Kai' 'E;Koippf)pv Kai VTFvaxra, c^pyép- Opv, ori av per èpov et. 3. Kai TráXiv Tà/? Job la, 26 Xéyei' Kai ài/affT/jcrei? rpv aapKa pov ravrvp rpv àvavrXpaaaav ravra iravra.

### XXVII

1. Tavrv ovv rp èX-rrlòl Trpo<rðeðé<r0a>aav ai ijrv^al ppârv tçü TTiffTcò èv rai? ÈTrayyeXiac? Kai rà> ðiKairp èv roti Kpipairtv. 2. o rrapayyeiXas pp ifrevSea&ai, tt0XXw pâXXov avrete ou ^revaerar iieb. 6,18 ovBèv yàp àSvvarov Trapa rç3 Oeâ el pp rô yjrev- aaadaí. 3. ava^anrvppaara) ovv p iriarts àurov èv ppiv, Kai vopçapev ori rravra èyyuç avrai èariv- 4. èv Xoyip rps peyaXuíavvps avrov ervv- earpaaro rà rràvra, Kai èv Xoyip èvvarai avra wisd. 12,12 Karaarpéi)rat. 5. Tí? èpeí avrà- Tí èrhoipa-ai ; p ri<; àvriirraeraí rà> Kpárei rps icryò? avrov ; ore ðélei Kai à? OéXeí rroipaei rràvra,Kal ouðèv pp irap- eXôp rwv fieúoyparierpévcov vrr avrov. 6. rravra Ps. 19,1-3 èvwiriov avrov eiffiv, Kai ovèèv XeXpOev rpv /3ovXpv avrov, 7. çì ol oupavol iipyovvrai ðo^av 3eov,

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

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

*rrórf;aiiv ζέ xeipwv avrov avayyeXXet to arepeiopa'  
¶ ýpépa rrj rjpepa èpevyerai pîjpa, Kai vυ£ vυk ti  
àvayyeWet yvwaiiv Kai ovk elaiiv Xoyot ovde  
XaXiai, a>v ov%i ÙKovovrai ai <ba>vai avriðv.*

### XXVIII

1. XiàvTMv ovv fiXerropévrov Kai aKovopèncov, <po-  
{SrdjSjpiev avrov, Kai ànoXinaipev cjiavXatv epytovpia-  
pàs èTTidvpiaspva rà> èXéei avrov aKeiruaOúpev àiro  
rwv peXXovrarv Kpipàrw- 2. rrov yáp ns pptòv  
èrvvarai <f>vyéiv àro ri/s Kparaiàs y^eipòs avrov ;  
rroios Sè Kocrpos Sèmerai riva rûv avropoXovrm/  
Fs. 139,7-8 àrr avrov ; 3. Xéyei yáp rrov ro ypa^>eíov Irov  
á<f>rj^6i> Kai 11ov Kpvj3rjaopai útfo rov rrpoiránrov  
(rov ; èàn àva/3â> eis rov ovpanón, crii ζKeí et' èàn  
àrréxfco eis rà ecryara rfps yps, ckcÍ rj Be^ia aov  
èàn Karaarpioaio els ras à/Bvo-crovs, ζKeí ro rrvεpa  
aov. 4. rroí ovv ns àrreKòp tj 11ov àroBpàap àro  
rov rà rràvra èprrepié^ovros ;

### XXIX

1. TIpoaeX0a>pev ovv avrû> èv oaiorrjri ^rv^rjs,  
àyvàs Kai àptâvrovs %eípas aïpovres rrpov avrov,  
àyarrúvres rov èrrietKTj Kai evarrXay^vov rrarepa  
ijpâ>v, ôç èKXoyrjs pepov ypas èrroiipaev eavrû.  
Dcut.32 s. 9 2. avrai yàp yèpparrrai' "Ore èiepétiÇev ó vnjriaros

I. CLEMENT, XXVII. 7-xxix. 2

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

XXVIII

1. Since then all things are seen and heard by The 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<sup>1</sup> 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, The privi- raising pure and undefiled hands to him, loving our cjtstthns 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,

<sup>1</sup> An accurate quotation of an unintelligible sentence, τὸ 7pct<dejn' 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,"

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

*eOvrj, ζ<ι SiéaTreipev uiouç 'A8«/z, ecrrrjcrev opta èðvtàv Kara àptOp-by àyyèXwv Oeov. èvevr/Or/ ιζέpis KUpíov Xabs avroû 'Tti,K<ζft, cr^otvtcrpa KXrj;rovopías*  
 Dcut. 4,34; *avroû^<rparjX. 3. Kai èv érépa> tottçû Xéyef T8ov,*  
 Xnm. is' 27; *Kvpiof Xapftávet éavrá) 'ζOvos ζk péaoov éOv&v,*  
 H chron. *(úairep Xapfiávet av0pariros rrjv àrrap^v avroû ríjs*  
 Kzek. 48, *aXar Kai èl;eXeuaerat ζk tov edvovs eKeíov ayia áytaiv.*

### XXX

1. *'Ayíovl ovv pepis vnapyovres Troir/craipev ra tov àytaapoû iraura, <]>evyovTes KaraXaXtas, ptapás re Kai ávávyovs avprrxoKás, ιζέdas re Kai vearrepurpovs Kai /jtâeXvKTas èrridvpias, jivaepán*  
 Pm. a 34; *poi^éfav, /3oeXvktvjv vrrepefjaviav. 2. ®ebs yap,*  
 i Pet. 5,'s' *tjirprív, VTrepTjictvots avTCTacraerat, raTretvoí<; 3è èi8(o<riv ^ápv. 3. Ko'XX'qôwp.ev ovv eKeívois, otç η) ^àpt<; arri) tov Geov èέèoTar èvδvacôp.e0a rrjv ófióvotav TaTreivoÿpovovTeç, èyKpaTevop.evot, àrho iravros ylri0vpicrp.ov Kai KaraXaXtcv; rroppto eaurouç TroiovvTeç, epyotç 8tKaiovp.evoi, p,rj2 Xôyotç.*  
 John, s. a 4. *Xéyet yàp' 'O ra rroXXà Xéyatv Kai àvraKov-aerat- rj ó evXaXos oïerai elvat ôi.Kaio<; ; 5. €vXo-yrjffjtévos yevvriTcv; yvvaiKo<; òXtyóisScos. p,rj 11oXvî èv pr/p,aatv ytvov. 6. o èrraivo^ rjp.tàv earto èv 0eà> Kai p/tj è% avrâ>v avrrerratverov^; yàp ptael o*

1 A has ayiot» oZv p.epis : G has ayia ovv p.^prj : LS imply ayta ovv fj.ep(s “a holy portion” ; K represents ayiuvv <\$v ^pt.\$ “portion of saints.”

2 CLK, Kai AS«

I. CLEMENT, XXIX. 2-xxx. 6

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

**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."<sup>2</sup> 6. Let our praise be with God, and not from ourselves, for God hates

<sup>1</sup> 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,

<sup>3</sup> The text is here obviously corrupt; but the corruption is in the LXX, not in Clement.

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

Seos- 7. ᾧ *paprvpia rfjs ayaffrp; irpá^etos r)ρS>v*  
*SiSóaffai vir dXXiov, Kaffais ζSóffi} rois rrarpaaiv*  
*r)Mùv rois StKaiois. 8. ffpdaos Kai avffdBeia Kal*  
*ToXp.a rois Kari}pap,ζvois viró tov Seoír ζTTieiKeia*  
*Kal TaTreivo<ppoavvi} Kal Trpaiirrs Trapa, rocs*  
*T}vXoyr;ipÁvois viro rov ffeov.*

### XXXI

1. *KoXXrjffûpiev ovv rrj evXoyia avrov Kal*  
*iStopev, rives ai óSol ríjs evXoyias. àvarvXc^co/iiev*  
Gen. 21, it *rà ìltt' àp^rjs yevópieva. 2. rivos %apiv TjvXoyTjffr}*  
*ó irarpp pp.üv 'Aftpadp, ov%l SiKaioavwrpv Kal*  
Gen. 22 *(tXi)ffeiav Sia iriarews iroirjaas; 3. laaaK pierà*  
*TreTToiffpaeas yivdxrKiov rò piéXXov ijSews irpoapyero*  
Gen. 2sf. *ffvaia. 4. 'laKwfi pierà ra7reivo<f>pocrvv>}s è^e~*  
*■yiáippaev ríjs yíjs avrov Si àSeX<j>ov Kal eiropévffi}*  
*irpos Aaftàv Kal èSovXevaev, Kai ζSoffi} avrtp ro*  
*StùSeKaaKrijirrov rov 'lapapX.*

### XXXII

1. "O ζáv ris Kaff ev eKaarov eiXiKpivws Kara-  
voij<rp, ζiriyvda-erai pieyaXeìa rà>v v11 avrov  
SeSopévoiv Stopewv. 2. ζ^ avrov yàp lepeis Kal  
Aevlrai Tràvres oi Xeirovpyovvres rà> ffvaiari}pi<p



## I. CLEMENT, XXX. 6-xxxn. 2

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

### XXXI

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

### XXXII

1. And if anyone will candidly consider 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.

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

- Rom. 9, 3    τὸν ἕτερον- ἑλ; αὐτὸν ὁ Κύριος Ἰησοῦς τὸ Κράτος κατὰ τὴν  
*ti; avrov /3acriXeif Kai ap^ovrec Kai pyovpevoi*  
*Kara τὸν 'loiiSav rà êê Xowra cKprrrpa avrov*  
*ovK èν πιKpâ Sô^p virap^ovaiν, wç èirayyeiXapevov*
- Gen. is, 5; 22, it ; 20,4    τὸν δεῦρον, ὀρίεσθαι τὸ αἰρέψα αὐτὸν ὡς ὁ ἀρεπὸς  
 T0- οὐρανὸν. 3. ἡρατῆς οὐκ ἐσοῦσα ὄραται καὶ  
*èpeyaXvvdpaav ov Si avrtòν p twv èpywv avrtàν*  
*p ttjç SiKaiorrrpayias fps Kareipyàavro, àXXà Sia*  
*τὸν OeXpparos avrov. 4. Kai ppeis οὐκ, Sia*  
*OeXpparos avrov èν Xptarip 'iπαov KXpdévres, ov*  
*Si èavTtòν SiKaiovpeffa, ovSè Sta t i)ç pperepas*  
*ao<j>ias p avvèaetos l7 evaepielas p èpytov a>v*  
*KaTecpyaaápeda èν óaiotpTi KapSias, aXXà Scà*  
*t i)ç TrivTecoç, Si ps iràvras rovs àir ai&vos ὁ*  
*TravroKpàraip Θεὸς ἐSiKaioaev <5 eo'TW p Sô^a eis*  
*Tovs aiwvas twv aió>va>v. àppv.*

### XXXIII

- Rom. «, 1    1. Τὸν Τροίαιον, ἀσέξτιοι; ἀπύτρα>περ ἀνο  
*Tps àyaOoTroiias Kai èyKaTaXÎTraipev rpv àyàirpv ;*  
*ppdap&s TOvTo èdaai ὁ SecTroTps è<f>' ppîv ye*  
*yevpSpvai, àXXà trTrevcapev peTa CKTeveias Kai*
- Tit. 3,1    Τροποὺ τῶν ἐργῶν ἀνοοῦν ἐριτέχειν. 2. ἀνο  
*TrpoOvptas Tfâv epyov àyaOov èrriTeXeiv. 2. avTOs*  
*yâp ò Sppiovpvovs Kai Secrirórps twv àiravriov*  
*èirî τοῖς epyoîs avrov ayaXKiàrai. 3. tw yap*  
*TrappedyedearaTw avrov Kpárei ovpavovs èarppiaev*  
*Kai rfj aKaraXprrip avrov avvèaei SieKoapp Trev*  
*avrov's' ypv re Sieympiaev àrho τὸν rrepié^ovros*  
*avrpv vSaros Kai pSpaaev èrri rov çacjiaXp τὸν*  
*iSiov ftovKpparos òepÀXiov ra re èν avrp Çâ>a*

## I. CLEMENT, xxxii. 2-xxxin. 3

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

## XXXIII

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

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

«/OitCorra rff eavrov biará<sup>ei</sup> èKeXe<sup>vaev</sup> eivar ffúXaaaav Kai ra èv aìiry Com npoeroipá<sup>aa</sup>s èvé/cXeiaev Tri éavrov Bvvápet. 4. èni nâai το è<sup>^</sup>oyónaTov Kai nappéyedes Kara btávo<sup>ia</sup>v, èiv-dparnov, raìs lepáìs Kai apápois "xepaiv èn\aaev ríjs éavrov eiKOVos '(apaKTrjpa. 5. ovrws yap Gen.1,26.27 (jn]aiv ζ Θεός' Hoipaiopev àv0ptonov Kar' elKova Kai Kad' opoiataiv pperepav- Kai ènoapaev o Theos top dvdpwnov, dpaev Kai 0rjXv ènoipaev avrov. 6. ravra ovv navra reXeìioaas ènpveaev avra Gen. i, 23 Kai pvXóypaev Kai einev Av<sup>^</sup>áveade Kai nXydv-veade. 7. Ibwpev, ori èv èpyoìs àyadois navres èKoappdpaav oí èiKaioi, Kai avrbs ζè ó Kvpios èpyoìs àyadoìs éavrov Koap<sup>r</sup>jaas è-<sup>^</sup>àpp. 8. e<sup>^</sup>ovres ovv rovrov rov vnoypappòv àoKva>s npoaeXOropev τδ> OeXypart avrov' è<sup>^</sup> ôXps ττ|ς la<sup>^</sup>γος ppwv èpyaaùpeda èpyov é>iKaioavvrjs-

### XXXIV

1. 'O èiyaòbs èpyàrps pera napppcrias Xap<sup>^</sup>ávet rov aprov rov èpyov avrov, ó vatdpos Kai napeipévov ovK àvro<sup>^</sup>idaXpeí τ à èpyonàpeKrp aìnov. 2. èéov ovv èariv npotivpovs jrpàs elvai els àyaOonoitav èf avrov yáp èariv rà navra. 3. npoXéyei yap Is. 40,10; rjplv I8ou o Kvptos, Kai o piados avrov npo npoa- f'rov! k, 12 ó>nov avrov, ànobovvai eKaartp Kara το epyov Rev. 22, 12 aζTOí), 4. npoTpénerai ovv rjpàs niarevovras è<sup>^</sup> oX-ps ríjs Kapbias èn avrà, pp àpyovs prjBè Tit. s, 1 napeipévovs elvai èni nàv epyov àyadov. 5. rò

I. CLEMENT, XXXIII. 3-xxxiv. 4

that move in it did he command to exist by his own decree ; the sea and the living things in it did he make ready, and enclosed by his own power. 4. Above all, man, the most excellent and from his intellect the greatest of his creatures, did he form in the likeness of his own image by his sacred and faultless hands.<sup>1</sup> 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 tilings 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 The reward labour with boldness ; the lazy and careless cannot works<sup>1</sup> look bis 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.”

<sup>1</sup> Or perhaps “ did he form in accordance with his intellect.”

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

*Kavxppa ppâ>v Kai y Trapppaia earii) èv avrip- viro-  
raaawpsOa rip dèXÿpari avrov- Karavopaopev ro  
rrâv -TrXyffos râiv èiyyéXwv avrov, Trois rw déXppari  
avrov Xeirovpyovatv rrapearivres. 6. Xéyei yâp  
Dan.7,10; p ypatftrj- Xlvptai pvpiâbes irapeiarpKeiaav avrip,  
Kai ^IXiai -^iXiâbes èXetrovpyovv avrà, Kai  
eKÍKpayov, "Ayios, àyios, ay¿o? Kvptos aaj3aá>9,  
rrXypps rrâaa y Kriais t»)ç êðfrçç avrov. 7. Kai,  
ÿpeîs, ovv, èv opovoia èTri rb avrò awa^dévres rrj  
avveibpaet, ¿ç è^ évos aroparos ^opawpev rpos  
avrov èKrevws eîç to peró^ovs ppâs yevéaOai riàv  
peyâXwv ωì èvtài'Çw èirayyéXtSyv avrov. 8. Xé-  
rcor. 2, 9; yeiyâp- 'O<p&aXpbs ovk eîðev, Kai ovs ovk pKovaev,  
Kai èrri Kapðïav àvOpcvTrov ovk iivljrj; baa  
fjroípaeev Kvpiosl rots viropèvovatv avrov.*

### XXXV

1. 'ÏÏÇ pMKiupta Kai davpaarà rà bâ>pa rov  
Oeov, ayarrproL. 2. Çaiy èv à&avaaia, XapTrpôrip  
èv biKaioavvp, áXrj0eia èv Trappyaia, rrians èv  
TreTTOiffrrjaei, èyKpàreia èv àyiaapSt- Kai ravra  
virèrriTTrev irávra varo rpv bàvoïav ppârv. 3. riva  
ovv apa èariv rà éroipaÇôpeva rois vropévovaiv ;  
ó bypiovpybs Kai rraryp rwv aiwvaiv ó rravâyios  
avrbs yivàaKei ryv rroaoryra Kai rpv KaXXovyv  
avrâiv. 4. ppeîs ovv aya>viaa>peda evpedpvai èv  
Tw èipiOpM rSrv VTTopevôvriüV, ottwç peraXâ-  
^a>pev rwv èirpyyéXpeviüv baiteûv. 5. ttwç Sè

‡ Kúpios CLS, ó Clem, (so I Cor. 2, 9), A omitta.

I. CLEMENT, XXXIV. 5-XXXV. 5

5. Let our glorying and confidence be in him ; let us be subject to his will ; let us consider the whole multitude of his angels, how they stand ready and minister to his will. 6. For the Scripture says “ Ten thousand times ten thousand stood by him, and thousand thousands ministered to him, and they cried Holy, Holy, Holy is the Lord of Sabaoth, the whole creation is full of his glory.” 7. Therefore, we too must gather together with concord in our conscience<sup>1</sup> 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

<sup>1</sup> Others translate “in concord and a good conscience” ; but it is not certain that *κονσυν* can be the synonym of

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

*ëarai roino, ayanr/roi ; èàv èarpptypévp rj rj èiàvoia ppaiv marois Trpùç ròn Oeov, èàv èKlyiqrcièpèv rà evàpeara Kai evrrpóaèeKra avrai, èav ètrireXe-  
 aoipev rà àvrvKovra rij àpaipcp [jOvXrjaet avrov,  
 Cf. Rom. i, Kai ÙkoXovO/jacopev ri) òà<ρ riÿç aXijOeias, àiroppi-  
 ^j ravres àcfl' èavrâiv rrâaav aSi/ctav Kai rrovrvpiav,  
 rrXeove^iav, epets, KaKopOeias re /cal éóXovq,  
 ijriOvpiapovt; re /cal KaraXaXtâq, Oeoarvyiav,  
 vireprjtfiaviav re /cal àXaÇoveiav, /cevoBo^iav re /cai  
 àÿiXoÍzeviav. | 6. raina yàp ói rrpáaaovreq artýrjrol  
 rà> Oeâi vrrâp%ovaiv ou pónov 0è ói irpaaaovreq  
 Rom. 1,32 avrà, àXXà /cal ói avnev8oKovvres avròis. 7. Xéyei  
 Ps.50,10-23 yàp tj ypaφvp Tó ÿ è àpapraiXâi eiirev o Oeóq-  
 'Ivari av ènpyrj rà èiKataiparà pov, Kai àva-  
 Xapflâve/s rpv biadrjK-qv pov erre aróparóí aov ;  
 8. àù ÿ è éπίπαας iraiBeíav Kai é^éfiáXes rovç;  
 Xóyovs pov eli rà oTriaco. et èdea/pea KXerrTyv,  
 avvérpe^e? avrai, Kai pera poiÿiàv rrp> pepila aov  
 èride/s- ro arópa aov èrrXeóvaaev KaKiav, Kai rj  
 yXtòaaa aov TrepjenXeKev BoXtorijra. Kaûppevo<;  
 Kara rov àbeXcjìov aov KareXáXev;, Kai Kara rov  
 vioii t »|ç prprpá; aov èri0et<; aKav&aXov. 9. raina  
 èiroipaas, Kai èaiypaa' vrreXa^e<;, âvope, ori  
 eaopaí aoi apotos. 10. èXey^ai ae Kai rrapa-  
 arijaai ae Kara rrpocorrov aov. 11. avvero &rj  
 raina, ói èrrtXavOavópevot rov Oeov, pyrrore  
 àprràp ÿ>ç Xecov, Kai pp y ò pvópevos. 12. Ovaia  
 aivéaeais éoÇàaei pe, Kai ÒKei ÿ80s, y2 èei^co avrai  
 rò aairpptov rov Oeov.*

| The text is doubtful : A reads <j>iXoízei>íai>, which is impossible, CS read ú^iAoferiái/, but L has *inhnmilitatem*, which Knopf believes to represent an original *rpiKobo^lav*.

2 fí L (çn qua) 9jv ACS with later LXX MS&



I. CLEMENT, XXXV. 5-xxxv. 12

shall this be, beloved? If our understanding be fixed faithfully on God; if we seek the things which are well-pleasing and acceptable to him; if we fulfil the things which are in harmony with his faultless will, and follow the way of truth, casting away from ourselves all iniquity and wickedness, covetousness, strife, malice and fraud, gossiping and evil speaking, hatred of God, pride and arrogance, vain-glory and inhospitality. 6. For those who do these things are hateful to God, and "not only those who do them, but also those who take pleasure in them." 7. For the Scripture says: "But to the sinner said God: Wherefore dost thou declare my ordinances, and takest my covenant in thy mouth?" 8. Thou hast hated instruction, and cast my words behind thee. If thou sawest a thief thou didst run with him, and thou didst make thy portion with the adulterers. Thy mouth hath multiplied iniquity, and thy tongue did weave deceit. Thou didst sit to speak evil against thy brother, and thou didst lay a stumbling-block in the way of thy mother's son. 9. Thou hast done these things and I kept silent; thou didst suppose, O wicked one, that I shall be like unto thee. 10. I will reprove thee and set myself before thy face.<sup>1</sup> 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."

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

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

### XXXVI

1. A<sup>utt</sup>; *p óèós, àyarrproi, èv p evpopev to*  
 Heb. 2, 18; *atixrppiov ppiàn, 'ipaovv Xpiarov, tov àp^iepea*  
*s'l rSiv Trpocafroptòv ppSyv, tov Trpoararrjv Kai ftopftov*  
*t i/ç àaÔeveias ppûv. 2. oià toutou àrevt^opev]*  
*etç rà vt/n; twv ovpavtòv, Bià toutou èvoTrrpiÇòpetfa*  
*rpv dpapov Kai vTrepTarpv o^riv àuroû, Sià toutou*  
*■pvem^dpaav rjv.<j>v oi ð^daXpol t ijç KapÛias, èià*  
*toutou Tj àavveros Kai èaKortùpev] èiàvoia f/piòv*  
*çvaiüáXXei eiç to <f>&&;, èià toutou ydeXpaev ó 3e-*  
 Heb. 1, 3, 4 *ctttot^i' t j]ç çdavárov yvúaews ppâs yevaaaOai, oç*  
*cou àiravyaapa rrjS peyaXatavvps àuroû, roaovrcp*  
*peifyav èarlv àyyéXav, oaep èiafiopàrepov ovopa*  
 Heb. i,7; *KeK^ppovoppKev. 3. yéypairrat yàp oiïrw 'O*  
 ps. 104,4 *„-04^2/ TOvç ayyeXous avrov irveupaTa Kai tous*  
*XeiToupyoùs àuroû Trupòs <j>Xóya. 4. ètri èè T«ò*  
 Heb. 1,5; *vim avTov ouTtos eiTtiV o SeaTorns. Tíos ,apv et*  
 Ps. 2, 7, 8 *ai, èyàì arjpepov yeyévrvjKà ae- aiT^aai Trap epov,*  
*Kai èò>aa> aoi edvi) Tijv KX^povopìav aov Kai ri]v*  
*KaTiiaeyeaiiv aou ra Trepara rrjS yps-*  
 Heb. 1,13; *Xéyei Trpòs avrón Ká^ou çK èè^iian pou, eais àv*  
*3S) Tòvs e^Opovs aov vTTorrorètov rtov Troèùv aov.*  
 6. *rives ovv ol è^Opoi; ol ifiavXoi Kai àvmaaað-*  
*pevoi TW OeXrjpaTi avrou.*

### XXXVII

1. *'ÈrparevaiópeOa ovv, dvèpes a3eX<fot, pera*  
*rraarjS eKrevelas èv rots àmpois Ttpoaraypaaiv*  
*àuroû. 2. Karavotfacopev tous arparevopevous*

1 áTevÍTaijuev A “let us fix our gaze.”

XXXVI

1. This is the way, beloved, in which we found The reward our salvation, Jesus Christ, the high priest of our though offerings, the defender and helper of our weakness. Cl<sup>r</sup>rlst
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 Ti>eneces- all earnestness, following his faultless commands, ordination
2. Let us consider those who serve our generals, with

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

Toiç ^yov/xet'Oi? ppwv, ttwç euTa/tTwç, ttwç e/CTi/rwç, TTWç V7rOT€Tayp£VCllli CTTiTcXoVtflV Ta SiaTaatoPCVa»  
 3. ov Trai/TÊÇ eiaiv tTrapyoi ovSè -^iXiap^oi ovBe eica-  
 Cor. 15,23 *rovTapyat ovSè TrevryKovTap^ot ovSè to Kaðe^r)ç, ÛXX' ê/cacTTOS èv tw i'Siw TaypaTt rà èiriTaaffopeva viro tov ^aaiXèto<; Kai TÛv pyovpévwn èTTiréXeî. 4. oi fieyaKoi, Siya twv piKpôjv ov SvvavTai eivat, ovts oi /MKpoi Sifta twv peyaXwn crvyKpaà-ù; t i'ç èaTtv ev Trâcriv, Kai èv tovtois 2 ypijaiç. 5. XciBapev to aúpa r)pwv fj KejäXr) oi/ya twv itoSwv ovSev / Cor. 12, 2b eaTtv, ov tcoç; ovSè oi Troêeç êt^a Ttjç KStfiaX^ Ta êè e'Xif^iO-Ta peXp tov aúpa,tos ppwv àvayKaîa Kai ev^pvcTa eiatv oXw tS) awptiTt' aXXa Traîna crwirveî Kai vTTOTayff pía ^prjTat, elç to coifeudal ðov to aâ>pa,*

## XXXVIII

1. ovv jÿpâ>v oXov to awpa èv tipiará) 'Ipaov, Kai vTTOTaaeáôto eKaaTos tû irX^aiov avTOV, Kadàx; é-éi)rj èv tð) yaplcrpaTi avTov. 2. ó iaaypò<ì TppeXebTco3 tov àadevrj, o Se àaOevri<; èvTpeTréaða) tov ia^vpón ð TrXovtrtoç èirbyopriyeiTa) TW TFTW^rô, ó Sè TTTW^Ô? CV^aptCTTeiTW TW Oeip, OTI èStoKev avTÔ>, St ov àvaTrXyptiidp aiiTov to vaTeppepa' ó crotpo<; èvSeiKVvadco Trjv aotpcav avTov prj èv

1 A reads eixTi... (the rest of the word has disappeared, though there isa trace either of m. . or of or. .) A1 has evei/cr. . .  
 3 L seems to imply ò a a-ñà o is “and one makes use of the other,” which may be the original text.

1 A has ixrj TTjTjx/ieAeiTw. This is perhaps a corruption of çd) ÔT'fyuEAeirai “not neglect,” which may be the true reading.

## I. CLEMENT, XXXVII. z-xxxvin. 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 The duties Christ Jesus, and let each be subject to his neighbour, heipUtUal according to the position granted to him. 2. Let the strong care for the weak and let the weak reverence the strong. Let the rich man bestow help on the poor and let the poor give thanks to God, that he gave him one to supply his needs ; let the wise manifest his wisdom not in words but in good deeds ;

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

*Xoyois, ùXX èν epyots àya0oîs' o raTreivcvbпов&v p.rj éavrcp paprvpeírci), ÿXX' eiirw ð<j> erepon èavrbv p.aprvpeíã0ai- ó àyvbs èν rrj aapKil p-r/ aXaÇovevé<T0a>, yivàxJKWv ori erepos èartv o èrriyopyySyv avrà) rpν èyKpàretav. 3. avaXoyi<ra>-pe0a ovv, àðeX</>oi, èie Trolas vXps èyevrfippev, rroïoi Kal rives elrrjXdap, ev els rov Koapiov, èie rroiov ràtftov Kai gkotoys à rrXàaas ijpcis Kai ðpp,iovp-ypaas elapyayev els rbv Koapiov avrov, rrpoeoi-púaa ras evepyecrlas avrov, rrplv ppas yevvr]0pvai. 4. ravra ovv rrávra èf avrov e^ovres è><j>eiXop.ev Kara rrávra ev^apiareîv avràv ùð p ðo^a etç rovs aliúvas rwv aiióntov. àpirjv,*

### XXXIX

1. "Af/jpoves Kal àcrvveroi Kal p.a>poi Kai arrai-Bevrot -^Xevá^ovaiv ppMS Kal fivKrr/piÇovai, èavrovs fiovXopevoi èrraiperrOat raîs Siavoiaç avrûv. 2. ri yàp Bvvarai ffvprôs ; y ns icr^vs Job 4,k -is; yrjyevovs ; 3. yèyparrrai yáp' Ovκ pv pop<^>rj rpo 19-5,% 4' ÿ^>0aXp,ô>v ;jMV, ÿXX' rj avpav Kal (f>a>vrjv rjKOVOV 4. "Tí yáp ; urj Ka0apbs barai fiporos èvavri KVplov ; árrb rS)v epywv avrov ápepvrrros ávpp, el Kara rralBav avrov ov rrurrevei, Kara Se àyyèXwv avrov aKoXión ri érrevórjaev ; 5. ovpavos Sé ov Ka0apòs èvórrriov avrov' ea ðe, ol Karoi-Kovvres oiKias rrrjNivas, èi- ÿ>v Kai avrai ck rov

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

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 Exhorta-  
mock and deride us, wishing to exalt themselves in {^who  
their own conceits. 2. For what can mortal man act other-  
do, or what is the strength of him who is a child of WIS9  
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

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

avrov rryXov eupev' eiraiirev avrovs cipro; rporrov, Kai avrò rpa)θev ewç ea-Trépa; ovk eri eiaiv rrapa rb py bvvaaffai avrovs èavroî; fiorj9rjcrail cnrcOXovro. 6. evefivarjaev avrai;, Kai ereXevrrj-aav irapa rb py èyeiv avrov; ao<fj'íav. 7. eiri-KaXeaai bé, ei t Í' croi inraKovaerai, rj ei riva áyitov àyyéXwv oyjry Kai yàp àÿpova àvaipei opyy, TrerrXavypérov Sè davaroi ÇijXo;. 8. èyà> bè êmpaKa diftpova; piÇa; /SaXXovra;,l àXX' evfféa); efiplib&r] avrtbv y blaira. 9. Tròppa) yevotvro oi viol avràiv àrrb aarrripia;- KoXaftpiaOevrprav erri Ovpai; yaaovatv, Kai ovk ecrrai o èÇairovpevo;' a yàp eKelvoi; yroipaarai, biKaioi èbovrai, avrol Se ¿K KaKÔ)v ovk ¿palperai eaovrai,

## XL

1. IlpoS^Xaw ovv ypìv ovra>v rovrwv, Kai èyKeKVifiôre\*; eiç rà /3á0Tj rfj<; ffeia\*; yva)aea><;, rrávra rà^ei rroielv ò<f>eiXopev, oaa à bernrorrp; èirireXeîv eKeXevaev Kara Kaipov; reraypevov\*;. 2. raç re irpoar^opà\*; Kai Xeirovpyia\*; èrrireXeîaOai, Kai2 ovk eiKrj rj araKra); ¿KeXevaev yiveadai, àXX ¿ipiapévoi\*; Kaipois; Kai a>pai<j. ' 3. rrov re Kai bià rlvo)v èrrireXeiadai OéXei, avrò? tipiaev ry vrrep-ràrip avrov íSovXr/rrei, "v ¿ala); rrávra yivopeva èv evboKrcrei evrrpóabeKra ei)] rà) GeXrjpari avrov. 4. ol ovv rol; irpouereraypévot; Katpoi; iroiovvre\*; ras rrpoa<l>opàî avribv evrrpoabeKroi re Kai

l úaÁÓvTas A, fyxWovTas CLS (LXX).  
9 eirireX&rQai Kat AC, om. LS.



I. CLEMENT, XXXIX. 5-XL. 4

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

XL

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

The duty of order in '8 religious

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

*paKaptoL- tols yap vopipois tov BeaTroTOU aKoXov-  
Oovvtss ov Bcap-aprāvovaiv. 5. τὸ γὰρ ἀπυτεπεὶ  
i'Biai XeiTovpyiai B(Bopéi>ai elcúv, Kai rois lepevaiv  
ζ̣Bios ó TOΓροζ TrpoaTeraKTai, Kai Aevirais iBiat,  
BtaKovíai èmKetvTar à XaĭKos avOpcotros τοῖς  
XaĭKoῖς irpoaraypaatv BéBerai.]*

### XLI

Cor. 15, 23 1. "E/cacroí τJ/z w i/, àBeX(j>oi, èv Tip ÌBl\p raypaTi  
*evapia-rcĭTw2 τὸ > Oeà> èv àyaOp avvecBpaei  
vTrâp^av, p,p TrapeKpιαtvcov top wpicpnevov Tps  
XsiTOvpyias aiiTov Kavóna, èv <rep.voTpTt. 2. ov  
TravTaxpv, àBeXÿoi,, TrpoacfiérovTai dvalai èvBeXe-  
•^lapov fj evytòv3 p irepi ápapTías Kai TrXpppbeXeLas,  
ζ̣XX' p èv 'lepovaaXpp. πόvy Kcucei Bè ovk èv iraPTi  
τ ὀττ\p Trpoa<f>épe~ai, àXX' eprpocrSev rov vaov irpo?  
to Svaicrrppton, pMp,oaKOTrr;0év to irpoa^epopevov  
Btà τοὸ ἀpxiepéax; Kai τcὸν irpoecpppxvwn Xei-  
Tovpywv. 3. οἱ ovv Trapa το KaŌpKOV Tps [jìovXp-  
aecos avTov ττοιοvvtés ti dávaTOv το irpoartpov  
e^ovaiv. 4. opa/re, àðeX(f>OL' oaip TrXecovos KaTp-  
^itóffpnev yvióa-eas, ToaovTm paXXov iiTroxeipeOa  
KivBvvtp.*

### XLII

1. Οἱ ζ̣TroaToXoi pp.iv evpyyeXLadpaav airo tov  
*Kvpíov 'Ipaov \pιαTov, 'Ipaovs ó XpιαTos airo*

1 SeSfTai A, SfSorai CLS.

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

3 C reads irpotreuxâi>.

## I. CLEMENT, XL. 4-~~nn~~. 1

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

### XLI

1. Let each one of us, brethren, be well pleasing to God in his own rank, and have a good conscience, not transgressing the appointed rules of his ministration, with all reverence. 2. Not in every place, my brethren, are the daily sacrifices offered or the free-will offerings, 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 C be adopted, "Sacrifices of prayers."

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

rov Oeov è^e7répff>0y. 2. ó Xpzcrrôç onv avo rov Oeov Kai óf avoaroXoc ζιττο τον Upcarov- eyevovTO onv àpefcoTepa eÙTitKTtoç ζk OeXppaTO<; Oeov. 3. TrapayyéXía'i onv Xa/Sorres Kai vXrjpo^>opp0evTe<; Sià τi; άvacnácrecús τοû Kvpiov ypwv Iperov XpiiIToD Kai m.aTú0évTe<; ζv τδ> Xoyip τον Oeov, peTa vXypoi^opíaq wevparo^ άγίov εί-rjXdov evayyeXi^ópevoc, τ itV (SacriXeíav τον Oeov peXXeiv epye&0ai. 4. Kara ^ά>pa<; onv Kai TrôXetç Kppva-aovTesl KadíaTavov τ ζs άrrapiris avTOiv, SoKipá-aavTes tw irvevpaTi, es èiriorcoivov; km SiaKovovs Twv peXXónTov TritTeviv. 5. Kai tovto ov Kaivàiç- ζk yáp 0>> ττοXXmv xpónaiv eyeypairro vepi ζιτιit k Óιτ(i>v Kai omk Óvmv. ovteoc yáp ττον Xéyet rj ypa<f>p' KaTao-Tijaco tous gitiækottovç avTúiv èv SiKaioavvp Kai tous SiaKovovç avTwv èv TTiaTSl.

is. so, 17

## XLIII

Nom. '2, 7; 1. Kai ti OavpacTov, ei ol èv XpicrTcà TriaTev-  
 iieb. a, ϑ 0ζιITC^ irapà Oeov èpyov τοιοvτο KaTéaTvprav tous  
 irpoeippévovs ; otton Kai ó paKapioç τtiçtoç  
 0epÚTm> èv oXrp tw oikcv Mwvcpi)? Ta StaTeTaypeva  
 avrà) TrávTa èaypeiúaaTO èv Tais lepaç fti/BXois,  
 æ Kai èiryKoXov0y<Tav óf Xoitto! 7rho<frjTai, avveTpe-  
 papTvpovvTes τοi? vti' avTov vevop0eTiiπέvoι<;.  
 Num. 17 2. eIceiuoc yap, ÇyXov èpTTeavTO^ irepi rijç tepa>-  
 cvvvp jcal ffTaaia^ovaûtv twv <j>vX<iï>, OTroia avTÚv  
 eiy toi èvδó!pp àvopaTi KeKoapypèvy, èKéXevaev

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

I. CLEMENT, xt.n. i-xt.in. 2

God. 2. The Christ therefore is from God and the Apostles from the Christ. In both ways, 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

*ἡ ἀπιπόρτια* "both" is probably adverbial rather than the subject of *ζένοτρο*.

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

ροὺς Σκόσε/εα <j>vXáp-yovs rrpoaeveyKelvavrS) pafiBovs  
 èrrieyypappévas eKaarps Kar ovopa- Kai  
 Xa/3à>v avrà? èByaev Kai èa<f>pàytcrev rois BaKrv-  
 Xtois TMV ^>vXàpva>v, Kai arrederò avras etç rpv  
 aKpvr/v rov paprvpiov erri rpv rpàrreÇav roù Oeov.  
 3. Kai KXeícras rrjv aKpvpv èa<f>pàyi<rev ràs KXelBas  
 àuraóreos Kai ràç ^«/33ofç, 4. Kai elrrev aurais-  
 AvBpes àBeX<j>oi, rjs àv <|>uX?)ç rj pá{3Bos j3Xaarrjcry,  
 ravrrpv eKXeXeKrai à Oeos eis ro tepareveiv Kai  
 Xeirovpyelv avrà. 5. rrpto'ías Bè yevopévps cruye-  
 KeíXeerev rrávra ròv 'TapapX, ras e^aKoiias %dXi-  
 àBas réov àvBpédv, Kai èireBei^aro rols <f>vXàp^ois  
 ras atppaylBas, Kai pvoi^ev rpv aKpvpv rov paprv-  
 plou Kai rrpoelXev ras pàfiBovs' Kai eiipédp p  
 pàftBos 'Aapcov ov p,ovov ^e^XaarrjKvla, àXXà Kai  
 Kaprrov e^ovaa. 6. ri BoKelre, àyarryrol; ov  
 rrpopBei M ùiv ^Ç rovro pieXXeiv ecreaOai; p,aXtcrra  
 r/Bei- àXX' 'iva p.?] aKaraaraaia yevprai èv ràì  
 'ìcrparjX, ovrcos èrhoipaeν, eis rò Bo^aaOffvat rò  
 et. Joh. 17,3 ovopa rov àXrjOcvov Kai pónov Geov-1 j5 rj Bó^a eis  
 rovs altòvas rcòv alùveov. àp,yv.

### XLIV

1. Kai oí àrroaróXot ppwv eyvoxrav Btà rov KVplov  
 r/pwv 'lyaoû Xpiarov, ori epis ζarai erri rov  
 δνóparos rijs erricKorrtjs. 2. Btà ravrvv ovv ryv  
 aìriav rrpóyvwriv elXpÿores reXeiv Karéaryaav

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

## I. CLEMENT, XLIII. 2-XLIV. 2

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

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

## XLIV

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





## I. CLEMENT, xLiv. 2-xlv. 2

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

### XLV

1. You are contentious,<sup>2</sup> brethren, and zealous for the things which lead to salvation. 2. You have studied the Holy Scriptures, which are true, and given by

<sup>1</sup> It is doubtful if this translation is right, and the Greek is perhaps corrupt. Lightfoot emends *p.fviii* to *TiTT/pij-p.fviii* "which they preserved." The translation given is supported by *ijfacto* (probably a corruption of *oifuncto*).

<sup>2</sup> Or possibly, "Be contentious."

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

Trpev<sup>ia</sup>TOç tov ayiov. 3. èTrlaraaOe, ori ouèèi»  
*âbucov ouSè TrapaireTTOirifiévov yéypairrai èv avrai}.*  
*ov% evppaere biKaiov} cwro/3e/3XTipevov} avrò ôcriwv*  
*âvbpcôv. 4. bíKaioi, iX.X.' virò àvôpcov-*

*ècjyvXaKîerOrjaav, àXX' virò àvoalwv èXiôâaOpaav*  
*vttto Trapavopaiv- àireKràvOr]a-av virò tcSv piapov xal*  
*âbiKov ÇrjXov àveiXycf>ôrci}V. 5. Tavra rraayovre}*

Dan. o, 16

*eù/eleô>ç ryveyKav. 6. ri yàp eïrrcûpev, àbeXcfroi ;*  
*AavipX ôtto rcòv jô/Bovpévciiiv tov Oeov e^Xrjdrj et}*

Dan. s, ion.

*XtiKKOv Xeóvrcoy ; 7. Tj 'Avavia} Kai 'AÇapia} Kai*  
*ÒAiaarjX v-rò rcòv ôprjcrKevónTcqv rrjv peyaXoirpeTrij*  
*Kai é'vò^ov Op-paKeiav tov vy/riarov Kareip^Oyaav*  
*eì} Kapinov irvpó} ; prjOapcò} tovto yévono. Tire?*  
*ovv oi ravra bpàaavTe} ; oi crTvyijrot, Kai Traar}]*  
*KaKtas TrXiypeiç «ç rotrovro è^ypiaav dvpov, ojare*  
*rov} èv ótria Kai àpiopM Trpodeaei èovXevovra} ra>*  
*Oe& eì} aiKiav rrepi^aXeîv, py eièure} ori o*  
*vylricrTO} vTréppayo} Kai vrrepacrTriúTTTj} èanv tmv*  
*èv KaOapà avveiorjaei Xarpevóvrvav rS> iravapèrip*  
*ovipari avrov" <þ v èó^a eiç tovç alcòva} twv*  
*aló>va>v. àpyv. 8. oi 5è vrrópévovre} èv TeTroiff-pirei*  
*bó^av Kai TipTjV èKXripovóp'r]aav, è7rpp0p<ràv re*  
*Kai èyypacjioi èyènovro iitto tov Oeov ev rai*  
*pvypoavvtp avrov l eì} tov} alcòva} rcòv alcóvcov.*  
*àprjV.*

## XLVI

1. *'Toiovrot} ovv virobefypacriv KÓXXrjOrjvai Kai*  
*jÿpà} bei, àbeXcjioi. 2. yéypairrai yâp- KoXXâaOe*  
*roi} àyiot}, ori oî KoXXcópevoi avroï} ayiaaO-q-*

J p.vTp.o<rvv(j> aiiTùv A, "their memorial."

## I. CLEMENT, XLV. 2-xlvi. 2

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

## XLVI

1. We also, brethren, must therefore cleave to such Exhortation examples. 2. For it is written, " Cleave to the holy, schism for they who cleave to them shall be made holy."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The source of this quotation is unknown,

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

*ffovtat.* 3. *Kai tráXiv èv èrépta tottm Xéyei-* Mera  
 fs. 17,26 f. *àvSpiK àOipov àOàio<ì èap Kai pÉia skXcktov*  
*¿kXcktÔ<;* eery, *Kai pera arpe/BXov Staaape^reic.*  
 4. *KoXXyOSipev ovv tok adipois Kai SiKaiois' eiaiv*  
 5è *ovtoi ¿kXektoi tov Oeov.* 5. *¿varí epeis Kai*  
 Kph. 4,4-6 *Ovpoi Kai SvXparaaii Kai a-^iapara TroXepos Te*  
*èv vpìv ;* 6. *y ov%ì eva ffeov è^opev Kai eva*  
*XpiaTOV Kai êv Trvevpa Tip %ápiTo<; to eK%y0ev*  
*¿¿¿ ?)/xâ<; Kai pia kXi|t i<; èv è&picrTip ;* 7. *ivaTi*  
*SiéXKopev Kai diaovwpev rà péXy tov HpiaTOv*  
*Kai (TTaaià^opev irpos to aúpa to ïðiov, Kai eis'*  
*ToaavTrv aTTovotav èpyôpeOa, ¿me èiriXadeaffai*  
*l'ipâ^, oTi péXy èapèv ¿XXqXcûi' ; pvytrôyTe t Úv*  
*Xóyww tov Kvptov "ItjctoÛ.l* 8. *e'rfrev yâp' Ovai*  
 Mt. 26. 24 *Ttiii àvdpíüTHp ¿KelVlù- KO\OV Ijv aVTItp, Cl OVK*  
*r'ùk?22,22j; èyevvr/07], p ïva TÛV Ìk ^sktcov pov aKavSaXÍaai-*  
*tMt^iVo2- KpeiTTOV rjv avTiô Tre^iTedi/vai pvXov Kai KaTairov-*  
 Mk. s, 42) *Tiadrvjai eic Trpv ðaKaaaav, rj eva t Syv èicXeKTÛv*  
*pov SiaaTpeyai.2* 9. *to a^iapa vpâiv ttoXXovç*  
*SiéaTpe-^ev, ttoXXovs eis àffvptav efaXev, ttoXXovç*  
*eic SiaTaypôn, tovç Travraç ppâs ei<; XvTrpv Kai*  
*eTûpovo^ vpâv éaTiv p aTacrìs-*

XLVII

iCor.i.ioff. 1. *'ÀvaXa/SeTe ti}v eTTKTTToXpυ tov paKapiov*  
*TLavXov tov aTTOUToXov.* 2. *ti TrpèÔTOV vpîv èv*

1 *'Itjdoû TOU Kupíou 7]/J.ÛV A, TOV KVpIOTV T]/J.¿>V 'ItjCTOY XpITTOY*  
 CSK, *domini Iht-su* (tov Kuplov X^c.ov) L. The other readings  
 appear to be semi-liturgical expansions of the simple form  
 found in L.

2 *7WV èKXiKTÿòv J.OV SiaiTTpe^at* LSK Clem. *t ¿p fj.iKpûv pou*  
*ffica^aXiaai* "offend one of my little ones" AC.

1. CLEMENT, xlv. 3-xlvii. 2

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

XLVII

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

The ellir-teaching of St. Paul, and the early parties

1 Clement takes the word for "with" (*i*te-rá) 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

\*13V (asreid pire . . . lapua ppw p) lorfo-oipC0Yo^oi?  
 l ' rf0»flY»j0»» "uiapp) ivrlmD^i.oxotio^f ' ' ■ »<J l

ic Uiav 'g 'Aidan mi TrorimvliLoxorio^s siviav  
 as amgxsois vai 'Shaaxo/vmq SvxaqIL lori sxv^ioay( os'eiW  
 .iviiivdhsL Smgm/ 'Uiav alim^j Sis viaLmsav sUaav  
 -oivx/q dyA> hxaiL -g 'Syrili UvUiwivnoiLv aULm/v  
 aliaky amriU Svi/pxs^vxi/p Shi akarisv alii il1s rvM  
 ardii üAiVwyivxii1s SoasrioasL sraayi imjq 'aqiqv  
 ssiaoasism asrimvavxn ivx liioiLiisq mi asrirrv  
 •sjLVodjL ivn isXvi as oiaoi aao asrimdp^^ j

### IIIA 1X

•ivgvs^vkds^sjis aaaa^ay/ aj sioiavs  
 'ahaavod/pv avdsisr/q ahí yi^ aoidas/ nvrloao  
 mi ivgv3ds<l>3JL3 svidhc^wxg/ ivx sivm 'amdli  
 tfm íviaoXdviLa sisaiys/odais saax s-13 ivx vyyv  
 'asvhdmXs syrKi sis aoorf no (103/v U Uinv vov 'ç  
 .saodsiaÿjssdji saox sodsL ass^viwiv vjimvodii ong  
 d. as avijoliys/xs amigaido^ av/vXdv idj/ ahí  
 -vioivÿsÿ ahi 'ivgvsaos/v sl/Xmkv mivid^  
 vi^yav lV3/ 'vdXvm avix ivs/ 'io il1 il vAjv 'vdXviv '9  
 'awmisrls a/grlq svi<f>xsqvx(i> aoiUoÿ/dsiL sili aqa  
 -risv 01 lV3/ avsfisdivsig ^yrlq isaii 'siwUoavivx  
 3^ lana -g 'íwinv dvn masrlwriixoqsQ idqav  
 ivi/ sioasr/lidaidvr/sid SioxoivoiLv dvL silig^x3  
 -vada .ass/kisalivodiL arria aviidvrfv vaoiiti haiss/s  
 Sivixs/vodiL U XY» ■ivg.olcioiLsiL Syria Sisv  
 -iX^/vodiL sioi Tyn 01 «xYojiy^ ros/ si y^U^  
 ir»/ si qoiavs idsJL arria as^/sivsiLs smsnivriasaiL  
 Svisghxy us •£ í asi^vdks aoi^skk,vqs aox <lXdv

I. CLEMENT, xLvii. z-xlviii. 2

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

XLVIII

1. Let us then quickly put an end to this, and let Exhortation us fall down before the Master, and beseech him 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 ;

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

τtuXι; τov Kvpiov Blkclioi eiaekevaovrai èν avT-y.  
 4. τtoXXwv ovv τtvXôiv dverayvtiuv y èν ^iKaioavvy  
 avTy ècTTiv y èν XptaTÔi, èν y pMKapioi irávTes of  
 el<rèX.0ovTe<; Kai KaTevôvvovTes Tyv iropeiav avTÛv  
 Luke 1.75 èν óaijTiiTi. Kai èiKaioavvy, arapa^cvf irávra  
 icor. 12,s,9 eTTiTeXowTe?. 5. -ijræ τ í? τtiçttoc, i/ræ SupaTÔç  
 yvivaiv è^eiTreív, yTto crocos èν SiaKpiaet Xóyrov,  
 i;τco íyvbsl èν èpyoïc. 6. ToaovTtp yap paXXov  
 TaTreivo^poveiv ζ(jieiXec, barn boKeîpaKXop peifyav  
 èivai, Kai Çrpreiv to Koivcoi^eXe^ Trâatv, Kai. ay to  
 éaVTOÛ.

### XLIX

1. 'O e%o)v aydiryv èν Xpicrrâ TroiyaaTOi Ta  
 τov 'XpitjTOV irapayyéXpara. 2. τov èεapov Tys  
 àyuTryi τov Θεοί> τ/ç èνvaTai è^yyaa(7Ôai; 3. τo  
 p.eyaXeíov T-ijç KaXXovip; aiiTOv τiç àpKeTos è^ei-  
 ireiv; 4. τo ζτ|/oç, eiç o àvâyet »; àyàirr), ζvskSi-  
 | Pet. 4,8 'py'rvTov ècTiv. 5. ayaTTf) KoWâ rjpa<; τo> θεS>,  
 àyaTri} KavTTTei TrXijé'oç àpapTiâiv, ayaTri/ iravTa  
 | Cor. 13,4-7 àvé^eTat,, jriivTa paKpo0vp.eí' ovüèν {jìavaveov èν  
 àyÔTrp, ovètèν virep^avov (iyairp a'^iap.a ovk  
 dyàiTtj ov vTaaia^if ayairri TravTa τtoicî èν  
 ζpovoiv èν Ty áyáiry éTèeia>Or;jaav TTavTeç oi  
 èKveKToi τov Θεov, \$i)(a ζyairT/ç ovèèν evapeaTov  
 èaTivl TW θεâ>. 6. èν ayá-rry TrpoeaKÛfieTO yp,à\$ ó  
 SeuTTOTys' Sta Tyv aycltryv, yv èa^ev irpos ypas,

1 Clement twice quotes this passage with *yopyçs* (energetic)  
 instead of *áyvos* before *èν Zpyoís*, but the second time he adds  
*ljrw ayvçs* as well.

2 *èaTiv om. L. Clem.*



I. CLEMENT, xLViii. 3-xux. 6

3, this is the gate of the Lord, the righteous shall enter in by it.” 4. So then of the many gates which are opened, that which is in righteousness is the one in Christ, in which are blessed all who enter and make straight their way in holiness and righteousness, accomplishing all things without disorder. 5. Let a man be faithful, let him have power to utter “ Knowledge,”<sup>1</sup> 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 Panegyric commandments of Christ. 2. Who is able to explain the bond of the love of God ? 3. Who is sufficient <sup>011 love</sup> 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. G. In love did the Master receive us ; for the sake of the love which he

<sup>1</sup> “ 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.

•pajtnbaj st ^ttasajd v : idnjjoa stu»as siqx B  
 'SO 3°e < XU3I3 }II(v) "OLLidx t

-tdvnyri o ioiao .Soyog aoj.av tj.vdoj.v mj. ai  
 rtix.09 3g00 'avtjdvdv iodan ivj.Uvttox Utif ao ao  
 'dUay ioddynvri .tvtdvrviv tv avvUgrftayvniLLi am  
 tvn tvttdoay tv avvligüipy am 'totdynvy^ .dyt tvj.  
 -jLvdtit -g •ivtJ.dvrfv i»± iliJLvtv to ardiü tvadg  
 -iijty oj. iis 'iijLyty vtoaodo ai & aidaotojji aoig  
 aoj. vj.vdvtj.vodjl vj. ti 'tovUM-vtv 'asrlvi totdyn  
 -vii \*kj 'amda amnUff amj. m Svrla mvhvuvay tvn  
 'iUffvtv ivdidU tvdovUgvUar! tvn 'aorl i>otdag o tvn  
 litdo U tigyidvjL ao imi 'aovo aovo aodnrd vtidvj.  
 yv iti ij.iffxivtTf .dnt tvj.jLvdk.it^aoj.vtd^aoj.  
 ivti^tvv^ rUl UjLonvtJLi ü1 ai tvLaovUgmdia<j> to  
 'amÿivai aodmX atvaoXi atdyX aoiff aoj. alit. yj.vn  
 üLaigmtiXij. lljLvty ai to txyv 'aoffyUdvjL ivdir/U  
 zUj. iqvUj. imi rfvqw ojl v tvvyjL tviait tv -g  
 'torimrly 'iUatJLmdgav imivt^nvodjL vXtq aidmgidai  
 lijLvty ai vat 'aoj.av iaoyi aoj. ojl v vÿidmjt v  
 tvn aao vffitimi^ lioiff o livmt^vivn ay iao Uri ti  
 'tvaUgidai livav ai ioavnt itL 'itvlitlL^i atJ.vi  
 nao iUjav ioj.Uj.otiXiL rUl tvn 'liJLyty U atj.vi  
 aoj.vvr!avg tvn vtiii imjj 'tojhjLvty 'ijvdQ

fi-i 'f. »10|  
 I 'I 'IS 'SJ

It 1S  
 :os 'ai

•amr/lj. amXajjt.  
 amv daJia aliXajf\*. ahj. tvn amrlli iondw 4/ljx diija  
 vndno aUj. tyn 'noig tLVTihyig iti amrlli iodan o  
 iOLvtd^ ójiox>áj( arntili diJLa ainm^i QOJ-av »1/10 o i

## I. CLEMENT, xlix. 6-1. 6

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

### L

1. See, beloved, how great and wonderful is love, Exhortation and that of its perfection there is no expression. foHove

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

1 Or, perhaps “life for our lives” ; but there seems to be an antithesis in the Greek between *irápt*, flesh, and soul.

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

*apb; èyévero erri t ov; eKXeXeypévov; virò rov θεov  
 δcà 'IpaOV XpCaTOV TOV KVpCOV riptàv, ςS Tf 80^a 61ϸ  
 Toùς alcòva; râv acà>va>v. aprjv.*

### LI

1. *τ'Οαα οvν Trapereaapev Kal ζTrocrjaapev δcà  
 riva; Trapeprnátai; l t ov àvTCKeπcévov, à^iwaiοpev  
 à<peOpvac Tjpîv. Kal eKelvoc, δέ, ocrcve; àp^pyoc  
 araaeac; Kal Sv^oaraaca; èyevpdpaav, òtpeiXovacv  
 t o Koivbv rp; èXtriZo; gkottσίv. 2. oi yap pera  
 (j>ó/3ov Kal ayarrp; TroXcrevôpevoc èavrov; òéXovaiv  
 paXXov acKiac; TrepcTrlrreiv p t ov; TrXpacov paX-  
 λov ζ>e éavrâ>v Karayvcoacv cpépovacv p t i)ς Traπαθε-  
 δopévp; ppîv KaXâ>; Kal δiKaiw; ôpo<f>a>vca;;  
 3. KaXbv yàp àvOprbr'r'p è^opoXoyecadac Trepe rô>v  
 TraπαTTOjprÎTCùv p aKXppvvac rpν KapBίav avTOV,  
 Num. 1« Katiàt; ζ<TKXi)pvv0r] rj KapZία t wv aTaaia^ovTUiv  
 TTpb; t oV ÓepárovTa t ov ffeov Majvcrpv, o>v t o Kpipea  
 Num. ib, 33 TTπόδpXov éyevpffp, 4. KaréBprTav yàp ei; a8ov  
 Fs. 49,14 KaX OávaTo; Trot,p,aveí avTov;. 5. lapaco  
 Kal fj GTpaTiá avrov Kal Trávpe; oí pyovp.evoi  
 Exod. 14, 23 AiyvTTTov, rà re appara Kal oi àvâftarai, avréiiv  
 ov δc' aXkpv reva acrlav e^vdeadpaav el; daXaa-  
 crav èpvdpàv Kal àiróixovTO, àXXà δcà t o crKXppvv-  
 Ôpvac avrébv rà; àavvérov; Kapδia; pera t o  
 yevéaðac rà appela Kal rà répara èv yrj Aayvirrov  
 δcà t ov OeπαTTovTo; t ov Oeov Mwii'créwç.*

1 The text is doubtful : 3ià ras irape/4?rT<ó(re/s Clem., *propter  
 quasdam incursiones* L, the equivalent of 8tâ ras irapcpl/rirrua-eis  
 rîvuv (ras) K, 3ià nvòs rwv ACS.

## I. CLEMENT, L. 7-Li. 5

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

### LI

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

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

### LII

1. 'A7rpoctr8e?;ç, ç8eX<£ot, ó SecrTroT^ç VTrápýei  
*rwv ciTravrarw ov8èν ovêevos ypr/Çet el p,rj rà*  
*è^opoXoyeíaffai avrà. 2. çjijiaiv yàp o ckXcktos*  
 Fs. 69,90-32 AaueíS- 'V,^opoXoyrjaopai rà> Kvpicp, Kai àpéaei  
*aim vrrèp poayov véov Kepara eK<f>epovra Kai,*  
*çTrXás- lèérwaav rrraiyoi Kai evc^pavGyrcoav.*  
 ps. so, 14. is 3. Kai rràXiv Xéyei- ®vaov t ç> ðeS>. Qvaiav  
*alvéaeas Kai ç,t,tÔSoç rà> u^íarai ràç ev^àç aow*  
*Kai eirtKaXeaai p,e èν ripçipa 0XnJretôç aov, Kai*  
 Ps. 61,17 è^eXovpui ae, Kai èo^àaeis p.e. 4. ðuaia yap rip  
*feS> rrvév/ia avvrerpipp^vov.*

### LUI

1. 'VririaraaBe yàp Kai koX&s èiriaraaOe ràç  
*lepas ypafyás, ayarrqroi, Kai èyKCKvcfiaTe eis rà*  
*Xóyia rov 3eoù. irpòs àvàp,vyaiv ovv ravra ypa<f>o-*  
*p,ev. 2. XicovaécùS yàp àva^àvros els rò èpos Kai*  
*TTOiyaavros reaaapaKovra fjp,épas Kai reaaapa-*  
*Kovra vvKras èν vyareia Kai rarreivóiaei, eiirev*  
 Dent.9,12 *TTpòs aùròν ò Geós" K.aTaf3rj0il aò rayos èvrevdev,*  
 7-8)Ud 32' *ori rjvóprjaev ò Xaós crow, ovs è^tjyayes ck ytjs*  
*Alyvrrrow Trapefirprav rayù ck réjs ôèov fjs*  
*èvereiXco avroís, èrrol^aav éavroís yaveúpara.*  
 3. Kai elirev Kvpios trpós avrów AeXáXr/Ka  
 Dent 9,i3.i4 *repos «re &7ta^ Kai 8is Xéycow 'ÚLáipaKa rov Xaov*  
 <B^ . ss, *TO£;TOL/) Kal lejóú eariv aKXrjporpáyrjXos' eaaóv*

1 Montai}, Mwvtri} Kard^&t A(C) om. Maivaó, Maivaí} LSK.

## I. CLEMENT, ni. i-lu. 3

### LH

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

### LIII

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

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

Exod. 32,  
31. 32

yu.e èÇoXedpevaat aiiTovs, Kai è^aXeiÿfrat to ovopa  
avTÚv InroKaTwOev tov ovpavov, Kai Troipcra) ae  
els effvos péya Kai OavpaaTov Kai ttoXv paXXov  
TovTo. 4. Kai eiTrev M^Sa/zÆç, Kvpie-  
dÿes Tpv àpapTiav Tpw λὰ> tov tçà, íy Kape e^aXei-  
ÿjrov çk /3i/3Xov çiovtiou. 5. ço peyaXrp áyairip,  
ç> TeXeioTpwToí çvvTrepfiXpTOV. Trapppa-ía^eTat  
ffepáiriov irpos Kvpiov, aiTeiTai d<fjeaiv íó> TrXrjbei,  
rj Kai èavTov èÇaXeiÿOijvai peT avTíov à^ioí.

### LIV

PS. 24, 1

1. Tí? oíiv èv vpîv yevvaíot;, rí? eva7rXay)(vo<;,  
t í? 7reTrX'ppo<l>oprjpevo'; dyairij^; 2. eiTraTiv Et  
èi èpè aTíicrí? Kai èpiç Kai a-^íapaTa, èK^aipà),  
airetpi, ov èàv ^ovX.Tja-0e, Kai ttoiu Ta irpoaTaaao-  
peva viro tov irXifêow pónov to iroípviou tov  
HpiaToûi eippveveTio pç.Ta ~jiv Kafje<TTapéva>v irpea-  
fivTepw. 3. TovTo ó Troi/jaris éavTjp peya kXcoi;  
èv lípiarip irepiTOir/aeTai, Kai Tras tottos éé^CTat  
avTOV, tov ydp Kvpiov »; yrj Kai to TrXrpTapa  
avTvp. 4. TavTa oí TroXitevópevoi Tpv ape-  
TapéXiiTov TToXiteiav tov θεον èiroipuav Kai  
TTOiprocriv.

### LV

1. "Iva 3e Kai vTToSeípaTa èffvcòv évéyKcopen.  
TroXXoi ftarriXeis Kai pyovpevoi, Xoipikou tivou  
évcr rávTOS Kaipov, ^pyapo^oTTj6évTe<j 7rapéBa>Kav  
éavTow eiç OávaTOV, 'iva pvawvTai èia tov eavTcvv  
a'ípaTos tovç 7roXíta<;, ttoXXoi e^É-^á>prjaav léitov  
loo



## I. CLEMENT, I u. 3-Lv. 1

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

### LIV

1. Who then among you is noble, who is com- Application  
passionate, who is filled with love? 2. Let him Corinthians  
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 Other  
heathen. Many kings and rulers, when a time of i"n'g  
of pestilence has set in, have followed the counsel of self-sacrifice  
oracles, and given themselves up to death, that they  
might rescue their subjects through their own blood.

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

*iroXeav, "va py araená^títēnv èirl TrXeîov. 2. t̄tti-  
aTapeôa ttoXXovs èv ppîv TrapaBe^toKOTas éavToùç  
eiç èeapà, ottwç èrépovs XvTpaìrTOVTav iroXXol  
éavToùç trapèè>a>Kav eiç oovXelav, Kai XaftovTes  
Tas Ti^às avTww èrépovs èT]ra>p,taav. 3. rroXXal  
yvvaîKes èvènvapwOeïcrai Oià Trÿç papiros rov  
Judith s ff. Oeoi> é-TreTeXécraVTO TroXXa àvSpela. 4. 'lottSif? p  
paKapóa, èv avyKXeicrp,â> ovcrps Tps TréXecoç,  
rjTj<Taro Trapa twv Trpea^vrépwv èaQpvat avrpv  
è^eXdelv eis rpv Trapep,fiOXpv twv àXXotpvXwv.  
5. TrapaBovaa ovv éavrpv t S> Kivèvva) è^pXOev Si  
àyaTrpv Tps TrarpiSos Kai tov Xaov tov ovtoç èv  
<TVyKXeiap,ti>, Kai TrapéêwKev Kvpios 'OXoef>éppv èv  
Esther r, %etpl ,OpXetas. 6. ov?( 1jttovl Kai è] TeXeia KaTa  
tticttiv 'Eadrjp KtvSuvoj èavTr/v rrapefiaXev, 'iva  
to èdvos2 tov 'IaparFX pÁXXov ζTroXeadai. piiayTaf  
Esther 4, io Sià yàp Tps vpiTTeias Kai Tps Taireivâcrews avTps  
p^Koaev tov TravTeiroTTTpv èmroTpv^ tδ>v attovwv  
os lèiiv to Tarreivov Tps ^o^ps avTÍjs èpvaaTO tov  
Xaôv, àiv ^ápv èKivètvvevaev.*

## LVI

1. Kai ppeîs ovv èvTv^top,ev Trepl tδ>v ev rivi  
TrapaiT<i>p.aTt, VTrapxζVTa>v, ottws Boðÿ avToîs  
èmeÎKeia Kai Taireivotjipoavvy eis to et^ai aiiTovs  
p,p pp.îv ζXXà tδ> OeXpp,aTL tov èeov- ovto>s yàp  
èaTai avToîs èyKapiros Kai TeXeca p Trpos tov Oeov

1 \$Ttor CSK, riTTom A ("to no less clanger").

2 levos LSK, Sη>Soκζ<δ>váoov ("the twelve tribes") AC.

• iearζTTiv LK, iea-jrζT7jv edv A, fleór C (S also inserts fleár  
but after Twr alwvvv).

## I. CLEMENT, tv. i-lvi. i

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 Exhortatio fallen into any transgression, that meekness and to 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

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

*Kai Toiif áyíovs /aer' oìKTippéav pveia. 2. àvaXâ-  
 /3topev iraibelav, è(j) y ovbeif ¿(jreiXeì àyavaKTeív  
 ayarr]Toí. r/ vov0érrjai<; rjv iroioupeda etç aXXy-  
 Xovf, KaXy èanv Kai virepáyav ¿><{>éXipo<;' KoXXá  
 yàp rj pás; tð) GeXypan tov Geov. 3. ovtoic; yàp  
 (fyrjcriv o ayios Xðyoç- Χαίόctίw èTraibevaév pe ó  
 Kvpios, Kai rS> Oavárto ov TrapèbcoKev pe' 4. bv  
 yap àyairâ Kvpios iraibevei, paariyol bè Trávra  
 vlov bv Trapabé^eraì. 5. Tlaibevaei pe yáp,  
 <fn]aív, bíKatos èv èXéei Kai èXéy^ei pe, eXaiov  
 bè ápaprcoXiHiv prj XiTravárco rrjv KefiaXyv pov.  
 6. Kai rráXiv Xéyer l&aKápio<j avGptorrof, bv  
 rjXey^ev o Kvpw vovGérypa bè TravroKpáropoi;  
 prj árravaivov avTOS yap aXyeív iroiiei, Kai TtaXiv  
 aTTOKadiaTyaiú' 7. èrraiaev, Kai al felpes avrov  
 iáavro. 8. é^á/cis é% civayKwv é^eXeíraí ere, èv  
 bè tð) 'efibótp ov]/ aleraì aov kokov. 9. èv Xipà>  
 pvaeraì ere èK Gavàrov, èv TroXétp bè èK ]^eipò<{  
 aibypov Xvaei ae' 10. Kai àirò pàartyos yXióaaýì  
 ae Kpvy^ei, Kai oí) prj <j>ofirmar) KaKwv èirep-^o-  
 pévwv. 11. àbiKiov Kai àvocov KarayeXàap, àrrò  
 bè òppitáv àyplwv ov pl] <fiob³'i|()rj<;' 12. Gljpe<; yàp  
 àypiot eìppveaovaív aoi. 13. eira yvóoap, ori  
 elpr]vevaei aov ô oIkos, y bè blaira r?/ç aKpvyfj  
 aov ov prj àpàpTrp 14. yvurap bé, bri t16Xv to  
 airèppa aov, rà bè reKva aov ioarrep to rrap-  
 fióravov tov àypov. 15. éXevay bè ev raefiM  
 atairep àiro<} vpipos Karà Kaipov Gepi^opevoì, fj*

\*s. 119, 18  
 Jrov. 3, 12  
 Heb. 12, 6)

,s. 141, »

rot. 5,17-2«

I. CLEMENT, Lvi. i-lvi. 15

and the saints, and find compassion. 2. Let us receive correction, which none should take amiss, beloved. The admonition which we make one to another is good and beyond measure helpful, for it unites us to the will of God. 3. For the holy word The teach- says thus : “ With chastisement did the Lord chastise scripture» 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 ma^eth to suffer pain and again he restoreth ; 7. he wounded, and his hands healed. 8. Six times shall he deliver thee from troubles, and the seventh time evil shall not touch thee. 9. In famine he shall rescue thee from death, and in war he shall free thee from the hand of the sword. 10. And he shall hide thee from the scourge of the tongue and thou shalt not fear when evils approach. 11. Thou shalt laugh at the unrighteous and wicked, and thou shalt not be afraid of wild beasts; 12. for wild beasts shall be at peace with thee. 13. Then thou shalt know that thy house shall have peace, and the habitation of thy tabernacle shall not fail. 14. And thou shalt know that thy seed shall be many and thy children like the herb of the field. 15. And thou shalt come to the grave like ripened corn that is harvested in its due season, or like a heap on the threshing-floor

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

&atrep Otìfuavià aXtovoì ko.9' aipav avyKoptaBelaa.  
16. fiXéirCTe, àya-rrpTol, Trécroç VTrepacrircpói ècrriv  
rolì Traibevopevoii virò rov ieaTroTov TraTr/p yap  
àyaBòì o>v Trai^evei eli 1o èXepBrjvai ppâi èia 11jt  
;alai Trapelai avTOV.

### LVII

1. 'T/zeîç ovv oi Trjv KaTafioXrpt Tpi aracretoì  
iroirpjavrei viroraypre 1oIí TrpeafivTepon Kat,  
iraiSevBpre eli p-erávoiaV, Kapyavrei rà, yóvaTa  
rrji Kapòlai vpwv. 2. pàdere viroraaeadai,  
àiroBepevoì. 11jv àXaÇòva Kai vTreppcpavov 11ji  
yXótaapi vpâtv avBàèetav- àpetvov yàp èaTiv  
Vplv, èv 1S> TToTpVtrp TOV XpuTTov piKpovi Kai  
èXXoylpovi evpedrjvat,, rj KaB' virepo^v Sokovvtuì  
cKpaftijvai eK rfs èXiviSoi avTov. 3. oîltoç yap  
Prov.i,23-33 Xeyei rj iravápeTOi aorpia' 'IBov, Trporjcropai vpiv  
èpfji Trvoíji fíj<riv, Sióáfco Sè vpái 1ov èpòn Xóyov.  
4. ètreiSri eKÚXovv Kai ov^ v7rtJKovaaTe, Kai  
égéreibov XÓyovi Kai ov irpoaelyeTe, àXXà aKvpovi  
eTToieiTe Tai èpài fiovXài, roti 8è èpoli eXéyxon  
rjTreìBptTaTe' Toiyapovv Kayà> 11} í>pe-épa aTreoXeia  
èiriyèXàaopai, KaTayapovp-ai Se rp/uca àv èp^pTat  
vplv oXeBpoi Kai tu? av àtpI^KyTai vplv àtpvat Bópv-  
fioi, i) Sè KaTaa-Tpocpì] òpoia KaTatylBt, irapp, rj oTav  
èpxi)Tat vplv BXlyjrii Kai iroXiopKia. 5. ecrrat yàp  
OTav eTriKaXeayaBe pe, èyù Sè ovk elaaKovaopai

## I. CLEMENT, Lvi. 15-Lvii. 5

which is gathered together at the appointed time,"

16. You see, beloved, how great is the protection Application  
given to those that are chastened by the Master, for Corinthian»  
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 pre-  
eminent in repute but to be cast out from his hope.

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

<sup>1</sup> "The excellent wisdom" is a title used (a) of Proverbs,  
(6) of Proverbs, Ecclesiasticus, and Ecclesiastes, (r) of the  
third division of the O.T. (Hagiographa or "Writings") as a  
whole. Cf. note on p. 57.

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

*vpSiv tyiTrprovaiv pe KaKoi, Kai ov% evprjaovaiν.  
 èpiaifaav yàp aof>iaν, τov Sè (fió/Bov τov Kvpíov  
 ov irpoeiXavTo, ovSè rfiexov épais irpoaéyev  
 fiovXais, èpvKTrfpi^ov Sè èpolis ε'Xéy^ουç. 6. Tot-  
 yapovν èðovrai ττ|ç èavriàν óðov τovs KapTrovS, Kai  
 ττ|ç eavruv àaefetas TrXTfadrjcrovTai,¹ 7. àνO' &v  
 yàp rfècKovν p^ττ|ουç yöevürjaovTai, Kai é^eracrpòs  
 àae/3eìs òXet- ó Se épov ùkoviov KaraaKifvùaei ètr  
 éXiriSi Treiroi0cbs Kai rjav^áaei drpófiav; aitò Travròs  
 KaKov.*

## LVIII

1. *'TvaKovacopev ovv τδ> iravayltp Kai èvèò^ip  
 òνόpari avrov c/tuyoTpeç ràç irpoeirpfpÁvas 8ià τ^ç  
 crocia? rois (iireiOovaiνarreiXas, iva KaTaaKrfvmaai-  
 pev 7re7roi00Téç èffl τo oaiivTaTOv ττ|s peyaXaavvrp;  
 avrov ovopa. 2. Se^aade Tpv <rvp(3ovXpv ppSiV,  
 Kai ecrrai àpcTapeXifTa vpiv. Çrj yàp ó Oeos Kai  
 Çfjλ o Kvpco<; 'Iyaoví Xpio-Tos Kai τo Trvevpa τo  
 àyiov, i/ Te iríaTK Kai rj &wj twv çkXcctuv, oti  
 ò iroiपाas èν TaTTéivotppoaúvp per €KTevoν<; eTrei-  
 Keía<; àpeTapeXifTw^ rà viro τov Oeov tieðopçiva  
 óiKaiátpara Kai rpoa-TaypaTa, ovτοçì èνTeTaypevo<ì  
 Kai eXXóytpos éarai eiç τov àπιOπον τSsv amÇope-  
 V03V Stà 'Itjutoν Xpiarov, 8i ov écTív avrà rj 8ó^a  
 eiç rov? alcòva\*; τ Siv aitóvtov. áprjv.*

¹ A is missing from here to the beginning of Chapter LXIV.  
 • ' fp 2° CS, om. LK and quotation by Basil.



I. CLEMENT, tvn. 5-Lviii. 2

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

LVIII

1. Let us then be obedient to his most holy and Further glorious name, and escape the threats which have and exhort been spoken by wisdom aforetime to the disobedient, i, tiun \*?. th' that we may tabernacle in confidence on the most dissidents 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, lie 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.

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

### LIX

1. 'Eav Sé rivef ùrrei0ÿaa>aiv roïf vrr avrov 0l' rjptòv elppévoif, yivwtncertoaav ori rraparrmaei Kai Kivòvvtp oil ptKpp eavrovf èvòpcrovaiv. 2. ■ppeif Sè àdàtoi èaòpeÒa àrrò ravrrp τ>}ç ζpapnaf Kai alrpaópeda eKrevíj rpv dépaiv Kat iKeatav rroiovpevoi, οττ ùiç ròv àptOpòn ròv Karppidppévov rtòv ζKXeKrwv avrov èv oXp raí Koapp èia</>v'Xà^p aOpavarov ó òtjptovpyðf rà>v árrávratv Òià rov pyarrppxvov rraiòðf avrov 'Ipaov Xpiarov, 8? ov Acta 26, is eKaXeaev ?; /zâç diro aKorovf elf <j>âf, afro ayvoiaiaf elf èrriyvaxriv òó^pf òvoparof avrov, 3. . . . eAtt i-Çetvl erri rò àp^eyóvov rràapf Kriaewf Òvopa <rov, Eph. 1, is àvolgaf rov f ò<j>0aXpovf ri) f Kapòlaf ÿpâiv elf ro ð. 57, is ytvioá-Ketv ere ròv póvov vyjria-rov èv vtyiaroif, ■. is, ii ayiov èv àylotf àvarravopevov. rov rarreivovvra s. 32, io vfòpiv vrreppcfxivwv, ròv èiaXvovra Xoytapovf Job 5, ii èdvoiv, ròv rrotovvra rarretvovf etf v\jrof Kai rov f ! Sam. 2, 7; vtyrjXovf rarreivovvra, ròv rrXovrtÇovra Kai rraa>- ;f. Lukci, 53 àiroKreivovra Kai tyv rrotovvra, 2 Dent. 32, 39 ; póvov evpérpv3 rreivpàrwv Kai deov rrátri/f aap- (iKingsl,? T°v èrrt^Xérovra èv rolf à/SvcrCroif, ròv èrrórr- io, 22; rnv àvdpwrrlvaiv ëpytov, ròv rtòv Ktvòvvevórvwv j, 16

1 There appears to be a lacuna in the Greek : Lightfoot supplies A; s Kypit.

2 sal aú^ovra appears to be inserted before «al fûr by SL, but is omitted by CK.

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

i io

LIX

1. But if some be disobedient to the words which Warnings have been spoken by him through us, let them d°88idents 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<sup>1</sup> to hope on thy name, the source of Prayer all creation, open the eyes of our heart to know<sup>toGod</sup> 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

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

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

Dan. 3, SI /3op00v, TOV TMV ;7T>;X7TiCr/XeP<OP (TWTTjpa, TOV  
 cisiachVo, vravTos Trvev/iaToç kt Iottjv Kai STRlaKOTrov tov  
 18-19 TrXriOvvoyTa edvn ;titi 7nç Kai ,sk tt<lvltu>v éKXejrâ-  
 Judith 9, ii fievon tovç àyaTrcòvTâç ae dia 'Iyaov' XpiITTOv tov  
 pyaicppevon TraiSoç crow, 8l' ov ?)z.âç eTratôet'craç,  
 Ps. 11s, 1K ; ??7;acraf, èTipyoaç- 4. à^iovpév ae, 8etTTOTa,  
 cf. Judith 9, yçVi(jQdl lidi àvTIXrjTTTOpa Tjps>V. TOVÇ èv  
 OXÍ^ei r/pSiv awcrow, rovi raTretrov? eXeycrow, rovi  
 TTeFTwKÓTat; èyeipov, toÎç 8eopévotç è7Ti<pavr)0i,  
 tovç àirdeveîç iacrai, tovç -TrXaiwpevovt; tov Xaov  
 aov èTTLCTpeèpov' ^opTaaov touç TreifwFTaç, Xv-  
 Tptoaaï tovç ðecplovcç r/pSiv, è^avacrTpcrov tovç  
 àadevovvTaç, TrapaKaXeaov tovç àXiyo-^v^ovvTaç-  
 I Kings 8,60; yvcÓTaxrâv ere àiravTa Ta e^VT), OTI- (TV ei o Geos  
 II Kings 19, ^;vo<ï Ka^ XpiCTTÔÇ 0 TTiltç (TOV Kai T)p.çtç  
 PgC^s^i23 Xaoç (tov Kai irpofictTa tt)ç vop-yç crow.  
 94,7 ; 99, 3

### LX

1. Sù yàp TT/v àévaov tov Kocpcov (TvaTacriv 8tà  
 Twv èvepyovp-eccov ;(^avcpoTroiyaaç- ov, Kvpie, tijv  
 olKovp.évpv eKTtaaç, o ttuttoç èv Traoaiç Taiç  
 yeveaîç, 8i,Kaioc èv toÎç Kpipaotv, OavpacrTOÇ ev  
 iayúï Kai p;yaXoirpeTreia, o aoÿoc ev tû kt î^ç iv  
 Kai rTvveToç èv tó) Ta yevopeva èàpàaaï, o àyadoç  
 èv toîç opciüpcévoïç Kai ^priaToç èv toÎç TreiroiOocrvv  
 Joel 2, 13 ; èiri aé, èXerjrov Kai olKTLppov, â<f>eç ypèiv Taç  
 li'chro!!!.11 ' avopcaç rjpMV Kai Taç àbiKiaç Kai Ta TrapaTTw-  
 30'9 pavra Kai TrXrjp.p.eXetaç. 2. pcrj Xoyiay orâcrav  
 àpapTÎav SovXcov erov Kai 7rai8ioKcòv, àXXa Kaðâ-  
 ptaov rjpcâç tov KaðapiKTrpbov tt)ç (rfy; àXrjÔelaç, Kai

I. CLEMENT, 1 ix. 3-LX. 2

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

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

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 For mercy

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

Pss. 40, S; *Karevdvov rà Bia/Sr/paaa r; p, m> èv oaiorpri Kap-*  
 1^Kings 9 4 'Tr0P€^ea^al Kai t ç KaXà Kai évápeara  
*Deut. 12, 25; èvüüTilÔv aOV Kai èvüüTTCOV Tü)V àpyÔVTTCOV 'illl'jil'*  
 28; 18, 18; 9. vai, 2 ðeairora, èrritpavov rø Trpòárrrov aov eç>  
 21, 9  
**P/i**nl-'80' ètç àyadà èv elpr'jvp, e'ç to aKwaaffijvai  
 Num.o,25,26 i/^tâç ri) %eipi aov t i? Kparaiâ Kai pva0r;vai áiro  
*la'-n'* io- ápaprías t ô) ;3payjoví aov rtp vyjryXtp, Kai  
 4. potrai ?;/tâç Ôtto t Sjv p,iaovvT03V ppâs ;ç;ikojí.  
 Deut.'so,» 4. Sôç opovoiaiv Kai elpT;vr;v yp.iv re Kai Traaiv  
 f?;oL í'í'í' t o Íç KaroiKOvaiv aqv yr;v, Kadêas eBtOKas t o Íç  
 Uellu 4, 0r;í Trarpacriv ppSiv, eiriKaXovp-evaiv ere avruv o<ria>s ev  
 5,15;^  
 Ezek. 'o, ' Triatei Kai àXi)Oeia, V7tt)kooovç; yivopevovi rà>  
 34 TravTOKpàropi Kai èvSó^oj ðvopari aov, toiç té->  
 àp^ovaiv Kai ijyovpievois r; pMV èirl Tljç; yfjs.

LXI

1. Sii, ^earrora, e\$>Ka<; ryv ègovtriv ryi  
*/SacriXeias avroît Sia rov peyaXoTrpeTTovi Kai*  
*civeKèiT]y/JTOV Kpàrov; trov, et? to yiva><TKOVTas*  
 7;/zâç rrp) virò trov avTOK BeBopévtjV Bó^av Kai  
*Tipriv uTToTaaaeadat avroK, pyBèv ènavriovp.evov<;*  
*t ô) OeXyparl aov o'ç Soç, Kvpie, vyieiaiv, eiprjvrp',*  
*ópóvoiaiv, evardOeiaiv, eì? to Biérreiv avrovs Tipi*  
*virò aov BeBopévrjv avTOK pyepoviaiv àirpoaKOTrav;.*  
 iTim. s, 17; 2. crii yáp, BèaTrora èTrovpdvie, /SaaiXev t i>v  
 lob.13,6-1° aicóp&nz, .SA5&1ç toiç vloit Ttòv àvβpó>TT<i>v ðó^av Kai  
*Tipr;v Kai è^ovaiav rorv èrrl t i)ç yfjs virap^óvrvav*  
*av, Kvpie, èievffvov rpv /BovXijv avrwv Kara to*  
 Deut. 12,25. koXÔv Kai evópeaTov èvanrióv aqv, ottms Biérrovre^  
 23; 13, 18 ev eipijvy Kai TrpavTrjTi evaepw<; rr;v virò aov

1. CLEMENT, 1x. 2-1xi. 2

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

LXI

1. Thou, Master, hast given the power of on behalf  
sovereignty to them through thy excellent and of rulers  
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

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

*avrols Zeé>op.évrjv è^ovalav iXecó aov rvy^ávcoaiiv,*  
 3. ó p.óvos Svvaros iroiyerai ravra Kai Trepiaaórepa  
 àyaOà peÔ' fipâtv, crol è£op.oXoyovp.e0a Sià tov  
 àp^iepécoc Kai TTpornarov rûv ■^v^wv rfpMV Irjaov  
 XpiGTOv, Si' ov croi fj òó^a Kai p p,eyaXa>crvvr] Kai  
 vvv Kai eis yeveav yeveSrv Kai eis rovs al&vas rûv  
 alá>va>v. ap.rjv.

### LXII

1. ITepì pèv TMV ávTJKOVTa>v ttj OpifaKeia ppm)  
 Kai twv çj<j!>eXi/i&)T<zT&>ii eis èvâperov ftirov rois  
 déXovcrivl evae/Bûs Kai Si/cai&>ç Bievûvvetv, iKaviüs  
 eireareiXapev vp.lv, âvûpes àSeX</>oi. 2. irepi yap  
 7tçt t 6c üí Kai peravoiac Kai yvr/aiac àyàirrp; Kai  
 èyKpareiac Kai aaicfipocrvvijs Kai VTropovrjS iravra  
 rôirov èipTjXa<l>iicrap£v, VTrop.ip.vrjfffKOVTeS Beîv vpàs  
 èv êiKaioaiivi) Kai aXrjdeia Kai p.aKpodvpia toi  
 TTavroKpàropi @eâ> oaicos evapeareiv, op,ovoovvras  
 clpvri<TiKaKa>s èv áyairp Kai elprjvrj pe~rà eKTevois  
 è~rreiKeiac, Ka0à)S Kai oí 7rpoBeδrjçcüpevot jrarepes  
 rfpûv eùrjpeçrTycrav TarreivocppovrjvvTeS ra Trpos tov  
 Trarépa Kai ktIo-ttîv Oeov2 Kai iràvras avOpa>-  
 vovs. 3. Kai TavTa Toaovrcp rfiiov vTrepvifcrapev,  
 e~rrei&r) cra<j>ws fâeipev ypáipeiv rj p.ás avSpáaiv  
 Triarais Kai eXXoyipatTáTois Kai eyKCKvtjioaiv eis  
 rà Xóyia rjjs iraiSeiac rov Ôeov.

1 to 9. OÏKouciν ζάπ'rov filor SL, ές ζάπτrov Pior rois  
 9ÏKovTijv CK.

2 ktIo-ttîv deçr SL, Qebv Kai ktiu-ttîv C,



I. CLEMENT, Lxi. 2-1 x ii. 3

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

LXII

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

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

### LXIII

1. *QepiTov onv èariv toic̄ toíovtoí? Kai roaov-TOK viro8eiypaaiv TrpoeX00vTa<; viro0éivai tov rpá^V^ov Kai tov tí;ç ζ7ra<οίς tottov avaTrXrjpw-aaí, ojrtù^ pavyáaavTe^ r^ç /ζarata? <rrá<rea)? èiri tov irpoKçlfjvevov ppiv èv âXp0e'ia (tkottov 8i%a Travròf pótpov KaravT-paεpev. 2. ^apav yap Kai àyaXXiaaiv rpiiv Trape^ere, èav virpKooi yevopevoi rot? ó</> rjpá>v yeypappÁvov; 8ià tov àyiov irvev-paroi eKKO-^rpre Tpv dOépiTov tov tyjXovs vpMV òpyrp> Kara Trjv èvrevl-tv, pv e7roipffdpe0a Trepí elprj-vrp; Kai ó/tofota? èv T-rjSe ri} èiricrToXy. 3. èTrépyfra-pev 8è dvópa; ττiιττολx; Kai aw<f>pova<; dirò veoTijTot; avaaTpatfievTas eax; yppov<; apépirTa><; èv Tjpív, oiTve^ Kai pàprvpe^ äaovrai pera^v vpà>v Kai -ppdiv. 4. TOVTO 8è èTroiri&aπev, iva eìèijTe, ori iràaa r/pìv <f>rovTls Kai yéyovev Kai èaTiv eis to èv Ta^ei vpâç eìpyvevaai.*

### LXIV

1. Aοιττòι> ó 7ravTeTró7TTi}<; 0eò<; Kai SeairÓTTj^ Twv TTvevpaTOiv Kai Kvpios iróarpì aapKO';, & è/cXefà/xcvo? tov Kvpiov Iyaovv XpiaTov Kai ppà<;  
Num. 1« 22; Si avTov eZ? Xaòv Treptovaiov, 8<ζι] Trdarj 'i/V^yp  
fc. Heb. 12,9 £KIKÉKXr]pÆVr} TO /ζGyClA.O'TrpGTr&i Kab aycov ovop.a  
Deut. 14,2 avTov iriaTiv, ^>ó^ov, elppvpv, viropovpv Kai  
pMKpodvpiav, èyKpaTetav, àyveiaiv, ffaxppoavvqv,l

1 ^atppoavvrviv CLK, «al ffwtp. A3,

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 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

εΖε evapeaTpaiv ró> ðνópari avrov Sia tov ap%ie-,  
pèav; Kai irpoaràrov ppò>v 'Ipaov Xpicrrov, Si  
ov avrai óófa Kai peyaXa>trvvp, Kparoì Kai, rtrpj,  
Kai vvv Kai eis rràvraf rovi aìwvas rcov aiatviov.  
àpp>.

### LXV

1. Toùç Sè arrearaXpevovf ¿<p' r/pûv KXav8iov  
"FtyrjJBov Kai OvaXépiov Várenva criiv Kai ^>oprov-  
vàrrp èv elppvp pera yapà^ èv ra^ei àvarrep^are  
irpos ijpcis, ottwç 0ÛTTOV rpv evKTalav Kai errivo-  
GijTijv ýpiv elppvrjv Kai opovoiaiv aTrayyeWwatv,  
eis rò ràyiov Kai ppa<; ^aprvai irepì ríjs evcrra-  
detas vpèðv.

2. 'H xàpK tov Kvpiov ppèirv T^aoû Xpiarov  
ped vpèav Kai pera ttÛvtwv rravra^V t &v KeKXrp  
peviov otto tov θεov avrov,l 80 ov avrai  
óó^a, Tipi), Kpàro<; Kai peyaXaiavvp, Opóvos  
aiwvio<ì, atro rww aìuivwv etç tovç alwvas tûv  
aiáivaiv. apyv.

*FmaroXi) t ô>v 'Ya>paia>v Trpòs rovi XopivOlov},*

**1 Si aÛToi CL(K), Kai Si' avrai AS.**

I. CLEMENT, LXIV. i-i.xv. 2

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

LXV

1. Send back quickly' to us our messengers Claudius Message as Ephebus and Valerius Vito and Fortunatus, in peace representa- 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 Final biess- and with all, in every place, who have been called aòxology 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.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 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.

## 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.

# KAHMENTOS

## PIPOS KOPINΘIOY2 B

### I

1. 'ASeX</>oi, o Ūt mç Oil 'jpas <j>poveiv irepl Tijcrov Xpiarov, ci)ç Trepì Oeov, c!>s Trepì Kpirov Çiovrvw Kai veKpàsV Kai ov 8eî rj pás piKpa fypovelv Trepì Acts. 10,42 tt)ç aatrrjpias r/p.S>v. 2. ev r& yap <f>povelv î/pàs piKpà Trepì avrov, piKpa Kai eXmÇopev Xafteiv Kai oi aKovovres <wç rrepl piKpà)V ápap-ràvovaiv, Kai ypelsl àpapróvopev ovk elióres, Tródev eKvjrôr]pev Kai virò rivos Kai els òv rórrov, Kai otra vrrepeivev 'lyaovs Xpiaros rradeiv eveKa rjpMv. 3. riva ovv rj pels avrà) Òwaopev ilvri-ptadiav, T) riva Kaprròv â^iov oi fj p.iv avròs èòcoKev; rróaa Sè avrà oÿeiXopiev òcria; 4. rò <f>üs yàp Tjp.lv èyaplaaro, i>S Trarijp viovs rjpàs TTpoar/yopevaev, àrroXXvpévovs r/pàs èaataev. 5. rrolov ovv alvov avrà> èàaopev f) piadov àvri-piadias Mv èXàftiopev; 6. irrjpol ovres ri) èiavoia, irpocKWovvres Xldovs Kai fvXa Kai xpvcròv Kai àpyvrov Kai yaXKov, epya àv6pd>Tra>v Kai ò ^los vjpoiv oXos àXXo ovdèvrjv el pi] bavaros, àpavpaxriv ovv TrepìKeipevoi Kai roiavrys àyàivos yèpovres èv

I Om. anapàrvouffiv, «al naeis AC.

THE  
SECOND EPISTLE OF CLEMENT  
TO THE CORINTHIANS

I

1. Brethren, we must think of Jesus Christ as of The need God, as of "the Judge of the living and the dead" and we must not think little of our salvation, 2. for Christ, and if we think little of him we also hope to obtain but faivation" 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 calle,d 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, worship- The state ping stone, and wood, and gold, and silver, and inverted copper, the works of men, and our whole life was nothing else than death. We were covered with darkness, and our eyes were full of mist; but we

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

*rp opatret, ave^Xe^apev àrroðepevot ζKeivo o rrepiKeipeda ré^joç rrj avrov QeXpaiei. 7. pXépaev yàp ppMi Kai airXayxyurOeii äawaev, Qeaaápevoi èv ppìv rroXXpv rrXávrv Kai, àrraiXeïav, Kai pipbepïav èXrriba èypvrai aatrppiai, el p,p rpv rrap' avrov. 8. eKaXeaev yàp ppâi ovk avrai Kai pdeXpaev Îk prj ovroi elvai ppâi.*

### II

Is. 54,1.  
Gal. 4, 27

1. Eùt^pai'^Ti, areîpa p ov riKrovra, ppÇov Kai Bopaov, p ovk ζùbivovaa, on rroXXa ra reKva rpi èppov pâXXovrjrpì è^ovapi rbv àvbpa. b eïrrev Eivÿpàvùpri, areîpa p ov riKrovaa, ppâi eïrrev crreîpa yàp pv p eKKXpa'ia pp.S)v rrpv rov boffpvai avrp reKva. 2. ô ε= eïrrev ibópaov, p ovk ζùb'ivovaa, Tovro Xéyev ràì rrhoaev)(àì ppwv àrrXûi avaiifiépeiv rrpbi rbv ôeov, p,p ζìç ai ζìSivovaaì èyKaKtipev. 3. ô εè eïrrev "Ori rroXXà rà reKva rpi èppp.ov fiâXXov p rpi è^ovapi rbv àvbpa- èrrei èpppoi èboKei eivai eïrrb rov ôeov o Xabi ppSv, vvvi bè rrierrevaavrei rrXeïovei èyevopeda r<sup>ôv</sup> boKovrcev è^etv θεός. 4. Kai érépa bè ypaÿp Xeyet, ori ovk pXOov KaXéaaì biKaiovi, aXXa àp,apra>Xovi' 5. rovro Xéyei, bri bei rovi àrroXXvpévovi aεÇeiv. 6. eKeïvo yàp éariv péya Kai ðavpaarbv ov rà éarwra crppiÇeiv, àXXà rà rrirovra. 7. ovra>i Kai ζ Xpicrròì pGéXpaev awcraì ra àrroXXvpeva, Kai äaeoaev rroXXovi, eXÿàtv Kai KaXéaaì ppiàì pbp àrroXXvpiéovvi.

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

Luke 19,10

## II. CLEMENT, i. 6—ii. 7

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

### II

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

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

### III

1, *Toaovrov ovv eXeos Troipaavros avrov ecs r'/pas, rrpwrov p':v, ori Ty/zsîç oc Çwvres rocs veKpocs Oeocs ou dvopev Kai ou rrpoaKWoypev avrocs> àXXà eyvaipev 8c avrov rov rrarepa rps àXTjdecas' t îç f/ yvwais rj rrpôs àurôv, 7) ro pi] àpvecadac 8c ou èyvtopev àurôv; 2. Xéyec 8è Kai àuros" Tou ôpoXoyi/aavrà pce èvwrrcov rûv àvdparrwv, l opoXoy-paa> àurôv èvwiriov tov rrapôs pcov. 3. ouroc ovv èariv o pcadôs r/pcSxv, èav ovv ôpoXoyr/awpev èc ou èatodr/pev. 4. èv rive Sè àurôv ôpoXoyovpev ; ev rà> rroiecv à Xéyec Kai prj itapaKovecv avrov rrw èvroXüv, Kai pi] pônov %ecXeacv àurôv repeev, aXXa è^ ôXtjs Kapôlas Kai oXtjs rijs Bcavocas. 5. Xeyec 8è Kac èv rcô 'Haaia' 'O Xaos ovros rocs ^çecXeacv pe repâ, 7] 8e KapSca àurâ>v rrôppm arrearv arr èpov.*

Mt. 10, 32;  
Luke 12, 8

Is. 29, 13 +  
Mt. 15, 8;  
Mk. 7, 6

### IV

Mt. 7, 21

1. *pàvov ovv àurôv KaXwpev Kvpcov ou yap rovro a<çaec f]pâs- 2. Xéyec yap- Ou rras o Xeycùv poc- Kvpce, Kvpce, acudr/aerac, àXX' ó rrocâtv rrpî 8cKacovi'7]v. 3. ware ovv, âSeX/pol, èv rocs èpyocs àurôv opoXoyûpev, èv rw àyarrâv èavrov, ev rS> pi) pocy/ccadac pr/8è KaraXaXeiv aXXtjXwu pr/oè ^tjXovv, àXX' èyKparecs eivac, èXeppovas, ayadovs' Kai avprraa^ecv aXXrjXocs è><f>ecXopev,*

l Iviinov rûv ivipciiruv AC, om, 8.



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 The 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.”

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<sup>1</sup>Er.  
Aegypt.

*Kaï py yiXapyvpeîv. èv rovrots tok èpyoa; opoXoywpev airrov Kai py èv tok evavTiots' 4. Kai ov Sec ypàs; <f>o{3eîa0ai to ÎÇ àv0panrov<; pâXXov, àWà tov 0eov. 5. èià tovtio, ravra vpûv TrpaacrónTaiv, elirev ó Kvpios' 'Èàv 'rire peT èpov <rvvyyzivoi èv tco koXttw pov Kai py iroiYTE ràç èvToXà<; p.ovtaTro[ia]liò vpâ<; Kai èpâ> vpîv TirayeTe air' èpov, ovk oiSa vpâ<;, tró0ev èare, epyarai àvopias.*

### V

<sup>1</sup>Ev.  
Aegypt.

1. wO0ep, àSe\c/>oi, KaraXeî^avre^ Tyv irapoi-  
Kiav tov Koapov tovtov iroiYiroipev to OeXypa tov  
KaXéaavTO^ ypàs, Kaï py <|>o/3y0â>pev è^eX0eîv èK  
tov Koapov tovtov. 2. Xeyei yàp o Kvpios  
vEcrecr0e «ç àpvia èv peai0 Xvkwv. 3. à7roKpi0eî<i  
ç è ó nérpoc avTtp Xéyei- 'Èàp onv Biaavapá^waiv  
of XvKoi Ta àpvia ; 4. eiîrev o 'iyaovs tû) HeTpar  
Mrç <f>o/3eia0o>aav rà àpvia tovç Xvkovs psTci to  
àiro0aveîv aína- Kaï vpeîs py ýo/3eîa0e roùç  
àiroKTévvovTas vpas Kaï pTjèèν vpîv èvnapévonç  
Troieiv, aXXà <po/3eîa0e tov poTa to à-7ro0aveîv  
vpàs è)(0VTa è^ovaiav Kai trápaTOS tov  
/3aX«p eic yèenvav Trupoç. 5. Kaï yivâtaKSTe,  
àbéXc^oi, ori y èiri^ypia y èv to) Koaptv tovtw t^Ç  
aapKo<j TavTyf pucpà èrrriv Kaï oXiyoypovto^, y Se  
è7rayyéXiaTOvXpi(TTOVpeyâXyKaï 0avpa#Ty èaTiv,  
Kaï àvairavais Tys peXXovays ftaaiXetas Kai



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*alcoviov. 6. ti ovv SctIv Troi/iaavras èrriTV^elv avTWV, el fil] to òor'coç Kai St/Ciuwç avaaTpe<f>ea0ai Kai Ta Koa/iiKa rama ç>s aXXorpia fjyela0ai Kai fil] èiriOofielv avTwv; 7. èv yap rà> è-rriOv-fielv rpias KTTfvaadai Taira ÚTTOTrÍTrTopev Tips çSov Trjs SiKaías-*

### VI

Luke 16,13  
Mt. 6, 2-1  
Mt. 16, 26;  
Mk. 8, 36;  
Luke 9, 25

1. *Aéyei Sè ó Kvpios' OvSels oiKeT-ps Svvarai Svai Kvpiots SovXeveiv. èàn rffiels 0eXa>fiev Kai 0eS> SovXeveiv Kai fiafiavà, àavficfiopov Tjfiiv èartv. 2. tí yap to otpéXos, èàn tiç tov Koa/iov oXov KepSpay, tijv Sé yjrvxyv tyjfiá>0Tf; 3. èaTiv Sè ovtoç ó alàv Kai ò péXXcov Svo è-^Opoi. 4. outoç Xéyeç poi-^eiv Kai <j>0opàv ko.l (biXapyvpiav Kai airaTrfv, èKelvos Sè tovtois aTTOTaaaeTai. 5. ou èinvàfieOa ovv t &v Svo <j>í,çoi eivac- Sel Se rfpMS TovTfp àiroTa^a/ivovì èKelvat ^pâaÔar. 6. oiófiieffa, l OTi ^çXtióv èaTiv Ta èvOàSe fiiarfaai, oti /MKpà Kai çXtyo^pónia Kai <j>dapT<i, èKeíva Sè áyairpaat, Ta àyadà Ta a<f>6apTa. 7. TroiovvTes yap to GèXrffia tov XpicrTov evprcfrofiev àvaTravaiv el Sè fi>íye, ovSèn Tffiâ^ pvaeTai Sk Tiff aiwviov KoXa-<Te&>ç, èav irapaKovaoafiev tS>v èvToXwv avTov. 8. Xéyei èè Kai rj ypa<f>y èv too 'lefe/ctífx, oti èàn àvaaTTf Nwe Kai Tà>/3 Kai Aavctfx, ov pvaovTat Ta TeKva avTÔtv èv Ttj alyiaXacaia. 9. el Sè Kai ol TOLovTOL SiKaLoi ov SvvaVTai Tais éavTiðv SiKai-oavvats pvaaaðai Ta TeKva avTÚv, ifiels, eav fil]*

Ezek. 14,  
14. 18, 20

*l oióp.f8a ACS, but Lightfoot emends to oitípeOa “Let us etc.”*

## H. CLEMENT, v. 6-vi. 9

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

### VI

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

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Cf. Mt. 22.  
11 ff.

*Typri<Twp, ev to parrTirria àyvov Kat, apbbavTov, Trota Trerroidricrti elaeXevaóp, e0a etç to pacrcXeiov tov Oeov; y tîs ypLwv TrapaKXyro^ earab, èàv py evpeOwaev epya è^ovTe<; oaia Kai SiKaia ;*

### VII

1. "fia-TS ovv, àSeXc[>oi p,ov, àywviawp, e0a el8o-Teç, oTi èv -^epaiv ó àywv Kai oTb elfrovç <£0aproùç àywvaç KaTairXéovtrvv TrdXXob, aXX ov Traire? CTetfiavovVTai, el p,rj ob TToXXa KOTiaavTes Kai KaXâvi àywvbcrâp, evob. 2. τ?/16ιç ovv àywvbcrd>p.e0a, Iva w(ivres aTetf>avw0êê>p, ev. 3. ware Oéwpevl rpv ð8ðv rpv ev0etav, àywva tov â(j>0apTov, Kai TToXXoi ei? avTov KaTaTrXevawp, ev Kai àywvbaât-p.e0a, "va Kai are^>avto0S)pev Kai, el p,p ðvvâp, e0a TravTe<; aTe<f>avco0fvai, Kav èyyvs tov aTepávov yevrvpeda. 4. el8évar ?/tâç ðeï, otì, ð tov p0apTov àywva àywvi^ó/aevoj;, èàv evpe0p <p0elpwv, p.aaTi-yw0el<; aïpeTat, Kai e^w PdXXerai tov aTaStov. 5. tI èoKeÎTe; ó tov tîç à(f>0apaba<; àywva <p0et-pas Tb Tra0eÎTab ; 6. twv yap p,r) TpppaàvTwv, ijypbTbv, Tyv acj)paybða ç crKwXy^ avTWv ov TeXev-Tpaeb Kai to trvp airroyv ov apea0paeTab, Kai èaovTab etç opaav Ttày aapKb.

Is. 06. 24 ;  
cf. Mk. 9,  
46. 48

1 AC read *eâifi\**v) but the Syriac implies *Signer* and is probably right.

IL CLEMENT, vi. 9-vn. 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 Exhortation that the contest is close at hand, and that many well in the make voyages for corruptible prizes, but not all are <sup>î°</sup>fetest of 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."

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

### VIII

1. '11? ow ècrpèν èiri yrp, peTavopacopev. 2. 7777X0? yáp èapev et? 11jv %eipa tov ts^vitov ov Trórrrov yap o Kepapevf, eàv 7roifj crKevof Kai èν rais yepaiv avTov òia<TTpacj>rj fj trvvTpi/3-fi, 11oXiv avrò àvaTrXàaaei, èàn jè 7rpo<p0à<rp eZ? t1jv Kaptvov tov trvpof aireo ftaXeiv, oiiKeTi í3oTj6rj<jei avTÔr ovTWf Kai 77|xet?, ew? ècrpèν èν tovico Titi Kocrpti), èν Tr/ crapKl à èirpà^apev Trovqà peTavopropev è^ oXrp 777? Kapèiaf, 'iva crcodcàpev varò tov Kvpiov, éca? '¿-yopev Kaipòν peTavoiaf. 3. pera yàp to è^eXOeiv 11/za? èK tov Kocrpov ovkéti èvvàpe0a èxei é^opoXoyrjaaa6ai rj peTavoieiv eri. 4. ware, àóeX^oi, 'rroi.ücravTes to OeKr/pa tov TraTpos Kai 11jv aápKa ayvrv TfipriaavTe; Kai Taf èvToXàf tov Kvpiov tj)vXá^avTef Xipty-ope0a Ço>rjv alwviov. 5. Xéyet yap o Kvpiof èν tS' evayyeXíw' Ei to piKpòν ovK èTppr/aaTe, to péya ri? vpìv èiii>crei; Xéyw yàp vpìv, oti 0 TriaTOf èν èXa^lcmp Kai èν TróXXip TTtaTOf eaTiv. 6. àpa onv tovto Xéyer TrjppaaTe Trjv aápKa áyvrv Kai 11jv crÿpayíHa àaTTiXov, iva 11jv aiáviov ^a>rjv áTroXá3a>pev.

Luke 16,  
10-12

### IX

1. Kai prj XeyéTto Tif vpwv, oti avrr) rj capí; ov KpiveTai ovBè ávla-Tarai. 2. yvSiTS' èν tivi eaâtôr/Te, èν tivi àvepXè^rare, el pp èν 11j crapKl TavTy ovTéf; 3. 8eí onv rjpaíf <jf vaov Oeov <j>vXáaaetv rijv



## II. CLEMENT, vin. i-ix. 3

### VTII

1. Let us repent then while we are on the earth. Cantore-  
2. For we are clay in the hand of the workman ; aud^urity  
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 com-  
mandments 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 resur-  
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

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capita- 4. ov rpoiron yàp èv rp aapu'i èKXpOpre, Kai èv rp aapKi èXevaeade. 5. el Xpearos, o Kvpios ó ad>aas ppàs, wv pèv to 7rpà>T0v wevpa, èyévero capí; Kai ovto>s i/pas èKaXeaev ovicos Kai ppeís èv ravrp rp aapKi áiroX-rp;rópeda rov ptadov. 6. àyairíopev ovv aXXpXovs, otίws eX0a>pev Trávres els rpv /BacriXeiv tov Oeov, 7. oίς e%ppev Kaipov tov ladrvai, èrriðèòpev èavTovs τ & OepairevovTi deal, avripiaGiav avrà SiSovres- 8. rroiaiv; to peravopaai è^ eiXiKpivovs Kapoias. 9. TTpoyvcvarps yáp èanv rtov iràvrwv Kai el3à>s ppS>v ra èv KapZla. 10. ZSipev ovv avrà) aïvov,l pp olüo (t t ζparos pónov, àXXà Kai arra KapZlas, iva ppàs irpoaBè^prai ζ>s vlovs- 11. Kai yàp etirev o Kvpios' 'Α,δeX<poi pov ovtoI elaiiv ol iroiovvTes to OeXppa T0Îl irarpós pov.

Mt. 12, so;  
Luke s?2i:

## X

1. "ílaTe, ζ3eX<j!>oί pov, iroiriaaipev to GeXppa Tov rrapos tov KàXéaavros ppàs, 'iva jppaatpev, Kai bitàlpoppev pâXXov Tpv àperpv, rrjv Se KaKiaiv KaTaXeltyiopev à>s rpoo^oiTropov τοiv aparpt&v ppwv, Kai <f>vya>pev rpv àcréfiéiav, pp ppàs Kara-Xà^p KaKa. 2. èav yap arrovbciawpev àyadoTTotelv, Stogeraí ppàs elppvp. 3. Sià ravrpv yàp rpv alrlav ovk eariv evpeiv2 àvOpanrov, oirives

1 ahov CS, alclDiov A; Lightfoot thinks that the original text was *alm' aiiiviov* (everlasting praise).

2 Lightfoot emends *eùpeiv* to *eù^epeir* (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 Mito us give ourselves to God, who heals us, giving him rePentance 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 Exhortation the father who called us, that we may live, and let to Jodliness us rather follow after virtue, but give up vice as the and warn- ing against, forerunner of our sins, and let us flee from ungodli- vice ness 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

«.e. peace.

nao aya 'aoiav amkds ami, mLvpya ivao<sup>^i^</sup>ojLv  
 kvigvirliLav Sv1 soaarlpyiakkv.ua o ai±va dvh  
 S0J.VI2L -g -vgar/mvirloy aogorrl m1 ivy vai<sup>^</sup> 'aar! 82 '01 'VH  
 -maiarloiLn i3Ldvvi<sup>^</sup>.ya yyyv 'aarlmXaj<sup>^i^</sup> M 'aod  
 lotpya<sup>^v</sup> 'aLvm 'g 'vÿvkv vl ivLajfiliyodLp vl i3jls  
 .aaXvs Si3jfoyg ivy SvivvLWLvyv aoi Sovy o ivy  
 itcoLao 'it, 'ViayliLvadvjL UyacjivLV vl t3 'v<pr/q  
 VLavL VLari 'ivLaaih SoiJivyÿ 'i3odoyyac[>  
 aar! aoLmdil .aoyaiLrly aLaÿvy .mya% SaoLava  
 3Layy<sup>^riav</sup> 'lOLhqay -g •aarivyydms amLaoL as<sup>^</sup>qo  
 loaarqXa<sup>^vodjL</sup> Svdarli ja avda-dU 9g kiariU 'awriU  
 amdaLVLL amL iil3 ivy aadwaoyli t ivyyn, vl o v<sup>^</sup>  
 .SaLaokay io 'viqdvÿ ü1 saLao<sup>^vLvi^</sup> io 'loXasfiiq  
 io aivia iod<n.u.Tvyv<sup>^</sup> -SoLoy soyiLlitjiodjL o ivy »aatnai3ija f '8 '85  
 dvk 79;9x -g -vedova lodmiLivvyL 'aoag vol  
 vياهوvLLa III ðvilll aiaqaLvijL Uri ol w?g aadmV  
 -aayaog li iì 9g ava .loiviyiq vgarlova ivy 'mag rðx  
 aarlmvaayao<sup>^</sup> vi<sup>^</sup>dvÿ vdvgyv aa aao 679i/jj

## IX

•rtfoxn» SSLdoaoyv 10 ?»» gx  
 lOLqv 'aiiridy alii mjaao<sup>^a</sup> aliwi<sup>^</sup> ?xo 'sg-iogw j/no  
 'j>vXajf.saoiLivav S»x 59±/igoy»?/x>t>g7g09!>j/ aivaoaad  
 -il13 9g aan .nU aoLysan 'aowvdaLa vl q vl loati  
 io1qv asd 79 ivy 'c 'viyakkvL.3 waoyyad li iaXa  
 ali<padj. avio ivy 'Sivavyodhy aypgna U aoawvy  
 nXs aUyiyU dyL aivaoohv 'f 'aviyakhviLa  
 awaoyyarl aliL U aioavyoLLv sqvgaa aliL aoyyyd  
 wayriUdllod.ii, 'iaoiJLwdgav sao<sup>^ocf</sup>) ivaokdyvLL

IL CLEMENT, x. 3-xi.

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 Warning  
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.”<sup>1</sup> 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

<sup>1</sup> 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 *rrotrjapev rrjv 8iKai.oavnrvjv ènavriov TOV ΘÉOV, ela-ifêopev els Trjv jBaaiXetav avrov Kai Xy^rópeda ras èirayyeXias, às ovs ovk r/Kovaev ov8è 8<p0aX-pôs eîðev, ov8è èrti KapBlav àvdpónrov àvéftrp*

### XII

1. *^iK^eypipeOa onv Kaff oipav rrjv /SaaiXeiov rov ðeov èv àyàrrp Kai BiKatoavnv, evretS^ ovk oiBapev rrjv ppèpav rijs èrriiaveias rov ðeov.*

Et. Aegj'pt. (?) *2. èrrepwTpdeis yàp avros o Kvptos vtto tivos, Tróre p^ei avrov rj /BaaiXeia, elirev "Orav sarai Ka^ Vga Ka^ apaev*

*pera rijs OpXeias ovre apaev ovre 6iXv. 3. rà ðóo ev èariv, orav XaXwpev èavrois aX^deiv Kai èv ðval aáipaaiv avvrroKpírois éirj pia '^■v^ij. 4. Kai rò è^tù àðs rò eerco, tovtο Xèyec rìjv ilrv^pv Xéyei to eaai, rò Bè è^ai to aúpa Xéyei. ov rpóirov onv aov to aúpa <f>ai,veTai, ovtois Kai rj tyvyp aov SíjXos earoi èv tois KaXoís èpyois. 5. Kai to âpaev pera rips dpXeias, ovre cipaev ovre 0ffXv, tovtοl Xéyei' 'iva àðeX<pòs IBàiv àBÉX^pv ovðiv2 <f>ponj rrepi*

1 From this point A is wanting.

8 jTibfv seems required by the grammar of the sentence, but ovSA is probably a solecism of the writer rather than a corruption of the text.

## II. CLEMENT, xi. 7-xii. 5

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

## XII

1. Let us then wait for the kingdom of God, from interpretation hour to hour, in love and righteousness, seeing that saying of we know not the day of the appearing of God. 2. For the Ljrd when the Lord himself was asked by someone when Ills 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."<sup>1</sup> 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

<sup>1</sup> 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" (*Oxyrhynchuspapyri*, 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.

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

aÛTTjç OpXvKov, ppSe <f>повр τί ircpi avTov ζperevikov. 6. *Taira* vpSyv TroiovvTwv, (ppriv, eXevcreTai T) *fiaciXeia* tov *iraTpo*; pov.

### XIII

1. 'ASeXtftoi ovv, ττοιÈ peTavopawpev, vp-^ro)-pev étti to ayaθov pecToi γάρ εapev iroXXp; àvoia; Kai rrovppía;. e^aXeiv^wpev á<f> ppwv ra irpoTepa ápapTppaTa Kai peTavopaavTe; sk <ra>θcòpev, Kai pp yiviópeθα άvθpa>irápeaKOi ppbe 0eXa>pev povov εavToi; άπέcKeiv, ζXXà Kai τoi; e^cú άvθπό>7roi; èiri rp SiKaiotrνvp, iva to ovopa Si ppà; pp jBXaafppierai. 2. Xtyei γὰρ ο Kvpio;' *Aia* iravTo; το ovopà pov ^Xacr^ppeirai èv iraaiv rois edveaiv, Kai iraX.iv Ovai 8i bv /3Xaa<pp-peiiiai to ovopá pov. ev tivi /3Xaa<j>ppeítai; èv tδ) pp iroiéiv vpàs à [BovXopai. 3. Ta èðvρ <γὰρ ÛKovovTa èK tov aTopaTOÇ ppwv Ta Xoyia tov 0eov &ς KaXà Kai peyâXa 0avpàÇei' ëireiTa KaTapa-0ôvTa Ta epya ppâtv oti ovk äTiv à^ia twv pppâ-tcùv uv Xéyopev, èvθev eiç /BXaaiippiav TpéiroVTai, XéyovTe<; eivai pvθov Tiva Kai irXavpv. 4. OTav γὰρ àKovawaiv irap' ppûv, oti Xéyei ζ 0eô<;- Oú ^iïloic vpîv, ei iiyairaTe tov; ayairüvTa; vpà;, àXXà x<lpi; vpîv, el ayairâie tov; è^Opov; Kai tov; piaovvTa; vpà;' TavTa OTav aKovaaxriv, 0av-

Is. 52, 5  
I

Luke 6, 32.  
35



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

XIII

1. *Thuefohe*, brethren, let us at last repent The need for  
 forthwith, and be sober for our good, for we are full rePental'ce  
 of much folly and wickedness; let us wipe off from The im-  
 ourselves our former sins, and let us gain salvation by made on  
 repenting with all our souls. Let us not be men- ijJhJut"  
 pleasers, and let us wish to please by our righteous-  
 ness 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; after-  
 wards, when they find out that our deeds are un-  
 worthy 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-

<sup>1</sup> Or, if *avrov* be read instead of *auroê*, "nor have any  
 thought of himself as male."

<sup>a</sup> The source of this quotation is unknown.

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

*pâÇovaiv rrjv VTrep/3oXijV rrj<; ayaffoTrjTO'i' orav èè lòataiv, on ov pòvov roùç piaoïnnas ovk ciyaTrwpev, &XX' oti ov8è tovç àya7r<òvTa'>, Kara-yeXâaiv rjpsyv, Kai /3Xaa<(>r)peÍTai to ovopa.*

### XIV

*"Hare, à8eX<j>oi, TroiovvTes rò OéXrjpa rov ira- rpos 77ñcòr 0eoî> èaópe0a &k tî}ç èKKXriaias rrp; TrpâTTJ^, Tî}ç TTvevpaTIKr/S, T>}ç TTp0 îfXiov Kai cre'Xijwyc èKTIapévvp. èàv 8è prj Troi-paoipev ro 0eX- ypa Kvpiov, èaópe0a Îk rrp ypaÿijs tî}ç Xeyovarp- 'Jçyevij0ri ó oikos pov airrfXaiov X-parotv. atare ovv alperiaáipe0a cit o Tjts éKKXrjata<! rrpî ÿwi}ç eivai, iva aa>0üpev. 2. ovk oïopai dè û/xâç àyvoeïv, oti ÊKKXr)aiâ Çûaa aâtpà èànv \piarov- Xeyei yap 77 7Pacl)i)' 'E-TTolyaev ó rov àv0p0>7rov àpaev Kai ffijXv to àpaev èarlv ò Xpiaros, to 6rjXv eK- KXrjaia- Kai èrîi rà fiifiXÎa Kai oi aTroaroXoi tîjv eKKXiq'a'ia v ov vvv eivai Xeyovain? aXXa àvatôev. ^v yàp rrvvpariKp, &ç Kai o írjaovs ■ijpMV, é<j>avepto0rj 8è èir éa^áratv rà>v t^pepôjv, iva -ripas acoa-p. 3. y eKKXrjaia 8è TrvevpaTIKri ovaa è<f>avep<ð0i-] èv rp aapKi Xpiarov, St/Xovaa ij piv, on èàv t iç ripSrv Trjpr/ar) avTT)v èv ry aapKi Kai prj <f>0eípr), aTroX^~^erai avrrjv èv rà> irvevpari rà*

Jer. 7,11 ;  
Mt. 21,13

Eph. 1,22.  
Gen 1 'z

1 Pet. 1,20

*l Sri C, "and moreover" («t í) S.*

*a Xéyoviri om. C. Some such word is necessary to the grammar of the sentence, and is implied by S, but whether it was Kiyouirt or and its exact place in the sentence is of course uncertain. S also adds "of the prophets" after "the books."*

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

XIV

1. Thus, brethren, if we do the will of our Father, The pre-God, we shall belong to the first Church, the spiritual church\* 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 ;<sup>1</sup> 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.

<sup>1</sup> 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.

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

flyiftr p yàp aàp^ avTp ζvιιvιttoi e<mv tov irvevpaTOI • ovSeii onv to covtotvtfiov opdeopai to avGevTiKov peTaXpyjreTao. apa onv tovto Xeyez, àèeXtpoL' TpppaaTe Tpv aápKa, 'iva tov irvevpaTOI peTaXafipTe. 4. el Sè Xéyojev elvai Tpv aapKa Tpv ζKKXpalav Kai to Trvevpa XptaTov, apa onv o {/jSpierai Tpv aápKa vj3poaev Tpv ζKKXpaiav. o τοιοvτοι onv οὐ peTaXpyjreTao tov TrvevpaTOI, o è<mv ó Xpio-Toç. 5. Toaavrpv ζvvaTai p aapÇ avTp peTaXafieiv tpopv Kai àcfidapaiav KoXXpOévTOI avT>) tov TrvevpaTOI tov iivoov, ovre é^ewretv toi Sviwvai ovre XaXpaaο a pToipaaev ò kvpool Toll ζkXcktoIi aiiTov.

ICor.2,9

## XV

1. Ovk olopao δέ, οτο πιKpàv avpfiovXoav ζTrot/peráp/pv Tpeo èyKpareoai, pv eroipaaì toi ov poiTavopaο, οιMXa Kao eavTov aaoaeo Kapoe tov <Tvpj3ovXeúaaVTa. p,ia0oi yap ovk émov fioKpoi TrXava>p.évpv -^rv^pv Kai a7roXXvp,évpv áaroTpeyjrao eh to aa>0í}vao. 2. Tavrvp yàp e^opev Tpv ávTO-poiadiáv aTToSovvao tS> jjeá> tSj KToaavTO ppài, éav o Xeyaxv Kai ζkovcov peTa Triarewç Kao áyairpi Kai Xéyp Kai uKovp. 3. eppéivaipev onv εςj>' olí ζTroaTevaapev SiKaooο Kai oaioo, 'iva pera irappaοai a'niópev tov Oeov tov XeyovTa- "Erro XoXovvtoi cov èpov l\$ov Trápεtpo. 4. tovto yàp to pppa peyáXpi èaTiv èirayyeXoai appeδov eToipoTepov yap èavTov Xeyeo o Kvpoi eh to δοδóvao tov aiTovvToi. 5. ToaavTpi onv ^ppffTOTpTOI peTa-Xap^ávovTei pp (f>6ovpaa>pev éavrooi Tv^elv

## II. CLEMENT, XIV. 3-xv. 5

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

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

*ro<rovra>v àyadcòv. oarjv yàp τῆς οὐρανῆς ἡ Χεὶ ρὰ  
papara Tavra τὸ ἴϛ Troir;aa<ri,v avrà, T0travrrp'  
KaraKptcriv ζ̣Xeì T0^ TrapaKovaaaiv.*

### XVI

1. "Cierre, à Bèxcfoi., aeftopprjv Xafióvres ov ptKpàv  
els τὸ peravoTjaaì, Katpov cy^ovref ζ̣TriaTpetycopev  
ζ̣ιττ τὸν KaXécraVta ripas Oeón, e&>? eri eyopev τὸν  
TrapaBe^op-evov rjpas- 2. èav yap Taίϛ pèviradeiat;  
TavTais àrhoTa^aipeffa Kai rpv ilrvxTjv rjpeáv  
vLKrjdwpev ev τῷ prj iroielv ràϛ e7ri#v/uaϛ avrijϛ  
Taϛ TTOvripas, pÆTdX/rpfy'opeOa τὸν eXéovs Itjaov.

Malach. 4,1 3. yivàxjKeTe Sé, oti épierai TjZri Tj ripépa  
is. 34,4 Kpitreai^ &ϛ KXiftavos Kaiopevos, Kai TaKpjaovTai,  
Tireϛl τ ὕv ovpavwv Kat, Trâaa rj yrj ζ̣>ϛ ποXi/3o<;  
ζ̣Tri Trvpl TriKopevot;- Kai TOTE t^av-paeTai Ta Kpvÿia  
Kai (fiavepà epya tmv àvôpwTrcov. 4. KaXov onv  
èXeppoavvi] peTavota àpapTia<;- Kpecaa-ajv  
vrjrrTeí.a Trpoa-evxjfp;, eXe-ppoavvri Sè àp<j>OTepa>v  
iPot. 4, s ayaTTr) Sè KaXvTTTei TrXiJ^oϛ àpapTiâv, irpoaev^V  
Sè eK KaXrj<; a'veiSjrcrea><; ζ̣K OavaTov pveTai.  
paKapios 7râϛ ó evpedels èv τὸντοκ TrXijptii'  
èXeppoavvp yàp kovÿtapa apapTiai ycveTai.

1 Lightfoot conjectures *Svi-d^eis*, 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 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.

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

XVII

1. *XieTavoijrrwpev oiv ox/rçç KapStia<j, "va prj t iç rjpsyv TrapaTróXr/Tat. el yap èvToXàì è^ppev, 'iva Kai tovto irpócrertocev, curò t Siv eiScóXwv çTToaTTav Kai KaTrjyeiv, Tróacp pàXXov i^rvyrjv 7/day yivcoerKovaav tov ðeov ov Set àyroXXva0ai; 2. avXXàfiwpev ovv èavrois Kai tovs àadevovvTa^ àvayeiv Trepl to àya0ón, 0Tra><; a'oOiopev aTrarreç Kat èTTiaTpe^rwpev àXXrfXovs Kai von0eTTjaa>pev. 3. Kai pij pónov àpTi SoKlàpev iricTeveiv Kai Trpoaeyetv èv tð) von0eTeia0ai ypàs viro tmv Trpea/3vTepa>v, àXXa Kai oTav eli oìkov aTraXXa-ycòpev,2 pvrjrovevtopev rcòv tov Kvplov èvroXparcov Kai pp àvTiTrapeXKwpeda òtto t Siv KoapiKwv èiridvpriav, àXXà irvKvÓTepov Trpoa-epyópevoi Treipcó-pe0a TrpoKoTTTeiv èv Tali èvToXais tov Kvplov, iva Rom. 12, 10 ; Tratreç to avTo <ppovovvTe<; avvr/ypévoi wpev èirl is 66Uii82'2 T^v elTrev yap ó Kvpioç- "Èp^opai avvayayeiv TrávTa tci e0vrj, ývXàs Kai yXibertras' TOVTO Sè Xeyei tt)v ppépav t i}ç èiriifraveias avTov, ore èX0à>v XvTpcóaeTai ppas, eKaaTov Kara Ta èpya is. 66,24 avTov. 5. Kai oifrovTai Trjv Só^av avrov Kai to KpaTos oi aTTiaToi, Kai ^evia0ri<rovTai ISovTes to /BaaiXeiov tov Kocrpov èv to) ^lyaov, XéyovTeç-Oval 'ppiv, OTl ail rj<j, Kai ovk ýSeipev Kai ovk èiria-Tevopev Kai ovk è7rei0ópe0a toicç TrpeafivTépois to Í9 avayyeXXovaiv ýpîv Trepl tt)ç aa>Trjpiá<; ypSyv. Is, 66, 24 Kai o a-KiüXrj^ avToiv ov TeXevTqaei Kai to Trpv avTÛtv ov a^ea0>jaeTai, Kai èaovTai etç opacriv*

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

2 S adds "anil have ceased from all."



II. CLEMENT, xyli, i-xvii. 5

XVII

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

Exhortation

^cePeUt

Not merely  
exhortation

Warning  
judgment

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

*iràcry capici. 6. Tpv ppiépan èKeivpv Xeyei rps kpi-  
ceos, oTav ofxrovTai tous èv ppÁ.v àce(3pcavras Kat  
7rapaxoyiaapçivovs τ 2ξ èvToXas 'Ipcov XpicTov.  
7. oi 8è 8'ikaiot evTrpaypaavTes Kai VTrop.eivavTes Tas  
/3acàvovs Kai pucpcavTÇS càs pBvTradetas Tps  
•▲v^ps, oTav deâcovTai tous àcTO^pcavTas Kai  
àpvpcapiévovs 8tà tov Xoyov ¶ 8ià rôv epyov tov  
'Ipaovv, ottoç KoXâÇovTai 8eivaîs /3aaávots Tropi  
AaftéaTO, ecovTai 8ô^av 8i8ovTes to ôeô avTÔv  
XéyovTes, oti eami èXirls to 8e8ovXeuKçTi ôeô  
èf oXps KapBias.*

Apoc. 11, is

### XVIII

1. Kai pp,eîs ovv yevópteOa Îk τ 0>v evyapt-  
ctovvtoν, SeBouXevKOTwv τ 0> Oea>, Kat fj,y 8k tov  
Kptvoptéov àce/Bòv. 2. Kai yàp avTos TtavOa-  
ptapToX'os àv Kai p,pTra> <[>vyà>v tov Tretpaap.ov,  
àXX' 'iti àv èv pièaois τοίς àpyàvois tov 8ia/3oXou  
CTTOuSâ^o T>v àiKatoqvvrpv BiÓKeiv, ottoç larvato  
Kav èyyvs avTps yevéaffai, <[>o/3ov/j.evov Tpv Kpicriv  
rpv /çeXXovcrav.

### XIX

1. "ilare, àBeXtpol Kai aBeXipai, pteTa tov Geov  
Tps àXpôcias àvayivôaKæ vptîv evTev^iv els to  
jrpoaé^eiv τοίς yeypapip,évois, iva Kai êavTovs  
aôapTe Kai tov àvaytvôcKovTa èv v/xîv. pitadov  
yàp aiTÔ vp.às to p.eTavopaai el; bXps KapBias,  
crwTppiav èavToîs Kai Çopv 8i8ôvTas. tovto yàp  
TToipaavTes ckottoν Trâaiv τοίς veots Opaopiev, τοίς

IL CLEMENT, xvii. j-xix. t

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.

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

Eph. 4, is /Soz/Xo/xezw? Trepì rrvj evaé(3ebav Kai rpi' ^¿pyITTO-TT)Ta tov ôeov <f>bXo7rovebv. 2. Kai prj iiyZws èyatpev Kai àyavaKT&pev ol acrofyob, OTav Tbs ppiis vovdery Kai eTTiarpét^y ¿tto t l)ç àûbKbas eh rpv biKaioavvyv. èvtoTe yàp TrovTjpà irpàrcovre^ ov ybvátCkopev 8bà Tyv 8b\rv^bav Kai àiricmav Tyv èvovaav ev roîç aTyOeabv t'ipwv, Kai èaKOTbapeda ryv 8távobav viro t S>v èirbOvfibâtv ~ûv paTabatv. 3. irpa^copev ovv ttjv SiKaioavvyv, "va eic réXoc <ro)9â>pev. paKapbOb ol tovtoîç vTraKovovre<; roîç TrpoaTÛypaabv tcàv oXlyov xpovov KaKOTradyawaiv ev T(|> Koapw ToiiTtp,l tov àðàvaTov TTj^ àvacTacrewç Kapirov Tpvyyaovaiv. 4- prj ovv XvTreta9a> à evae/3yi, èàn èiri Toh vvv ^pôvoK TaXaiTroipy- paKapio<; aiiTov àvaphévei ^póvos' eKeivos àva> peTa t &v TraTeptùv iipa/Jiaxra? ev<f>pav0yaeTat eic tov àXinryTov alûva.

### XX

1. 'AXXà py8è eKeivo Tyv 8iàvoiaiv vpâ>v Tapaa-aeTa, OTi /BXéi ropev tovî O8lkovs irXovTovvTas Kat, aTev^atpovpévov^ tovs tov Oeov SovXovç. 2. TTitTtevcopev ovv, à8eXtf>ol Kai à8eX<j>ai,' 0eoi> ÇS>Vtoç; Treípav àðXovpev Kai yypvaÇôpeda Tty vvv filtp, 'iva t ú péXXovTi a-Tetftavcod&pev. 3. ovSeiç Ttov òiKalwv Ta'xvV Kapirov ekafiev, aXàC e/cSe^eraì avTov. 4. el yàp tov piaOov twv 8bKaia>v ô deos avvTÓpMv; àire8i8ov, evbéaij; èpiroplav yaKOvpev Kai ov Oeoaefietav èòKovpev yàp elvat, 8'bKaboi, ov to ev<jef3é^, àXXà to KepûaXéov ÔLO)KovTe<i, Kab

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

## II. CLEM ENT, 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 pres- tile unrighteous enjoying wealth, and the servants of God oppressed. 2. Let us then have faith, brothers and sisters: we are contending in the contest of the living God, and we are being trained by the life which now is, that we may gain the crown in that which is to come. 3. None of the righteous has attained a reward quickly, but waits for it; 4. for if God should pay the recompense of the righteous speedily, we should immediately be training ourselves in commerce and not in godliness; for we should seem to be righteous when we were pursuing not

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

*òtâ TOVTO Gela Kpicrci efiXatyev irvevp-a p,rj ov  
oiKaiov, Kai èfiàpvnev ðeapoîi.*

I Tim. 1,17 5 Tw pávto θεά> àopârtþ, Tarpì 11/î aXytfèia!;  
rà> è^aTroareiXavri rjþ,ív rov aeoTrjpa Kai, àp^rjyov  
rf/s àtfidapaia!; , 8l' ov Kai ètjiavépoterev ■ppáv 11jv  
àXrjôetav Kai rrjv èirovpàvtov Çwtfv, avrà rj BoÇa  
eli τ ο Ûç alcôvai τ w v alwvwv. àp,r/v,

*T&.Xrjþ,evTOi irpoi iiopivÔiovi 11tictto X^ /3.*

## II. CLEMENT, XX. 4-xx. 5

piety but gain. For this reason divine judgment punishes<sup>1</sup> a spirit which is not righteous and loads it with chains.

5. To the only invisible God, the father of truth, *Doxoioy* 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<sup>1</sup> 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

<sup>1</sup> According to tradition Peter was the first and Euodius the second (Eus. *Hist. Ecd.* iii. 22).

## IGNATIUS

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 (Sokov), 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.

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

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.* Ixii. 7 at Florence, which is however not complete, and omits the epistle to the Romans. This deficiency was supplied in 1689 by Ruinart in his *Acta Martyrum Sincera* from a Paris MS. (Paris Graec. 1451) of the 10th century.

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

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

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- Gj= Codex Mediceus Laurentius Ixii. 7 (the Vossian MS.).  
g = the text of the interpolated epistles in the long recension.  
L = the Latin version of Grosseteste. (L<sup>o</sup> = codex Caiensis, L<sub>m</sub> = codex Montacutianus, known only from the collation of Ussher.)  
A = the Armenian version.  
S = the Syriac version (S12s4 = the various fragments of the unabridged texts, 2 = 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."

# TOY ATIOY IFNATIOY EniSTOAAI

nPO2 E\$E2IOY2 irNATIOS

*'lyvaTios, ó Kai @eo<j>ópo<; rp evXoypppevp ev peyédei Geov Trarpàç TrXppctipan, rp 'jrhoa>- piapiévp TTrpo alátwv eivai Sta iravrò<; eiç Só^af vapápiovov àrpevrov, pvwpevp Kai çKXeXeypévp èv Tráffeï aK.p0ivâ>, èv deXppari rov irarpos Kai `Ni)aov Xpiarov tov deov pp,â>v, Tr èKKXpaia rp à^iopaKapiarm, rp ovap èv 'Eipéaa τi)ç 'Acriaç, TrXeíffTa èv 'Ipaov XpiaTÔ) Kai èv àp,â>pa> %apâ -^aipetv.*

## I

1. *'ArroZe^apievot; èv 0ew τo TroXvaydirpTOV aov ovopM, ô KeKrpade ývaei èiKaial Kara Triariv Kai (ÿyàirpv èv Xptarm 'Ipaov, τδ) acorppi ppMV pipapraï ovre<; úeov, àva^MTrvppaaVTeV ev aip,ari Oeov τo avyyeviKov gpyov reXeiax; à/appriaerre- 2. aKovaavTes yàp Seèè/iévov dirò %vpia<i virep*

1 "Truly immaculate will," A(S).



# THE EPISTLES OF SAINT IGNATIUS

## I.—IGNATIUS TO THE EPHESIANS

Ignatius, who is also called Theophorus,<sup>1</sup> 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 <sup>The fame</sup> much beloved name, which you have obtained by <sup>of thu</sup> your righteous nature, according to faith and love in Christ Jesus our Saviour. You are imitators of God, and, having kindled your brotherly <sup>2</sup> 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.”

<sup>2</sup> Or “natural,” “congenial,” as Lightfoot suggests: the translation given is that of Zahn.

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roû koivov ovápiaros Kai èXTriSoç, eXrrigovra rfi  
 r-poaev^p vpwv èirirv-yeiv èv'Pcópip Oppiopa^paai,  
 iva èià roû èrrirv^eiv èvvrfiw piaOprrijS eivai, lèèiv  
 è<MTov8à<raTe '13 3. èrre! ovv rpv iroXvTrXrjôeïav  
 vpMV èv òvópiàn Oeoû àireiXpìjia èv Ovpaiipi,  
 τὸ ἐν àyàirp àèipyrip, vpwv 8è eTrta/coTr&j,-  
 ov ev^opiai Kara ^paovv Xpiîrròv vp.âs ayairâv  
 Kai Trâvras vpiis avrip èv ópioiorpri eivai.  
 eùXoy^TO? yàp ó yapiápevos vpîv àfxioiç ovai  
 ToiovTov èititTKoirov KeKpaðai.

## II

1. Hepi Sè roû anvèovXov piv TSohppov, roû  
 Kara Oeòv èiaKovov vp.S>v èv irâcnv evXoyppievov,  
 evy;opiai rrapapieîvâi avrov etç rippv vpúov Kai roû  
 èiriaKOTrov Kai KpÓKov; èé, à Oeov agios Kai vpi&v,  
 òv ègepwrxapiov rijs à<f>' vpiâv ayarrrijs àirêXaftov,  
 Karâ Trâvra pie àvérravaev, â>s Kai avrov o rraTrjp  
 Tijaoû Xpiarov avayfriigai, apia 'Ovr)aip,a> Kai  
 Bovppw Kai EíttX&j Kai ^pôvrcovî, èi &v rravras  
 vpâs Kara ayairr^v elèov. 2. ovaiirpv vp.oiv ètà  
 iravros, èàvTrep agios a>. irpeTrov ovv eariv Kara  
 rrâvra rpórron èogâgeiv 'Lrjaovv Xpiarov rov  
 èogóavvra vpiâs, 'iva èv piià inrorayrj Kar-pp-  
 riapiévoi, VTToraaaopievoi rio erriakOTrip Kai rip  
 irpea^vrepitp, Kara irâvra r/re rjyiaapievoi.

1 j5<7v <rirov3á<raTe om. Gg, the text is restored from ALS,  
 but Lightfoot prefers laropri<rai to lSeîi>.

3 iv aapA brunt. GL, "your bishop in the flesh."

IGNATIUS TO THE EPHESIANS, i. 2-11. *i*

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

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### III

1. Οὐ ἐίαΤααcopai vplv ms mv t is. ei yap Kai δεόepai ἐν Tw ἐvopaTi, oinrm (iTypTicpal ev 'lyaoov XpicTTw- vîiv yàp ap%yv eyw tov pady-Teveadat, Kai TrpoaXaXm vplv ms avvoibaaKaXiTais pov. ἐπεὶ yàp eðei v<j>' vpmv viraXenfidyvai tticttci, vovdeacia, viropovy, paKpodvπia. 2. ζXX eirei y àyÛTry ovk èâ pe aimiràv Trepl vpmv, 8ià tovto 7rhoéXa/3ov irapaKaXelv ùpàs, oirms avvTpeyfyTe ry yvmpy tov deov. Kai yàp íy<rovs liptaros, to àbiaKplTov ýpûv Çÿv, tov iraTpos y yvmpy, &>ç Kai oí èTricKOTTOi, oí Kacà rà TrépaTa ópiadévTes, èv 'lipTov XpMTOv yvùpp elalv.

### IV

1. "Ç)dev TrpeTrei, vplv avvTpé^eiv ry rov èiri-ctkóttov yvmpy, birep Kai oroielTe. rb yàp à^tovó-paaTOV vpww TTpeafivTípLov, tov Oeov àìpov, ovtwS awyppoarai tð) eTTicKOTTp, ms ypapòat Kiffapa. 8ià tovto ev Ty opovota vpmv Kai avpsfymvw àyàiry 'lyaoovs XpMTos aSeTai. 2. Kai oí kut' àv8pa 8è ^opos yiveade, iva avp^mvoi ovTes èv opjjvota, 'Xpmpa deov XaftovTes èv évoTyTi, a8yTe èv (j>a>vy pia 8m lyaoiì XpiaTov tS) iraTpi, iva vpmv Kai aKOVcry Kai èiriyivmcky, 8i' mv ev irpàcaere, péXY

III

1. I do not give you commands as if I were some Exhortation one great, for though I am a prisoner for the Name,<sup>to Uulty</sup> 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<sup>1</sup> 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<sup>2</sup> 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 obedience 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<sup>3</sup> 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

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

<sup>2</sup> Literally "run."

• *i.e.* in the musical sense of the word.

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*ovraf tov viov avrov. ^pi;rTip.ov ovv èariv vfiât<; èv àpu>p,(ù évórrjTt elvai, 'iva Kai ðeov irávTOTe peré^rjre.*

### V

1. Et yap èyà> èv puKpâ> ypóvtp roiavrpv <jvv-TjôeLav e<r%ov Trpoç tov èiriaKOTrov vp.<àv, ovk àvfv)prùTTLvpv ovaav, àXXa Trvev/aariKijv, irocrtv p.aXXov vp.â'i paxapIÇai tovç;èyK€KpapÂvov<;l ovtois, cbç rj èKKXrjtria ipaov XpirrTÛ, Kai &ç b;croûç XptcrToç tð> rrarpí, 'iva iravra èv evórpri avp.cf>wva rj ; 2. /xijSeiç TrXaváadar èav p/>j tis y èvTos tov joh. 6, ss OvatacTT-ppiov, vcrrepeÏTai tov âpTov tov ôeov. el yâp épôç Kai Sevrérov Trpoaev^ Toaairpv ia^vv e^ei, TToaa> piiXXov rj Te tov eTriaKOTrov Kai Trâcr^ç ttjç; èKKXri<rla<; ; 3. ó oiiv p,rj ep^ð/zeroç èiri to avTO ovtoç; rfip v7reprj<f>avec Kai èavTov BieKpivev. Prov. 3,34 ; yéypaitTai, yâp- "Tirepri^úvois o deof avTiTaaaeTat, I Pet. 5, 5 ' <77Tovè>à<ra>p.ev ovv /ip iiVTiTclaaeaGai. tð> èirb-CKoirtp, iva Sip^ev ðeâ> 2 vyroTaacrop.evoi.

### VI

1. Kai oaov (jXé-rrei tîç aiyûvTa èTrbaKOiroy, TrXeiovwi avrov (j>o/3eí,(r0a)' iravra yâp, ov Treprirei ó oÏKoSeairÓTrp; eiç iàlav OLKOvopâav, ovras Beí

*1* àvaKenpap-fvous g, which Lightfoot prefers.

*2* 0eoS is found in G and Lightfoot prefers it for transcriptional probability, but is supported by LS and some patristic quotations.

IGNATIUS TO THE EPHESIANS, iv. 2-vi. i

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 <sup>ile neces-</sup> with your bishop as was not human but spiritual, how <sup>ordination"</sup> 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.<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup>

VI

1. And the more anyone sees that the bishop is <sup>The silence</sup> silent, the more let him fear him. For every one <sup>bishop</sup> whom the master of the house sends to do his

<sup>1</sup> 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.

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

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*ppàs avrov èé^eaBai, &ς avrov ròv rrép-^avra. ròv ovv èrriaKorrov S7X0F ori wç aiiròv Kvpiov Sei rpoa^Xérreiv. 2. avros /;ev ovv 'Ovpaipos vrrep-eiraiveî vp.â>v rpv èv Beâ> evra; iav, orí rrávres Kara aXpBeiaV ÇpreKalori èv vpiîv ovàepia aïpecris KarotKeî- çXX' oi>δè aKoveré rivos rrXéov, p rrepll 'Ipaov Xpiarov XaXovvros èv àXpBeia.*

### VII

1. *Wio>Baaiv yàp rives SoXto rrovppâ> rò ovopia rrepi(f>épeiv, aXXa riva rrpaaaovres avaria Oeov' ovv δeî vp.às d>s Oppia èKKXiveiv" eiaiv yap Kvves Xvaaûvres, XaOpoâpKraV ovv δeî v/iàs <f>vXaa-aeaBai ovras ôvaBepairevros. 2. els iarpos èanv, crapKiKos re Kai rrevepiariKos, yevvpròs Kai àyévvpros, èv àvBpàirtp2 θεος, èv Oavârtv ^a>p çXpBivp, Kai èK Mapias Kai èK Beov, rrpwrov rradpros Kai rare èirraOps, 'Xpaovs Xpiaròs ò KVplOS ppMV.*

### VIII

1. *M77 ovv ris vpâs èjarrartira, warrep ovδè è^arrarâaffe, 0X01 ovres Beov. orav yàp p.pôep.ia épis 3 èvrjpeicrrai èv vp,îv p ovvapevp vpâs iBaaavi-*

1 The reading of G is efirep ; the Latin is *aliquem ampline quam Iesum Christum loquentem* ; the Armenian supports the text (í Tripi) which is Lightfoot's emendation.

2 This reading is justified by early patristic quotation, and (slightly corrupted) by A." GL read eV aapul yevi^vos Beils "(Sod become incarnate."

3 A Sg read çiriffufiia, "lust," which Lightfoot accepts.



## IGNATIUS TO THE EPHESIANS, vi. i-vni. i

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

### VII

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

### VIII

1. Let none therefore deceive you, and indeed you Praise of the have not been deceived, but belong wholly to God. EijhesLans For since no strife is fixed among you which might



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

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

*Kai àyaWiótrpevos p^tádpv Si u>v ypacfito vpoaopiApaai vpîv Kai avy^appvat, oti kut àvOpâmævl fiiov ovèèv ayairàre el pp povov tov Oeón,*

### X

Thess. 5,17 1. Kai vTrep tmv aWwv sè àvOpónrcùv ζSta-  
XeíTTcoç TrpoaevyeaOe, eartv yàp èv avroîs eXTriç  
peravoias, "va deov tu^oktiv. eTriTpetyare ovv  
avTOÎç tcav ζK twv epyeav vpîv padpTevdpvai.  
2. Τρποç τ<ς>ç οpyàç avT(àn vpeîs Trpaeîs, Τρποç raç  
peyaXoppoavvas avrûv vpeîs Taireivotypoves, Τρποç  
ràç fitXao-ÿppias avTtàn vpeîs ras TTpoaev^ai, Τρποç  
Coi. 1,23; Τρν TrKavpv avTÛv vpeis è'èpaîoi Τρ Τrtrcrei, Τρποç  
cf. Roni. 4, ζyplOV a|jTÛv v^eîç ppepoi, pp mrovoàÇovTes  
i c'or. is, 13 ζjmpiprjffaoOai, avTOùç. 3. aSeX<ξoi avTæv evpe-  
Owpev rp eTTieKeia' pipprai Se tov Kvpiov airov-  
bàÇaipev eivat, tiç ifXéov àiiiKpdp, tiç àiroa-TeppOp,  
ti'ç àderpGp- "va pp tov SiaftôXov fioravp tiç  
evpeOp èv vpîv, ζxx' èv Tràap ayveia Kai ao)(f>po-  
avvp pévpte^ èv 'ipaov XptaTw crapKiKWS Kai  
TrvevpaTiKÔv;

### XI

1. "EaxaToi Kaipol. Xoittov alaxwôù>pev, cf>o/3p-  
3ð)pev Τρν paKpovpviav tov Geov, iva pp ppîv eic

1 This is Lightfoot's emendation : GL read κατ' áXAor Plov. A seems to imply the same reading, but it gives no good meaning and g reads ovŞç Kara. trdpKa ayatrare àXÀà Kara fleor (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 pAere, "but remain."

IGNATIUS TO THE EPHESIANS, ix. 2-xi. i

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 Exhortation there is in them a hope of repentance, that they may find God. Suffer them therefore to become hrwiuww 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 The ap-  
modest, let us fear the long-suffering of God, that it tiXndf  
the fear  
of God

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

*uplpa yévpTai. y yàp rpv péXXovaav òpyyv rf>o3p-6G>pev, ij Tpv éveoTÓnraV %ápiV ζtyaTryatopev, ev rÉ>v évo- pónov ζv Xpicrrú 'lycrov eúpeffjvai ell to àXydivòv &jv. 2. τoυτοV πυSèV vpîv vrpe-TréTtù, èv <ρ Ta ðeapà Trepí(f>épa>, τοVç irvevpaTiKovs papyapí,Ta<ι, èv oîs yévoi/rô pot àvaaTyvai ιιι irpoa- evXV vpðiv, i?ç yévoiTO poi aei peTo^ov eivai, iva èv icXppa) 'E<peaia>v evpeffâ ιδ>v lipiaTiavcov, oî Kai τοις; airoaToXoîs iràvTOTE avvyveaav èv ènvapei 'Ipcrov XpcaTOÛ.*

### XII

1. *OiSa, ri? elpi Kai ticiv ypdifxú. èyà> KaTa-KpiTos, vpsv; pXeppévof èya> vito kivBvvov, v\xeiç èaTppiypévov 2. vrâpoSéc ècre T<àv eîç θεov àvai-povpèvtov, UavXov avppvaTai τοV pytaapevov. τοV pepapTvpppèvov, à^iopaKapiaTov, ov yévoiTO poi vito Ta iyyv evpeOfpvai, oTav θεov èirnv^co, ðç èv irácrri] èiriaToXp pvppovevet vpwv èv XpiaTÔ) 'Ipaov.*

### XIII

1. *ζpirovèàÇeTe ovv TrvKvoTepov avnépxeaðai eîç eóyapiaTíav θεov Kai eîς; Bô^av. orav yap ιιιvkvw^ ètri to avTo yíveaOe, KaOaipovvTai al ènvapeis τοV XaTavá, Kai Xverai ó oXedpos avTov èv Tp opovoia vpátv Tlj<ι TríaTeav;. 2. ovèév éaTiv apeivov eippvrv, èv y irás iróXepos KaTapyei/rai éTrovpaviaiv Kai èiriyeiatv.*

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 Contrast condemned, you have obtained mercy ; I am in danger, you are established in safety ; 2. you are the and his 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 Exhortation to give thanks! and glory to God. For when you frequent assemblies 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.

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

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

### XIV

1. \**flv ov8ev Xavdávei vpas, èàn reXeivwç eiç 'Yrjaovv Xpmov eyr/Te rrvj tt lcttev Kai tt jv àyàirrvj, jjt iç èeniv apyrj km TeXoç- àpxv P^v Tríenis, reXoç èè ayairrj. rà δè δvo èv evorrrpri. yevopeeva deos èeniv, Ta δè àWa iràvTa eiç KaXoKayadiav à,Κολονδὰ èeniv. 2. οὐSeiç irieniv èTrayyeXXÓp,évo<; apeapTcivei, ov8e ayaTryv KeKTrj p.évo<; pucei. <f>avepòv to δévδpov àir'o tov Kaptrov avTov. olirai? oí èirayyeXXópievoi ^pienov elvai di o>v Trpàeroveriv è>ej>0>ierovTai. ov yàp vvv èirayyeXlas rò èpyov, çXX' èv δvvàp,ei Triarew? èàn tis evpeOy eiç réXo?.*
- I Tim. 1, 5
- Mt. 12,33

### XV

1. \*A/zeivóp è<rnv acanràv Kai elvai, ¶ XaXovvra peri elvai. ko Kov to di8áaKeiv, èàn ó λèya>v Trorrv. eis Ps. 33, 9; onv di8à<TKaXo<;, 8ç èiTrev, Kai èyévnSTO- Kai à erivSiv jtdítç i6,i4 δè TreTTOiTjKev à^ia tov iraTpós ècniv. 2. ó Xóyov 'Ir/aov KeKT7i/I,évo<: aXtjdSvi δvvaTai Kai Tljç; •yav%ia<ì avTov aKovetv, iva réXetoç 7j, 'Iva Sii a>v XaXeì Trpdacrp Kai δt' d>v aiyâ yiveóaKrvTat. 3. ov8èν XavOàvei. tov Kvpiov, çXXa Kai rà KpvTTTa tjp mv i Cor. 3,16 èyyv<; avTÔ> èeniv. iravTa onv iroiS>p.ev coi ainov èv fj/MV KaToiKovvTo<;, "va ufiev avTov vaoi Kai avTO<; èv ijpâv deos rjp.èòvl oirep Kai ecniv Kai e^avijaeTai TPò irpoaeáirov f^pewv, è^ &v diKaia><; àyairèppeeν ai>Tov.

I iy Oebs 7jp,wv GL, çv tj|mv &éçs Sg, fleta tmmâv A\*



**XIV**

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

**XV**

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

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

### XVI

i<sup>A</sup>Cor. 6,9. 1. Mr? r<sup>f</sup>XavâtrOe, àSeXÿol pov oi oiKO<f>0o<sup>poi</sup>  
cf.Eph. s, s *fiacriXeiv Oeov ov KX<sup>^</sup>povop/rprovatv.* 2. *el ovv oi /cara rrâpKa Taira rrpaaavres àireOavov, rroatp póiXXov, èàv mcTTiv Oeov èv KaKy StSatrKaXia (fiOeipy, vrrèp rjs Tijcroûç Xptcro? èaravptoôtri ; o roiovvros pvrrapos yevóp, evos, etç ro rrvp ro àa/Becrov ^ (optjaei, o/oiiajç Kai o aKovtov avrov.*

### XVII

Joh2i27s: 1' T0<sup>^</sup>T0 pè:pov eXafiev I tti ri)? Ke<f>aXi)s  
avrov ò Kvpios, 'iva irvéy rf) èKKXrjala àÿOapacav.  
per| aXeì<f>e<rOe SvaatSlav rijs ScSaaKaXias rov  
àp<sup>^</sup>ovrof rov alcòvos tovtoy, p.rj at/<sup>^</sup>paXariaq  
ù/iâç èx rov irpoKCipévov %fjv. 2. Sia ri Se ov  
rràvTes (j)pónip.oi yivópeOa Xa/3ónve<; Oeov yvìàcriv,  
o ècrriv T<sup>^</sup>croûç XpíCTTo? ; ri pM>pu><; aTroXXvfiéOa,  
àyvoovvres rò <sup>^</sup>àpiupa, ô 7reTrop.<j>ev áXv;0S><; o  
Klípioí ;

### XVIII

Gal. 5. il 1. Tíepl-<sup>^</sup>i]pLa rò èpòn rrvvpi.a rov aravpov, ô  
i Cor. i, 20 *çaTlv crKavSaXov to is àmarovaiv, fjpiiv Se awrripia  
Kai ^ (orj aitónios. Troi) <ro</>ç<; ; rrov crvty]Tr]TTiS ;  
rrov Kavxycris rûv XeyopÀva>v avverwv ; 2. o yap  
Oeos î]pMV Tì/crouç ó Xpítrros èKvocjiopyOy viro*

XVI

1. Do not err, my brethren; they who corrupt families shall not inherit the kingdom of God. Warning  
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 True offence to unbelievers, but to us salvation and eternal doctnn® 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.

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

joh. 7,42 ; Μαπαταç Kar oiKovopiiav Oeov l çk arrep/aaro? p3ev  
 Hnin/i\* s AaueiS, rrevenparo^ 8è àyiov oc éyevvr;Ori Kai  
 ç/3a.TT-í<j6rj, iva rôτ Trá0ei τo vBatp KaOapiay.

### XIX

1. Kai. eλa0ev τov ap^ovra rov aiatvos rovrov  
 τj rrap0evia Mapia? Kai ó ro/cerðç avrjjs, ç/çolat?  
 Kai o θάvaro<; rov Kvpiov rπia pivarr/πia Kpavyrji,  
 anva èv çavyia. 0eoí> èirpà^rj. 2. rrcòì ovv  
 è<f>avεpa>0t] Toίç alataiv; àarpp èv ovpavât eXapitfrev  
 vrrèp rràvραç rovi àarépai, Kai ro cjtâi avrov  
 çveKXakiprov rπv Kai ^εvtapiðv rrapei^ev rj Kaivorrπi  
 avrov, rà 8è Sotirà rràvra ciarpa apia rfxitp Kai  
 aeKrvrj %oπò<; èyévero rat àarépt, avrò? èè yv  
 vrrep^àXXatv ro <l>âç avrov vrrèp rràvra' rapa^r/  
 re yv, rrótfev y Kaivòrrjs rj àvóp,oiò<; avToίç.  
 3. 50ev èXvero rràaa piayeia Kai Trâç çecr/iðç  
 jçftavi^ero KaKias- ayvoia Kaðppeîro, rraXaia/3arri-  
 sela Siecftdeipero 2 Oeov àv0parnivax} javepovpÂnov  
 fjs Kaivorr/ra àiBiov ^toyç' àpyrjv 8è èSafi/iavev  
 ro rrapa 0eâ> àirripriapÂnov. ev0ev rà rravra  
 avveKiveîro Btâ ro pieλerà0ai Oavárov Karâ-  
 Xvatv.

Rom. 6,4

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

2 Lightfoot omits *ççí<pdeípiTo*, and readjusts the punctuation, on the authority of A2.

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 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 chorus<sup>2</sup> round this star, and it far exceeded them all in its light; and there was perplexity, whence came this new thing, so unlike them. 3. By this all magic was dissolved and every bond of wickedness vanished away, ignorance was removed, and the old kingdom was destroyed, for God was manifest as man for the "newness" of eternal life, and that which had been prepared by God received its beginning. Hence all things were disturbed, because the abolition of death was being planned.

The mystery of the Nativity and its manifestation

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

<sup>a</sup> 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. 'Eáf fie Kara^idiap 'Ipcrov'; Xpiaròs èv rfj rrpoev^p vfiûv Kai déXpfia y, èv rm Seurépço /3¿/3X¿3í«, ô fíéWw ypâÿeiv vfiîv, rrpoaBrfXà>a-a> vfiiv, rps ffp^âppv oiKOVOfilas et'ç rov Kaivov av-ôpw—ov lyaovv Xptarov, èv ry avrov rriarei Kai èv ry avrov àÿarry, èv rràdei avrov Kai àvaaraaei'  
2. fiáXicrra èav o Kvpios fioi arroKaXv^y, on | óí /car avèpa KOivy rravres èv papiri è£ òvófiaras avvép^ecrde èv fila, triaret Kai èv2 'lyaov Xpiarâi, τç j Kara trápKa èK yéovs AaveiS, râ> vtâ> àvdpmrrov Kai vitp deov, eii τo vtraKoveiv vp.à<; râ> èrrtaKorrtf Kai rm irpea/Bvreplic àtrepiatrâario diavola, èva âprov KXâvres, ο<; èariv tjsâppaKov àðavaaiais, àvrtSoros rov fif àrrodaveiv, àXXa Çpv èv 'lycrov Xpi<rr<û 8iâ rrvro^.

Rom. i, s

### XXI

1. 'Avri-^rvyov vfiwv èyco Kai tov errefidare eic deov rifipv els vfiwpvav, odev Kai ypà<f>a> vpÂv, ev^apiarwv râ> Kvpitp, àyarrrôv lioxvKaprron còç Kai vpâs' fiVTffiovevere fiov, â>ç Kai vfiôyv Ipaovs Xpiarós. 2. rrpoev^eade vrrèp ττjç èKKXyiaic

1 Zahn and, with some hesitation, Lightfoot emend *Uri* to *ri*, connecting it with *àiro/caAiii^p*. If so the translation would be "if the Lord reveal anything to me. Join in the common meeting, etc."

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

**XX**

1. If Jesus Christ permit me through your prayers, and it be his will, in the second book, 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.

Promise of  
doctrinal  
exposition

**XXI**

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

Final  
grecctll'ge

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, *ἑπιφύριος* means "every individual of you." It is in any case a strange phrase.

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

ττ)ς; ἐν 'Σvpia, οθev SeSe/xeroç eis 'Páp/pv arrayopai, cacaros wv rwv ζKeî marcón, &<rirep r/^iM0rjv eig rippv θεov evpeθpvai. èppa>aθε ἐν θεâ> rarpî Kai, ἐν 'I^coû Xpicrrâi, rfj Koivy ζXττÍóí ppwv.

## MATNHSIEYSIN ITNATIOS

'Iyi'«rioç, o Kai Pieofyopos, rp evloypp.evrj ev papiri θεov rrappos ἐν èspiarâ Ttjctoû τû atorppi pp.ûv, ἐν â àamiÇop-ai rpν èKKÀ,p<riav rpν ovaav ἐν M.ayvp<ria rîj rrpas MaiânSpai Kai eu^opiai ἐν ôeâ> qrapî Kai ev Iyaov ~XpK7Tw irKeiara Xaipeiv.

## I

1. TpoÛç vpièòv rò TTÓXnevTaKTOv r^ç Kara θεov àywTnjç, èiyaWi<op.evov rpoelé>prjv ἐν ττÍttcl 'Jpcrov XpKTTou irpoaXaKpaai vfiûv. 2. Kara^ia>-Oe'î yàp òvópiaTo^ deorpeTrearÛTOV, ἐν oîç repitpepw 3eap,oîç; aða> ràç; èKKXpaiai; ζp aîî èvataiv ev^o/Aai aapKOS Kai rveipiaTO^ 'Llcroû Xptcrov, roû 8<à TavTos ppMV Çr/v, mareáis re Kai àyarrqs, ps ovèièν irpoKeKpnai, ro 8è Kvpiârrepov 'I^troû Kai rrappos' ἐν w vrropevovres rpν rrâaav èrriipetav rov àpx^vros rov aiiivos Tovrov Kai èiatpvyovres Geov rev^ófie0a.



## IGNATIUS TO THE MAGNESIANS, xxi. 2-1. 2

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

### II,—IGNATIUS TO THE MAGNESIANS.

Ignatius, who is also called Theophorus, to 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.

#### I

1. Knowing the great orderliness of your love Prayer  
towards God I gladly determined to address you in the church  
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 »'e. the Church.

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

### II

1. 'Εττὶ ἴ ονν γ<sup>im</sup>Gyv λèéiv vpâs èia Aapâ rov à<sup>io</sup>Oéov ἱp.S>v èrriaKorrov Kai 7rpe<ri3vrepα>v ùntati Háaaov Kai 'ArroXXtmrov Kai rov cruvèovXov pov èiaKovov Ztoricovov, ov ζyζ> ovaipuyv, orí vrrorâ-creraí rS> èiriaKOTrep <ùç ζ(ζpin ffeov Kai râ> ripeefivrepío> ζ>ç vopM 'lr)<rov Xpicrrov.

### III

1. Kai vp,îv èe rrpórrei firj avyζ(paedai ry TjXiKia rov èrricKorrov, àXXà Kara èvnapnv Oeov rrapòf rrâaav èvrporrpv avr& àrrovepieiv, Ka0à<; eyvwv Kai roùç àyiov<; irpeafivrepov; ov rrpoei-Xyc<sup>ora</sup>; ryv fyaivopÁvyv vewrepiKpv ra<sup>iv</sup>, aXX' ζç (jipovipiovil èv beâ> avy<sup>io</sup>povvrai avnô, ovk avrû> èé, àXXà râ> rrapri 'Ir/irov Xpieròn, rw rràvriov èrria-Korrip. 2. ειç np,yv ονν ζΚείνον rov f)Λ,y<ravro<; ypiâ<sup>^</sup> rrpérrov èarîv èiraKoveiv Kara p/pèe/Mav vrroKpiaiv ζirei oi>ζ( on ròv erria-Korrov rovTov ròv /3Xf7róp, evov rrXavâ t iç, aXXa rov ζóparov rrapaXoyiÇeraí. ro 8è roiovrov οὐ rrpο<; aâpKa ò Xoyoç, àXXà irpos ðeov rov ra Kptvj>ia eîèóra.

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

- ij/xês GL, óju«s Ag.

II

1. Forasmuch then as I was permitted to see you <sup>Tierepr».</sup> in the person of Damas, your godly bishop, and the <sup>of the</sup> worthy presbyters Bassus and Apollonius, and my <sup>Masneslall</sup> fellow servant the deacon Zotion, whose friendship I would enjoy because he is subject to the bishop as to the grace of God, and to the presbytery as to the law of Jesus Christ,----- 1

III

1. Now it becomes you not to presume on the <sup>The bishot</sup> youth of the bishop, but to render him all respect <sup>of Magnes</sup> 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 w'ith 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. *Hpeiron ovv ècrriv pl] povov KaXela0ai 'X.pitr-riavovs, aXXa km eivai- uairep km rives eiri-ctkottov pev KaXovaiv, ycopis 3è avrov rravra Trpâaaovaiv. ol roiovroi êè ovk evavvel&rjroi poi elvai <j>alvovrai 8ià rò prj fte/Haitos Kar èvroXyv <rvva0polÇea0ai.*

### V

1. 'Ettèl ovv réXos rà rrpâypara e^ei Kai rrpō-Keirai rà 8vo ôpov, o re Oávaros Kai rj ^a>r], Kai eKaaros els ròv i'8iov róirov pÂXXei ^aipeiñ  
 Acts. 1,25 2. oiaTrep yáp èanv voplapara 8vo, o pev 0eov, ô ÷ è Koapov, Kai eKaarov avrcòv i'8iov yyzpaKrr/pa èiriKeipevov eyei, ol airtaroi rov Kocrpov rovrov, ol ÷ è mcrroi èv àyàirp ^apaKrrjpa òeov Trarpòs 8ià 'ir/rov Hpiarov, 8i ov èàn pi] avdaipéra><ì eyatpev ro àirodaveiv els rò avrov rràdos, rò Çijv avrov ovk eariv ev flpiv.

### ^T

1. 'Ettei ovv èv roi? rrpoyeypappÁvovs irpoerá-rrois rò iràv rrXì]0o<; ébeá>prjaa èv rriarei Kai yyàir-ijaa, rrapaivù, èv opovoia ffeov arrovdà^ere rràvra rrpâaaeiv, ¶poKad'qpAvov rov èrriaKorrov els róirov]

1 T;irox GLg, Tviroi' SA, and so also in the next line. Cf. Trail, iii. Lightfoot prefers -rriirov, but it seems to be more probably a softening of the rather startling Terror by the Syriac translator,

IV

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

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,<sup>1</sup> the one of God, the other of the world, and each has its own stamp impressed on it, so the unbelievers bear the stamp of this world, and the believers the stamp of God the Father in love through Jesus Christ, and unless we willingly choose to die through him in his passion, his life is not in us. The »f tmbelle'ers

VI

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

<sup>1</sup> This is perhaps a reference to Mt. xxii. 19.

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

*Oeov teal twv irpetrfivTepwv els tottov avveSpiov  
 rwr airocrToXasv, Kai rwr SiaKoviov râ>v èpoi yXv-  
 kvtiLtwv ireTriaTevpevcov SiaKOVian 'Iyaov Xpicrhoû,  
 ôç irpo alá>va>v Trapa irarpl t;v Kai èv réXeî é<fjávri.  
 2. irávTes oSv çpoij0eïav Oeov Xa/Sóvref èv rpé-  
 Treade àXXijXovs Kai prjSeis Kara aápKa @XeTreTO>  
 rov irXrjcríov, çXX' èv 'lycrov Xpicrrâ) çXX^Xouç Sia  
 Trarrò? áyairáre. prfièv ecrTO) èv vpìv, o Svvrj-  
 trerai vliâç jçépierai çXX' évá>0TrjTe tð) eTricKOTrw  
 Kai roi? TrpoKaOrjpevois et? tvttov Kai SiSa^rjv  
 à<f>0ap<rias.*

### VU

Job. li, io.  
 30; 8 '28

1. "ila-rrep ovv ô Kvpios avev tov iraTpos ovSèv  
 èirol^aev, rjvo>pçvo<; u>v, ovts Si' èavTOÍ> ovts Sià  
 Ttàn airoffToXtov ovTns jirjSé vlxéiç avev tov eiri-  
 ctkottov Kai Twv TrpeaftvTéptiuv p,TjSév irpacraeTe-  
 p^Sè Treipáff7jTe evXoyón ti ^>aèvea0ai ISia vp,îv,  
 çXX' ètri to avTO pía irpoaev^r), pía Sérjais> eç?  
 voî, pía eXTriç èv àyénp, èv tti çapâ tti apo>pw,  
 o ècrriv Tijcroû? Xpicrrò?, ov âpeïvon ovSev èaTiv.  
 2. Trarre? ç? èi? era vaov crvvTpe^ere 0eoû, &?  
 ètri èv fvcra<TTrjpiov, èirl era 'Ipprovv Xpicrrov, tov  
 à<|> erò? TraTpbs TTpoéXOovTa Kai eis eva ovTa Kai  
 Xwp/jaavTa.

presiding in the place of God and the presbyters in the place of the Council of the Apostles, and the deacons,<sup>1</sup> 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.

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

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

### Vili

1. Mr; *irXavaafle* raîç ζ*TepoBo^iaK* piyBè *fiν0ev-*  
*fiatriv* *tok iraXaioK* à*vaxpeXéaiv* *ovcriv.* *el yap*  
*pé^pi* *vuv Kara 'iovBaiapou Çûpev,* *opoXoyovpev*  
*yplpiv py elXyipévai.* 2. *oí yap OeioTaToi irpo-*  
*<prjTai Kara XpiuTov 'lyaou̇v eÇycrav.* Sià *tovto Kai*  
*èBiar^odycrav,* è*virveópevoi virò* <sup>tt}</sup>ξ *papiro? avrov,*  
*«ç to 7rXypo<i>opy0yvai rovi ζrreiffoiνTa-c,* *ori et?*  
*0eôç èariv,* ò *fyavepiixras èavTov Una 'lyaov Xpicrrov*  
*tov vlov avTov,* *of èa-Tiv aiiTov Xoyo<; cwra aiyys*  
*trpoeXOión,l ôç KaTa TrávTa evypeaTYaev id) ire/i-*  
*yjavTi avTov.*

1. *Eí ovv oí èν waXaiOK irpdypaaiv àvacrTpa-*  
*<fenreç eiç KaivoTyTa éXiriBoí yX6ov, pyKeTi aa^-*  
*/3aTÍÇovTe<;, àXXà KaTa KvpiaKyv ÇüvTes, èν y Kai*  
*Tj Çtoy ypwv àveTeikev 8i avTov Kai tov davaTov*  
*avTov, ov Tivei2 àpvovvTai, 8i ov fiucTypiov eXá-*  
*/Bopev to jriiTTevetv, Kai Bià tovto inropiévoiiiev, iva*  
*evpeôwpev p,a07)Tai 'lyaov XpicTTOv tov pioov*  
*BiBatTKaXov ýpiSsv* 2. <sup>ttws'</sup> *ypieis Bvvyaaópeda*  
*Çyaaí %<upiç avTov, ov Kai oi TrpoÿyTai piaOyTai*

1 So A and a quotation in Severus. GL read *Kiyos atrios*  
*oix àjrò <riyíjs Tpuikiiu,* but this is rightly regarded by recent  
editors as a doctrinal emendation duo to fear of Gnostic  
theories in which and 0«ós were the original pair from  
which *tlávos* emanated, cf. Clem. Alex. *Ecl. TKe.ol. ii. 9.*

2 S *rats* L, *oí rixes* G, g paraphrases but has *ov* not S,  
A is ambiguous. There is thus a slight balance in favour of  
*ov Tives.*



VIII

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

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

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

*ovTes t<sup>vb</sup> irvevpaTi cós SiSccaKaXov avTov irpoae-  
 δζkcov; Kai διὰ τοῦτο, ὃν SiKaicos avepevon, Trapcbv  
 it. 27, 52 fjetpev aiiTovs ζK veKpcòv.*

### X

1. Mr; *ovv àvaiadr/TÚpev tî)ς XprjaTOTrjTOS  
 avrov. èàn yap T]pàs pipcja^Tai KaOa irpóa-  
 aoepv, ovk Íti èapèν. διὰ τοῦτο, παQrprai avTov  
 yevópevoi, paficapev icarà XpiaTcaviapov Çrjv. os  
 yàp dXXcp òνόπαTl KaXeÍTai TrXeov τοῦτον, ovk  
 èaTiv τοῦ fjeov. 2. vTrépdeade ovv ιτ)V KaKipv  
 Cor. 5,7 ^vprjv, Tt;i' TraXatæGeíaaν Kai èvo^iaaaav, Kai  
 p.eTaftáXea0e els véav ^vprjv, d èaTiv 'lyaovs  
 XpiaTÓs. áXíad^Te èν avTcp, 'iva pò] δια<j>0apff tis  
 èν vpîv, èirei à-rrò Trjs oapìp eXey-ydi'iaeaGe.  
 3. aTOTrón èaTiv, 'Jyaovv KpiaTov XaXeiv Kai  
 lov dai^eiv. ó yap HpiaTiaviapòs ovk eìs lov-  
 s. co, is δaiapov èiriaTevaev, àXX' 'lovδaiapòs els Xpia-  
 Tiaviapov, a>l irâaa yXùaaa iriaTevaaaa eis  
 Oeov avvrj^dt).*

l fS, WS GL, fis or g (A).

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

**X**

1. Let us then not be insensible to his goodness, Christianity for if he should imitate us in our actions we are lost.<sup>2</sup> Judaism For this cause let us be his disciples, and let us learn to lead Christian lives. For whoever is called by any name Other than this is not of God. 2. Put aside then the evil leaven, which has grown old and sour, and turn to the new leaven, which is Jesus Christ. Be salted in him, that none among you may be corrupted, since by your savour you shall be tested. 3. It is monstrous to talk of Jesus Christ and to practise Judaism. For Christianity did not base its faith on Judaism, but Judaism on Christianity, and every tongue believing on God was brought together in it.

<sup>1</sup> 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*.

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

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

### XI

1. *Tavra dé, áyan^roí p,ov, ovk ènei eyvtov rivai vpSyv ovrtói ê^ovrai, aXX' ïç /Mcporepoi vp,â>v BÉXto npocf>vXáa<rea0ai vp&i, píj epneuelv eli rà àyKiarpa ríji KevoZo^ias, aXXá nenXypotfioprjtrBai èv ri) yevvriaei Kai rà> náBei Kai rrj avaaráaei ríj yevopévy èv Kaipá ríji ýyepoviai liövríov HiXárov npay/dévra aXrjBwi Kai BeBalaj'; vno 'Yrjaov Xpicrrov, ríji èXnlèoi r)på>v, iyç èKrpánijvai prjSevi vpâiv yévoiro,*

### XII

1. *'Ovaip.T)v vpô)v Kara navra, èavnep àfcíoi w. el yàp Kai déBep,ai, rrpàì èva rà>v XeXvpevwv vpûv ovk eípi. oíèa on ov (f>va-iova-0e' 'Trjaovv yàp Xpiarov e%ere èv èavroïi- Kai piâXXov, orav ènaivcà vp.âi, olôa, on èvTpérreaÔe, ï>i yéypamai, Prov. is, 17 on ò SiKaioi éavrov Kartfyopoi.*

### XIII

1. *STTovBàÇere ovv [3e[Baiaif]>ivai èv roíi Sôfyfiacrív rov Kvpiov Kai rtòv àiroaroXaív, ìva navra, oaa noieîre, KarevoBwBijre crapKí Kai nvevpan, niarei Kai àyanr), ev vitp Kai narpl Kai èv nvevpian, èv àpxp K0.Ì èv réXeì, pierà rov a^ionpenearárov èmaKonov vpâiv Kai à^ionXÔKov nvevpiariKov <rre<j>àvov tov npea/Svrepiov vp,â>v Kai r&v Karà 6eov SiaKovtov- 2. vnoráyyre raí éni<TKjñ<p Kai 208*

XI

1. Now I say this, beloved, not because I know <sup>Warning as</sup> that there are any of you that are thus, but because <sup>^ etrue</sup> 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 <sup>Praise of</sup> but worthy. For even though I am in bonds I am <sup>Maguesian></sup> 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 <sup>Firmness</sup> 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

ÆXXr/Xotç, ζç 'Irçauoç Xpicrrôç râ> *ira/rpîl Kal oí çLirócToXot, tçû XpicTTw Kai tç> Trarpl2 iva eva)tri9 y aapKiKrj re Kal irvevp,aTiKrj.*

### XIV

1. *EiBcós, on ^eov yèp.ere,crvvrófi9 irapeKeXeaa 34 vpâs. p.vr/p,oveveTç p,ov èv Tais irpoasv^aîs v/a&v, 'iva Oeov èiriTvya), Kal rrj9 èv 'ç.vpia èKKXyaias, oðev ovK cí^iós elpi KaXeîaôai- èTriàeopai yàp ttj9 rjva>p.évys vpiwv èv 0eâ> irpoaev^f/s Kal àyàirrijS, eis to àÇiiúdrivai ryv èv ^vpia èKKKyaiaiv oia rfj9 èKK^rjriasi vpwv Spoiadrjvai.*

### XV

1. *'Acirà^ovrai vp.a9 'E<f>éaioi àvo 'jLp.vpvrijs, o3ev Kal ypà<l>cü vpiùv, Trapóvres eis SoÇav ffeov, wairep Kal vpeîs oí Kara irávra p.e aveiravcav ap.a '[oXvKap'np, èiriaKOTTW l.p,vpvaia>v. Kai ai Xoiirai Bè eKKkycriai èv npy Tr/croû XpiffToû àairàÇovTai vpMS. eppwtrOe èv ôpiovoia fieov, KeKTrjpiçivoi à8ià-KpiTov TTvevpia, 09 eanv 'lyaov9 H-piaros.*

1 *Tarpi A(g), add ma trapua* " according to the flesh " GL.

2 *Tarpi A, add Kai rçp Titap-ari,* " and the spirit " GL.

3 *TapeKiAeura G, Tap^Kakma g* which Lightfoot adopts on the ground that it is a common Ignatian word, while *Tapa-Ktf.titiv* is not found elsewhere in the Epistles.

4 Lightfoot reads «K-rereías " of your fervent supplication " on the authority of A.

## IGNATIUS TO THE MAGNESIANS, xm. 2-xv. i

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 Smyrnaeans. 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.

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

### TPAAAIANOIS irNATIOIS

'lyi'arioç, ó Kai ©eocjiópos, yya-rp/eevp dew,  
rrarpi 'Nrjaov Xpitrrou, ècxX-paia áyía rr/  
ovap èv TráXXearv ríjs 'Acrías, e/cXeKry Kai  
àfyodéw, eipr/vevovay èv crapKi Kai rrvevpari  
rw rrádei 'ir/aov Xpiarov, ríjs eXTriðoç -rjpwv  
èv ríj els avrov àvaarâerei' rjv Kai àcrrrâ^opai  
èv rà> TrXT/pwpari èv àirocrrroXiKw ^apaKTijpi  
Kai ev^opai irXeíerra yaiveiv.

#### I

1. "Apwpov Siavoiaiv Kai àSiaKpirov èv vrrpovp  
èyvwv vpàs eyovras, ov Kara yjjpatv àXXa Kara  
eftvcriv, Kadws èS/fXwcrév pot IioXv/3ios, o èrriaKorros  
vpwv, ôç irapeyévero deXrjpari, deov Kai 'It/vov  
XpicFTov èv Spvpy Kai ovrws poi avve^àpp  
Beèpévw èv Xpiarw It|tov, werre pe ro rrâv  
vXrjdos vpwv èv avrw dewpeiadaí. 2. ζιτο-  
Se^ápevos ovv rpv Kara deov evvotav 8i avrov  
èSó^aaa, evpwv vpàs, ws èyvwv, piperas ovras  
deov.

#### II

1. "Orav yàp rw èrriaKOTtw ÔTroraerarjade ws  
Trjerov Xpiarw, tpaiveade poi ou Kara avdpwrrov  
^wvres, àXXà Kara 'lyerovv Xpiaràv rov 8i ^pas

† 0ewpéI(T0cu G, 06wp7/<rai g.



III.—IGNATIUS TO THE TRALLIANS.

Ignatius, who is also called Theophorus, to the 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. Greetings

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. The virtue  
of  
virginity

II

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

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

*cwroffavovTa, 'iva Tria-TevaavTe'; eh ròn OávaTov avrov to títroðaveîv èK<fivv7]Te. 2. àvayKaîov onv èarlrv, ζί(T-ep Troceîre, aveu tov etrcncnoïrov prjç>ev irpáaaeviv ípcis, ζXX' vitoTaaaeaOai Kai τδ> TTpeafivTepia) ζί<ζ; Toh ζTF0tTT0xoi? 'lljCOV XplaTOV TTj<ì eX7Ú8o<; rjpwv, èv <ρ SicuyovTes eupeOrjaopeOa.l 3. Set 3è Kai tous StaKovovs ovTas pvtTT'rjpi.cov 'Irjaov XpiaTov KaTa irávTa Tpoïrov Traatv àpéaKeiv. ov yàp iSpiïpciTMv Kai ttotwv eiaiv CiaKovot, ζXX' eKK^acas Oeov ínrrpié~ai' úeov onv avTovs <f>vXaaaae0at Ta èyKXijpaTa ζ>ς Tvrv.*

### III

1. 'O/xoûaç irávTe<; èvTpeiréo-ðatcrav tovς Sta-kovovs ζ>ς 'irjaovv XptaTov, &>ς Kai tov 6771-aKOTTOV ONTa TV7TOV TOV TTaTpOS, TOUS 3<= TTpeCT- /SuTepovç tuç avvéèpïov Oeov Kai wç <rvv8ecr/ïov ζtt0o-toKcov. %a>ph tovtcûv eKKXr/aia ov KaXeîTai. 2. Trepl ζ>v ireireurpMi, vpas ourw; e^etv. to yàp è^epirKàpïov Trj<; àyàiry^ vpm> e\va/3ov Kai e%w peO' èavTov èv τâ émaKoirai vpton, ov avTO to KaTaaTTipca peyakrj paOr/Teía, rj δè TTpaoTip; avTov δvvapa- ðv Xoyl^opaL Kai tovì àtïeovs èvTpéjreadai. 3. ayaTT&v vp<K <f>eiðopai, avvTOVWTepov δvvá-pevos ypá<f>eiv virèp tovtov.2 ovk eh tovtο pTjifyv, ìva ζ>v KaTaKpïTOS tói aTrôcrToXoç vpïv ðiaTÓa- aaipei.

1 evp<0ij<cr(írfé0ix GL, avr<y eupeff. S g.

The text is here confused and corrupt in all the authorities. Lightfoot prefers to read *olircus rpfjSop-ai*, and adds [àAXI oí>x iKavv ïavt òv] «íí tovtο k.t.X.

## IGNATIUS TO THE TRALLIANS, n. i-m. 3

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

### III

1. Likewise let all respect the deacons as Jesus The rever-  
Christ, even as the bishop is also a type of the<sup>TM</sup> ◊ ^dueto  
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,<sup>1</sup> 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.

<sup>1</sup> Or, possibly, “is his power.”

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

### IV

1. IT0XXà tppovâi èv 0eâ>, ζXX' èpavrov perpSi, iva pp èv Kav^paei cwroXcopai. vvv yâp pe geí TrXeov ifiofiêiadaí Kaï pp irpoaé^eiv τοίς tfivaiovaiv pe. oi yap XeyovTes poi paaTiyovaiv pe. 2. ayairiü pèv yap το TraGeív, ζXX' ovk olBa, ei agios tipi. το yap gpXos ττοXXoÍs pèv ou ÿaiverai, èpè TrXéor iroXepei. ^ppga> onv TrpaoTpTos, èv p KaTaXveTai o ap^atv τοv alüvos τοvτον.

### V

1. Mp ou êuvapai vpîv Ta èTrovpàvia ypàxjai ;  
Cor. s, I. 2 ζXXà (j>o/3ovpai, pp vpirLois ovaiv vpîv íXáf-jpv  
TrapaGor Kai avyyvwповéÍTe poi, prpiroTe ou  
ZvvpGèvTes yioppaai o-TrpayyaXiodpTe. 2. Kaï yâp  
èyâ>, ou KadoTi BéSepai Kai Bvvpapai voeív ra èrrov-  
pâvia Kaï ras ToiroOearas Tas àyyéXiKas Kaï Tas  
Cot i, ia avaTacreis Tas àp^ovTiKas, òpaTa re Kaï àópaTa,  
irapà τοvτο ìfòr] Kaï paôpTr/s elpi. TroXXa yap  
ppîv Xeívei, iva Geov pp Xeiiràpeda,

### VI

1. XiapaKaXw onv vpâs, ovk èya>, ζXX' p àyàìrp  
'Ipcrov IspiaTov- pónp Trj -^piaTianp Tpoÿÿ xppa-òe,  
aXXoTplas 5è fioTavps àiré^eade, pris eVrîy

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 devill is to many not obvious, but against me it fights the more. I have need therefore of meekness, by which the prince of this world is brought to nothing.

Ignatius'  
{|||}minty

V

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

Reason for  
simple  
teaching

VI

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

Warning  
J^rèsy\*

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

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

*alpeais-* 2. *ol éavroîsl irapepTrXeKovcriv ipaovv Xpiarov Karat; lOTriaTevópevoi, ióairep Gavarripov fj>ápp,aKov StSôitTeç pera olvopeXiros, orrep o àyvoâiv TjSécoç Xapftávei èv r;Sovp KaKÍj2 ro áiro-Oaveîv.*

### VII

1. *^?v\árre<rde ouv tous tocovtous. roûro Sè tarai, vpîv p'rij fyvatovpévots Kai ovatu à^copiarois Oeoûs 'Iijcroû Xpiarov Kai roû èrriaKorrov Kai rà>v Starayparrov tmv àiroaroXaiv. 2. o èvràs Ouaiá-arrjpiov uv KaSapos èariv o Sè Sktos Ovaiaarrjpt,ov wv ou Kaôapos èariv- tout errriv, o eirt-aKOTTov Kai Trpear/Surepiou Kai StaKovaiv Trpaaacov ri, ovros ou Kaôapos èariv rrj auveiSyaei.*

### VIII

1. *OÛk ènei èyvuv roiovvov ti èv vpîv, uÀXà TrporpvXàaato vpâs ovras pov àyanyTovs, nproopwv ras èvèèpas roû ZtafioXov. 'vpeîs onv ryv Trpainrà-Oeiv avaxa^ôvres àvaKTrjaacrOe eavrovsv rrríarei o èittiv <râpt; rov Kvpiov, Kai èv ciyairy, o èanv âîpa 'Ir/aov Xpicrrou. 2. pifiéis vpûtν Kara roû*

1 oi éauToîs irape/x-n-XeKouaw seems to be the text implied by the translations of SA, but G(L) read *oi xaipoi Trap^ftTrKIKovriv and g has wal ròr itr irpotnrXIKOVtfs. The text is clearly corrupt, and Lightfoot suggests «al Traprp.irltKojTli' k.t.K. "for they even mingle poison with Jesus Christ."*

2 /cani) L, om. SA, kcc<< tì) àrroOai'fii' "and therein is death" G.

3 The text is doubtful. A omits *Oeov*: probably there is some corruption though it is impossible to be sure what it is,

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

TrXijaiop etéreo. prj à^ioppàq èfàore tous edveatv,  
 "va fit) δc ζXÍyovq a<f>povai to èv òeà> ttXÍJ6oς  
 is. M,5 fiXaacjirjipúTac. Oval yáp, δt ov érril/araioTTjTi  
 to ovopá pov ètri tcvcov /SXaa^pecTac.

### IX

1. K<i><ε<00i/t é onv, OTav vplv ^wplq Iyaov  
 XpiCTTOv XaXÿ tiς, tov eK yévous Aavecδ, tov  
 èie Mapeas, òς áXrj0éós éyevvrj9rj, ecjiayev Te Kai  
 eirceν, áXrj0á>s éδcá>'0rj ètri IIovtcov IlcXaTOV,  
 áXrj0o>s èaTavpaidrj Kai àirédavev, ^XeirónToiv  
 Twv éirovpavtaiv Kai éirteícov Kai viro^dovccov.

j. Cor. 15,  
 12 ff.

2. oς km áXTj0á>s ■pyépBp airo veKp&v, éyecpavTos  
 avTov to v TraTpás avrov, Kara to opoicúaa, oς Kail  
 ■ppús Tovs TTiaTcòvTas avrèp ovraς eyepci o iraTÿp  
 aiiTov èv XpιαTtp 'I^cov, ov %a>pl<; to aXyOtvov Çrjv  
 ovK è^opev.

### X

1. EÌ wffTTep Tiv'e? ádeoι ovTes, TOVTeaTiv  
 ánriaToί, Xeyovaiv, to δoKeiv ireirovflevai avTov,  
 avTol OFT6i to SoKeiv, èà> ti δέδepai, ti δè Kai  
 ev^opai Oppiopaxfj<rai ; èiopeàv onv áiroOvrja-KUι.  
 apa onv KaTa^evZopai tov Kvπίov.

1 «ara tñ inotufia t's «ai G, qui et secundum similitudinem  
 L. SA perhaps imply «j «ai aarà tò èiolufia.



IGNATIUS TO THE TRALLIANS, vm. 2-x. j

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 The history 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, Against—that is, are unbelievers—his suffering was only a semblance (but it is they who are merely a semblance), why am I a prisoner, and why do I even long to fight with the beasts? In that case I am dying in vain. Then indeed am I lying concerning the Lord.

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

### XI

1. *^bevyere ovv ràt /cateas TrapaiživáSat Tat yevvtóaat Kapiròv davarpefiórov, ov èav yevapTai*  
 Mt. is, is *nt, Trap' avrà à/TToffvpiTKet. avrai yap ovk eitriv*  
*rfivreia Tarpot. 2. el yàp 7jaav, èifiaivovTo av*  
*kXúSoi tov crravrov, Kai pv àv o Kapirov avT&v*  
*a<f>6apTof Si' ov èv t w rrádei avrov TrpoaKaXeÎTai*  
*vpât livràt péXp aiiTov. ov Svvarai ovv Keif>aXp*  
*-yaipit yevvpdpvat avev peXüv, tov deov evooarv*  
*èirayyeXXopiérov, ó écriv avrót.*

### XII

1. *'AerTrâÇopai vpât atro S/xvpi'ijç àpia Tait*  
*avp-rrapovaait pot èKKXperlait tov Oeov, oî Kara*  
*Travia pie àvérravaav crapKÍ Te Kai rrvevpan.*  
 2. *irapaKaXeî vpât Ta Secrpà pov, à eveKev 'Ipcrov*  
*Xpicnov rrepirépa), aiTovpevot deov erriTvyeiv'*  
*SiapieveTe èv aÿ opovoia vp&v Kai rp peT' àXXpXwv*  
*TTpoaevxp- irpérrei yàp vpîv Toit Kaff eva, è^ai-*  
*périot Kai TOÏt irpea^vrépoit, àva^v^eiv tov*  
*èmaKOTTov eit Tippv TraTpot, 'I^croû Xpiarou Kai*  
*t Ô)v airoaToXwv. 3. evyopai vpât èv àyàirp*  
*aKovaal pov, 'iva pp elt papTvptov à' èv vpîv*  
*ypáijrat. Kai Trepì èrov Se 7rpoerev%ecr\$e, Tpt «</>*  
*vpwv àyaTrpt XPPÇovTOf èv TÔ> èXéei tov ffeov, elt*  
*to Karatitoi)Ílvai pe tov KXppov, ov irepiKeipail*  
 i Cor. 9, 27 *•eTTÍTv^eíi', 'iva pp áSÓKipot evpedw.*

1 Lightfoot thinks *ireplKiivai* impossible and accepts Bunsen's emendation *ovirep eyKfifiat.*

XI

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

XII

1. I greet you from Smyrna together with the Exhorta- Churches of God that are present with me, men who unity and in all things have given me rest in the flesh and in love 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.

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

### XIII

1. 'A.o"rraxerai vpSs rj àyçcirri Xpvpvaicov Kai 'E^ecritar. pvrípoveveTe èv Tacs trpoaev^ai^ vpûv rffjs èv Xvpta èKKXrj<ria<i, o0ev Kai ovk a^ios eipi XèyeadaL, a>v ècr)(aTo<; èKelvasv. 2. eppaxrde èv 'Irjaou Xpiarâ, viroTaaaopevoi ra> ciricrKOTrtp d>ç rij èvToXp, àpoiros Kai tð> irpecrfivTepiKp. Kai of Kar' àv8pa ùXXi/XoUç àyairare èv àpepirrrcp KapZla. 3. àyviÇeTaL vpwv to èpòv irvevpa ov povov vvv, àXXà Kai orav 0eov èircTv^o). èri yàp virò Ktv-Svvón *tipi'* àXXà Triare? o iraTrjp èv Lrjaov Xpiarâ TrXypcocrai pov rrjv aîr^aiv Kai vp&v, èv çp evpe-Oeirpe l âpwpoi.

### ΠΙΜΑΙΟΙΣ irNATIOΣ

'lyraTio?, ç Kai @so<f>ðpo<;, rfi ^Xerjpévij èv peyaXetoTqrt, 'irarpos vihticttou Kai 'Urprov Xpiarov tov povov vîov avrai) èKKXrjaia •fjyaTrppèvy Kai TrecfiMTiapévρ èv BeXppari tov ÔeXrpravTOS Ta Trávra, à ccttiv, KaTa áyá.Trrjv 'lyaov XpiaTov, tov ðeov rjpSiv, %itiç; Kai TrpoKadyTai èv Toirtp yu>pLov 'Pcvpaitàn, à^io0eo<;, à^ioTrpejrj^, à^LopaKapiiTTOS, a^ieTratvo<;, à^teTri,TevKTo<;, afyay-i»oç Kai TrpoKadypévρ) ryî ayáity;, ypicTió-vvp,osf TrciTptovvpsOS, rjv Kai. aairaÇo/MU ev

1 The Armenian and g read eypefluij/xeý “may we be found.”

2 ALS read xp^róvo^os “having the law of Christ.”

## IGNATIUS TO THE BOMANS

### XIÍ

1. The love of the Smyrnaeans and Ephesians greet final you : remember in your prayers the Church in Syria, seings 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.

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

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

ètvopari Tr/crov X/ljòctou, viov rrapos' Kara aápKa Kai rrvempa fp><i>pévois; rraay èvroXrj avrov, rrrrXppiopévoî; yápiro<; deov aSia-Kpírtiüt Kai arroSioXiapévois àrro rrvavros aX-Xorpión ^pâtparoc̄ rrxēiara èv 'Ipaov Xpimp, np θεά> ppwv, àpioptos ^alpeiv.

### I

1. 'Evreî ev^ápevoí θεά> èrrérv^ov l^eîv vp'jjv rà à^iôðea rrpôatorra, wç Kai rrxevov yrovppv Xafiev fceðepévos yàp èv Xpiarâ 'irjaov èXrri^co vpws àarràaaaaθai, èavrrep OéXppa. rj rov à^icoffpval pe eiç réXo<; eivai. 2. y pev yap àpφ evoiKovoppro; èanv, èavrrep %àpiro<; l èrrirv^at eZç rð rðv KXr/pón pov àveprroðiaravi àiróXafteiv. (j>o/3ovpai <yàp rrjv vpSiv ζvvaTTiγ, pi) avrrj pe àðiKrijay. vpìv yàp evyepes èartv, ô déXere, Troiijaai- èpol 3è èvaKoxón èariv rov Θεov èrrirv^eiv, èavrrep vpeì<; prj <pei-arjadé pov.

### II

I Tliess. 2,4 1. Où yàp OeXw vpàs civdpwrrapeaKrijaai, àXXà dotò àpéaai, èoarrep Kai àpèaKere. ovre yap èyó> rrove e|w Kaipov roiovrov θεov èrrirvyeiv, ovre vpelf, èàv criwTTi'jj'pre, Kpeirrovi òpyto è%ere èmupaÿrivai. èàv yap aicomiapre air epov, èya> Xóyos θεov' èàv sè èpaadijre tt|ç aapKOi pov,

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

## IGNATIUS TO THE ROMANS, i. i-ii. i

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

### I

1. Forasmuch as I have gained my prayer to God Hopeof to see your godly faces, so that I have obtained Romfnshe 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 nidasire “God-pleasers,” even as you do indeed please him. s^Vdfrom For neither shall I ever have such an opportunity of the beasts 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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 ox ao\v x •Soaar/yjxr/aiLvisr/ sh\oivd-n oiiv o id o ^  
 Sp iDahgsdaj aaimi^hivu So3@ o svidrr^ aoiioxi  
 -1JZ.9 dOl 110 'QOXjh\ diiuids^ as idivn mi sihxyi  
 lOisr/oaal sodoX /liivkv aa vai 'dixx>3 aodioia aoid  
 -huming no sm 'Aiq ivahgu^dom noi 3ffihXi  
 -ydvii hr/ ior/ ao3\ii 'g -lidm<p mr/oia mxyii



## IGNATIUS TO THE ROMANS, n. i-ni. 3

you love my flesh, I shall again be only a cry.  
2. Grant me nothing more than that I be poured out to God, while an altar is still ready, that forming yourselves into a chorus<sup>1</sup> of Jove, 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 Request others. But I desire that those things may stand RhUoidpray fast which you enjoin in your instructions. 2. Only iu' llim 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.<sup>2</sup> Christianity is not the work of persuasiveness, but of greatness, when it is hated by the world.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. note on Kph. xix., p. 193.

<sup>3</sup> The sentence is clumsily expressed : apparently Ignatius means "nothing directly visible is good, and Jesus Christ, who is no longer visible, being in the Father, is more clearly perceived by the eye of faith," but he has sacrificed clearness to a paradoxical playing with the words.

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

### IV

I. 'Eycb ypàifxû iráaais raïs eKKXr)aiais, Kai ζvrewopai rrâaiv, oti èyà> eKwv vrr'ep Oeov aTroOvpaKto, éávTrep upéis pi] Ka>Xvar;Te. rrapa-  
 Cf.zenobius Kaλâ> vpâs,p>] evvoia axaiapos yévT]a0é poi., adie-é pe  
 i'aroeM- i. 0-qpiuv eivai [3opáv, Si ù>v eveariv Oeov erriru^elv.  
 alrós eipc Oeov Kai ζ7' ò8óvTtov 0ypia>v áXr;0opai,  
 'iva KaOapbs apros eupeOíβ roû Xpiarov.1 2. pàX-  
 λov KoXaKeûtrare rà 0r]pia, 'iva poi ráceos yevaiivrai  
 Kai pydèv KaraXliraii rûv tov auparos pov, "va  
 pi] KoipT]0eis [3apvs rivi yévupai. rorè eaopai  
 pa0-ìpr)]? àXyèùs 'lijcrov Xpiarov, ore oude to  
 aúpa pov ó KÔapos oi/reTai. XnavevaaTe tov  
 Xpiarov? inrèp èpov, ïi a bià TÛv opyavuv tov-  
 twv Ovaia3 evpeôú. 3. ov^ ít>? Tlerpo? Kai  
 I Cor. 7,22 ΠυûXoc èiarâaaopai vplv. ÎKelvoi^ aTrôaroXoi,  
 èyâ> KaraKpiTOS' ÊksIvoi eλei0epoi, eyoi ðe pe%opi  
 vvv ðovXoc. ÛXX' èàn Ttá0a>, airéXevOepoc yevi]-  
 aopai 'Irjaov Xpiarov Kai avaaTi]aopai eu avrai  
 eλev0epoc. vvv pav0áva> ðeðepevoc prjbev erriOv-  
 peív.

### V

1. 'Atto Xvpiac pé^pi 'Pwprjs Oppiopa^âi, ðta  
 y-]S Kai OaXaaaijs, vvktoS Kai rjpepac, ðeðepevos

l roi Xparroi GL, 0foi Sg Iren.^-, om. Iren.S". Hieron.  
 GL, tóf Kvpioy SA.  
 , (fleou) Óvffia LSA.

IGNATIUS TO THE ROMANS, iv. i-v. i

IV

1. I am writing to all the Churches, and I give His desire 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"<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup> 3. I do not order you as did Peter and Paul; they were Apostles, I am a convict; they were free, I am even until now a slave. But if I suffer I shall be Jesus Christ's freedman, and in him I shall rise free. Now I am learning in my bonds to give up all desires.

V

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

<sup>1</sup> Apparently a partial quotation from the proverb preserved by Zenobius *ataipos* *oòSfv* *ò'P'PEI* "an unseasonable kindness is nothing different from hostility."

<sup>2</sup> I.e. the wild beasts.

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

Cor. 4,4 *ten:a Xeoirápiton, o ècrriv aTparianikov rilypa' oi Kai eveyerovpevoi ■(elpov< j ylvovTai. èv 8è roîi àèu.Kr/p.aa'iv avTWV pâXXov paÔr]Tevopai, ζXX' ou Trapa tovto 8e8iKaia>pai. 2. ovaipriv t &v br]pia>v t Úv èpoi r/Toipaapévaiv Kai ev^opai avvnpa poi evpeúrjvar à Kai KoXaKevrrar, avvropan fie Kara- fiayeív, ciy ivairep TivSyv SeiXaivopeva ov% ityavTo. Kav avrà 8è aKovral pij 6evrjarj, eya> irpoafia- aopai. 3. avyyv0>prp/ poi è^ere- Tl poi avpÿepet, ζyζ) ytvócTKio, vvv ap^opai paOrirrii eivai. prjOev pe ÇijXaxrai tûv ôparôyv Kai àopârcov, iva lyaov Xpiarou eTrirvyW. TTVp Kai aTavpÔf OT]pitüV re trvaTaaeK, àvaropial, ûtaipéireis, aKopiriapioi oaréaiv, avyKOTrr/ péXûv, àXeap.oi oXov tov crai- paTof, KaKai KoXâaeis tov Sia^oXov err epe epye- adaicrav, pónov 'iva 'Lrjaov XpiCTOv èirirv^tù.*

## VI

Cor. o, is 1. *Ov8év pot ôùÿeXrpTei Ta irépaTa tov Koapov ou8è ai {3aaiXeîtai tov aiâ>vo<; tovto. koXov poi inroOaveív eli lipicrTOv 'lya.ovv, r/ ftacrúeveiv tuv TrepaTiov ttjt ypi- ζKeívov nyT<ζ>, tov vrrep rjpwv à-rrodavôvTa- eKeívov deK'o, tov 8Î ripai avacrravTa. ó 8è TOKeTOi poi èiriKiïTai- 2. crvyyvcoTe pot,*

\* S/rorra G Euseb, *IKl*, -ra Lg, (om. SA?). Lightfoot prefers *ik Svto*. "willing," which must be an accusative referring to Ignatius.

## IGNATIUS TO THE ROMANS, v. i-vi. 2

ten "leopards" (that is, a company of soldiers), 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." *Taypa* 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

ἵδεX<φοι- p-q ἐπTroSia-rjTé poi ^rjaai, pi) deXpcrpré  
 pe àrrodaveiv' τοῦ τοῦ ffeov ffeXovra elvai ko apm  
 PP ^απίαπιρούε, prfiè vXy è^aTrarpapre-l attere ps  
 KaOapov <f>â)§ XajBeiv- èlceî rrapayevopevos avdpcō-  
 TToç éaopai. 3. éTrirpéifearé poi pipyryv elvai  
 τοῦ Trââovt; τοῦ Oeov pov. ei tk avrov èv éavTŪ  
 6V61, vopcrŪTat ô OéXo>, Kai cvpTradeÎTm poi  
 eiocos Ta avve^ovrá pie.

### VII

1. 'Ο apyrov τοῦ alanos τοῦτοῦ oiaprràrrai pis  
 fiovXerai Kai rpv eiç deov pov yviàppv Zia^tôéïpai.  
 ppûels ovv τὸν TrapôvTiov vpâv /3op0eÎTto avrai-  
 pâXXov èpov yiveaÔe, rovréanv τοῦ Oeoû. pîrj  
 XaXeîre 'Ipcrovv Xpia-Tov, Koirpov èrridvpeîre.  
 2. ἰSaaKavía èv vpîv pp KaroiKeiTto. pîfô àv èyw  
 irapèov irapaKaXai vpàs, TreiadijTe poi- τοῦτοῖς èè  
 paXXov TreiadijTe, otç ypà(f>a> vpîv. ἰpov yàp  
 ypàipto vpîv, èpâtν τοῦ àiroQaveiv. o èpos èpcos  
 ècrTavptoTai, Kai ovk èariv èv èpol -rrvp (f>iXovXov-  
 vBcop δè ^â>v Kai XaXovv2 èv èpol, eacoOev poi Xéyov-  
 Aevpo irpos τοῦ -rraTepa. 3. ov^ rfiopai Tpoç/fj  
 ἵffopàs οὐSè ifiovaîs τοῦ fiiiov TOVTOV. apTOV Oeov  
 Joh. 4, 10; 7| 88  
 Joh. 0,33  
 Joh. 7,42 ;  
 ii°TÎm.'2,'s  
 (TiréppaTOs AavfÆ, Kai Tropa 0;Xw to aipa avrov,  
 o èariv ayá-rrî] a<f>0apros.

l wSi úÁti èÇaTaTÿtrvTC is omitted in Gg ; Lightfoot thinks  
 that LSA imply KoAax^úcrvTe rather than ^airarriaijTe.

The text is much expanded in the later authorities :  
 Lightfoot is inclined to emend kæl AoXdvf to aWop.epou, which  
 is found in g, as a reference to Joh. 4, 14,

8 'li/troû GLA, om. Sg-

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 Thetempt-pieces, and to corrupt my mind towards God. Let the devi none of you who are present help him. Be rather snd hisown on my side, that is on God's. Do not speak offeellugs 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.l

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

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

### VIII

1. Oo/eeri 6eXco Kara, áv0pá>7Tov<; Çyv. tovto 8è earai, èàn vpeîs OeXyayre. 0e\vrj<raTe, 'iva, Kai v\xtîs' 0eXy0f)Te. 2. Si oXiyatv ypappai a>v alrov-pai vpâs- TitaTevaare poi. 'Itjctoûç Sè Xpi<TTÔç vpîv ravra <j>avepa>aei, oti àXy0â>s Xéyw to àilzevSèç arôpa, èv à o iraryp èXàXyae v àXijÈwç. 3. aiTyaaa0e Tiepi èpov, iva èirnv^tù. ov Kara, aápKa vpîv èypayjra, aXXa Kara yvMpyv 0eov. èav irádo), y0eXy<raTÇ- èàn aTro8oKipa<r0w, èpia-jrrare.

### IX

1. yivypoveveTe èv Ty Tipoaev^y vptàn tt}ç èv "Xvria èKKXyaias, ijTis àvrl èpov Tioipévi to3 0eà> j(pi)Tai. pónos avTijv 'lyaovs XptaTÔç èirurKO-Trr/aei Kai rj vpStv ayátrip 2. èyà> Sè aiaXyvopai è^ avTÛv Xèyç<T0ai' ov8è yàp à^tós eîpi, ζ>v ea-Xaros avTtàn Kai eK-rpwpa' aXX ijXeripai tíç elvat, èàn 0eov è7riTvya>. 3. aarrà^eTai vpâs to èpov TTvevpa Kai ý ayÓTri] rcòv eKKXr/aièðv twv Se^apévww pe eh ovopa 'Ipaov ILpiarov, ov^ ós irapoSevovTa. Kai yàp ai pi) TrpouijKOvaav poi Ty 08<i> ry Karà aápKa, Karà tt0Xiv pe irpoyyov.

### X

1. Yparfu0 Sè vpîv ravra ζ<tt0 ^.pvpvys 8i 'E<f>eaiav v tmv à^iopaKapiaTiov. eaTiv 8e Kai àpa èpol avv aXXois tt0XXois Kai iipÓKOS, to iroôyTov  
236



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

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

/jLOl OVOpM. 2. TTepl TWV TTpoéXOÓvTWV p.0 ¿WTO  
'S.vpiai eìi 'P<ála7;i' eiç Só^av rov Oeov Tricrevco  
vpâi èireyvcùKévai, o'ç Kai S^Xwaare èyyvi fie ovra.  
Traj/reç yàp elaiiv âÇioi tov Oeov Kai vp.tàv ov?  
irpéiroy vplv èariv Karà navra avariavaai. 3.  
eypayjra Sè vplv raina rrj np'o èvvea KaXavSâtv  
'Í.e'TTTePpítüv. eppfürde eli TeXoi èv vrropovj

I Theas 3, 5 'lijCTOV XpilTTOV.

### §IAAAEA<I>EYSIN IPNATIO2

'lyvárioi, ó xai ®eotf>opoi, eKKXyaia Oeov  
Trarpoi Kai Kvplov 'Iraov Xpiarov T-rj overy  
èv iPiXa^eXifila Tyi 'Aaiiai, yXeyp,évy Kai  
Tj^paapévy èv ζpovoía Oeov Kai àyaXXiupévy  
èv τδ) TráOei tov Kvplov jpiûv àSiaKpÍTcoi Kai  
èv Tí) àvacTTiiaei avTov TreTrXrjpoifipripevy èv  
iraVTÍ èXéei, yv àarrâÇopMi èv atpaTi 'lyaov  
AriaTOV, yTis èaTiv %apà alcovioi Kai irapâ-  
poi'Oi, páXiaTa èàv èv évi waiv avv rw  
èiria-KOTrip Kai τοις ervv avrai irpeçfivTepon  
Kai èiaKovoiî ÛTrolie^eiypévois èv yviôpy  
'lyaov Xpiarov, ouç Kara το iBiov OéXypa  
èarypi^ev èv ^e/Saiaæa-ûvy t & âyia> avrov  
irvevpMTi.

### I

1. "Ov èiriaKOTrov èyvatv ovk à<f> èavrov ovèè Si  
àvOpcOTTiov KíKTyaOai ryv SiaKoviav ryv eiç το

## IGNATIUS TO THE PHILADELPHIANS, i. i

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.

**I**gnatius, 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. Greetings

### I

1. I know that your bishop obtained the ministry, The Bishop which makes for the common good, neither from delP^'

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

*koivov àvπKOVcrav ovdè Kara Kevoèò^iav, aXX ev ayairr] ðeov rrappos /cai Kvp'iou 'Ipcrov Xpc<rrov' ov KaraTreiXriypai rpv ètrieîKeiav, os aiyûv irXeiova ùvvarai rrw paratal XaXovvràn. 2. avvepvvO-pia-rat yàp raïs èvroXaïs còç ^opôaîç KtOapa. Sto pa/capiÇei pov p y^v^p rpv eiç ðeov avrov yvdippv, èrrtyvovs èvâperov Kai reXetov ovaav, ro aKivprov avroûi Kai ro aopyprov avrov ev irrap ètrteiKeia ðeov Çiàvros.*

### II

1. Té/ci/æ ovv ðmotos àXpGetas,2 jëvyere rov peptapòv Kai ràs KaKoZiZaaKaXiaS' oirov Sè o Troip/jv earir, çKeî dis ïpopiara ÛKoXovdeire. 2. TToXXoi yàp Xvkoï à^iôiriarioi rjSovp icaicij a.l%-paXaiTiÇovcriv rovs deoBpopovs' **M** èv ri) evorrjri pvûv ou^Y e^ovaiv rorrov.

### III

Mt is, is 1. 'A7réy6<T0e râsv kokSiv ftoravâw, darivas ov ytu/pyei 'Ijctovs Hpiarós, 8ià rò prj elvai avrovs <j>vTélav rrapôds ' 0VX òri irap vpîv pépiapov evpov, àXX' àrroZivXiapòv. 2. daoï yàp ðeov elaiiv Kai 'ÏTjaov lipiarov, ovroi perà rov èiri/TKorrov elcriv. Kai oaoï àv peravotJaavres eXdwaiv èrrl rpv évórpra rrp çKKXpaïas, Kai ovroi Ôeoûi eaovrai,

1 *láraia* GL, om. A, irXeog g. Lightfoot favours the reading of A.

2 <^a>Tîs Kai aKriOttas A "light and truth"; Lightfoot thinks that 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 Warning 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 warning 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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 mdUyn m as oai 'isondoi<sup>i</sup>» srt z s'' amrta  
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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 <sup>The on</sup> there is one flesh of our Lord Jesus Christ, and one <sup>Euchilisk</sup> 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, <sup>petition</sup> and exceedingly joyful in watching over your safety. <sup>p<sup>tr</sup>,kle<sup>o</sup>ar</sup> Yet not I, but Jesus Christ, whose bonds I bear, but am the more fearful in that I am not yet perfected; but your prayer will make me perfect for God, that I may attain the lot wherein I found mercy, making the Gospel my refuge as the flesh of Jesus, and the Apostles as the presbytery of the Church. 2. And <sup>The</sup> the prophets<sup>1</sup> also do we love,<sup>2</sup> because they also <sup>^phèt</sup> 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

<sup>1</sup> He probably means the Christian prophets: cf. the *Didache* and *Hernias*.

<sup>2</sup> An alternative translation is "let us love."

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

ΧριCTTOÛ δ'fTeç, à^iayÛTrproi Kai à^ioffavpaaToi àyioi, virò 'Ipaov Xptarov pepapTvpiipevoi Kai avnpptdpppevoi èv rip evayyéXítþ t í)? Koivrp çXttÍoo?.

### VI

1. 'Èàn Sé t í? iovoaiapov épppvevy vpív, prj aKóuere àuroû. àpeivov yáp èariv Trapa avóp'oi; Trepitoppv coopto? -^piaTiaviapbv aKovetv, p Trapa uKoo/SvaTov ìovSalapón. èàn Se àpipoTepoi Trepì 'Ipaov Xpiaroû pp XaÁMcriv, ovtoi epoi irríjXai eiarv Kai ráifioi veKpwv, oí? yeypairrai, povov ovópaTa àv0pá>TTij>v. 2. tpevyere ovv ras kmo-Teyyía<i Kai èvéèpas tov çip^ovros toû àìwvoc; TOvTov, prprroTe #Xí/3épT6? Tij yváip-p avTOv é£a-aðevpaeTe èv t í) iiyairp- çXXá TrávTes çTrl to ai>To yiveaffe èv èipepiaTW Kapètia. 3. ev\apiaTÛ Sè t ç) Géip pov, oTb evtrvi'etètrpros eipi èv vplv Kai ovk èyei t í? Kav^ptraadai ovib Xá0pa ovre (pavepâ)?, OTi èfiiippcrà Tira èv piKrip p èv peyiiKfp. Kai Trâai 8é, èv oí? eXaXpaa, eû^opat, iva pij et? papTvpiov aiiTo KTpawvTat.

### VII

1. Ei yap Kai nara aapKa pe Tives pôeXpaaav TrXavpaai, aXXa to Trveûpa ov TrXavaTai àrho Oeov ov. olèev yai), TroOev 'épierei Kai ttoV VTrâyeB, Kai Ta KpvTrrà eXéyeyi. eKpavyaaa pera^v a>v, èXaXovv peyDXp <f>a>vij, ðeov <j><iïvp' T<â ÔTriaKOTrec TrpoaéyeTe Kai t S) TrpeafivTepirp Kai ètaKovot'i.



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 <sup>Against</sup> 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 <sup>his conduct</sup> the flesh, the spirit is not deceived, for it is from <sup>delphiiT</sup> 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,—<sup>l</sup> with God's own voice,—Give heed to the bishop,

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

2. ol Bè viroTr-Tewavres fie &ς irpoeiBóra τὸν peptcrpon rivoiv Xeyeiv ravra- páprvs Bé poi, èν <ρ BéBepai, on Ἰτὸ crapKos avdρwmvrj'; ovk eyvaiv. τὸ Bè irvevpa èKilpvaaev λέγον ráBe' Xtopis τὸν εΤτῖτΚΟΤΤὸν ppBèν rroteire, rrjv aápKa vpâ>v vaov Ôeov rpeéTe, rrjv evwcnv ayairàre, tous pepiapovs <j>evyere, pipprai yiveade 'Ipaov Xpcarov, ζς Kai avros τὸν Trarpof avrov.

## VIII

1. 'E7ζ> pèν ovv τὸ iBiov èiroiow &ς ávδpa>ΤΤΟ<; eh evaxn.v Karppnapevos. ov Bè pépia-pos ècrnv Kai ôpyp, Θεὰς ov KaroiKeî. rrâaiv ovv peravovaiv à<f>iei ο Kvpiot, èàn peravoyatoaiv eh èvôrijTa Θεov Kai avvéBpiov τὸν eTriaΚΟΤrov. iriareva> rÿ papiri 'ÿaov Hpiarov, ôς Xvaei átf>' vpô>v rrávTa Beapov. 2. TrapaKaXw Bè vpch ppBèν Kar èpideiav Τράααetvd ζMea Kara y^piaropadiav. ènrei pKovaà nvwv ^eyovrwv, ori èàn pp èν roh appelleis evpto èν râ> evayyeXiip ov TrivTevw Kai Xéyovrô^ pov aiiToh on yeypamai, aireKpiOrprav poi on TrpoKewai. èpol Bè àp^eîâ èανv 'iTjcrovf Xpta-srôs, rà àdiKra àpyeîa ο crravpos avrov Kai ò Oavaros Kai p aviiaraars avrov Kai rj manç è) Bi avrov, èν oh Θε<ο èν rÿ rrpoev^p vpwv BiKaitôrp'ai.

I HpaatTew GL, rpaffffe're 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 Bxhoru unity. But where there is division and anger God u°Ptto does not dwell. The Lord then forgives all who y 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,"<sup>1</sup> 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.

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

### IX

1. KaXol Kai oc iepeîç, Kpelcra-ov Sè ó àp^tepeuç ó TTiTTicTevpévos rà àyia rûv àyitûv, bs pónos Treiriarevrai ra Kpvrrrà roû deov- avrò? atv dypa tou Trarpôç, Si eiaép^ovrat 'Aftpaàp Kai 'laaaK Kai 'XaKcofò Kai ol 7poc<f>prai Kai airoiTTòXoi Kai p ζKK^ijaia. iràvra ravra els èvorpra deov.  
2. ζpalperòv Sé τί e%ei rà evayyéXiov, rpv -rrapov-aiav Tov aayppos, KVplov ppS>v 'Ipaov Xpierrov, to irados avrov, Kai rpv àvàaraaiv. oi yap aya-irprol irpo^prai KarpyyeiXav eiç avrov- rà Sè evayyéXiov àiràpriapà èrrriv àffidapcias. iràvra ζp,ov KaXa ètTiv, èàn ev àyairp TriaTevpre.

### X

1. 'JLireibp Kara rpv irpoaev^pv vpitàn Kai Kara rà (HTXàxyxa, à è^ere èv AptarSi Ipa-où, aTrpyyeXp p.oi eippvevetv rpv èKKXpaiaiv rpv èv Avrio^eia Tps ^vpias, irpéirov èarlv vpiûv û>s èKKXpaia deov, yetpoTovpaat ètaKOVov els to irpea^evaai èKeî deov irpea^eiaiv, els to avy)çappvai aïirois ètri to avrò yevopèvois Kai So^áaai to ovopia. 2. p,aKζ-pios èv 'Ipaov XpicTTip, ôç Kara^icodpreTai Tps ToiavTps SiaKovias, Kai vpièis So^acrdpaeade. dé-Xovaiv Sè vp.îv ovK èariv abubarov virep ovoparos deov, oîs Kai ai èyyiara èKKpaiai ètrep^av èiriaKOTTovs, ai Sè irpea^vrépovs tççti, SiaKovovs,

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.



## IGNATIUS TO THE SMYRNAEANS

### XI

1. But concerning Philo, the deacon from Cilicia, Thanks a man of good report, who is at present serving me Meetings 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 p but may those who treated them with disrespect be redeemed by the grace of Jesus Christ. 2. The love of the brethren at Troas salutes you ; and I am writing thence to you by the hand of Burrhus, who was sent with me by the Ephesians and Smyrnaeans as a mark of honour. The Lord Jesus Christ shall reward them, on whom they hope in flesh and soul and spirit, in faith, in love and in harmony. Farewell in Christ Jesus, our common hope.

### VI.—IGNATIUS TO THE SMYRNAEANS.

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

1 Or possibly “ even as may the Lord receive you.”

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

(f)Op(p, 77) OV(7p €V ^fAVpVT) T7)Ç A(T<sub>i</sub>&9,  
 ;jUCü/tto 7rp€v/l;ar<sub>i</sub> /cui Xoyp 6eov irKeiT<sub>T</sub>A  
 Xatpeiv.

### I

- Rom. 1, 3 1. Aof«í/i> 'lr]aovv Xpimòv ròv Oeov t òv ovToif  
 ù/z.âç aof(>iaavTa' èvópaa yàp vpàs KaTTjpTia-  
 pévovt; èv aKivTIT<p Trimet, âtarrep KadrfXatpevovs  
 èv t S> mavptp τov Kvpiov 'lytrov Xpimov aapKb  
 re Kai rrvεvpaTb Kai r;δpaapÁvav<; ev ayarrp ev τò>  
 aipaTb Xpimov, ireirXTipotfiopiipevovs ebç τov  
 Kvpiov Tjpòiv, àXriffâiç ovra eK yévonç AaveiS KaTa  
 aàpKa, vlov Oeov KaTa OéXripa Kai δvvaptv ffeov,l  
 yeyevvt/pévov àXr]0ò><; ck Trapðevov, fteSaTrricpevov
- Mt. S, 15 viro 'Icoávov, iva TrXTjpMdfj Traca BiKatoavvrj vit  
 avTov' 2. aXiyfJco; erri TÍovtÍov IiXaTov Kat,  
 'HpáSov TeTpápyov KaOrp^oipévov virèp rjpâtv èv  
 aapKÍ, à(f> ov Kapτροv rupeis atro τov QeopaKa-  
 piaTov avTov trádov^, iva àpp avacrjrov ets τουç  
 Is. 5, 26, 11, 12, 49, 22, 62, 10) aiûvas δtâ t i)ç avarnaaeav; ειç τουç âyioυç Kai  
 TTtmovt; avTov, eÏTe èv 'lovSalots eire èv edveaiv,  
 Eph. 2,16 èv évi cátpaTi rrjs èKKXfjatai avTov.

### II

1. Taûra yàp irávTa eTradev St,' r/pm, iva  
 aaiOSipev? Kai àX^Gâ); èiradev, ζç Kai àXrjGSis  
 àvèmr]aev éavTÒv, ούy warrep aTTimoi, Ttves

1 A Theodoret omit floû and are followed by Lightfoot.

2 "foa trw9wfj.iv QW» C.



## IGNATIUS TO THE SMYRNAEANS, i. i-ii. i

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

### I

1. I give glory to Jesus Christ, the God who has thus given you wisdom ; for I have observed that you are established in immoveable faith, as if failed 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 <sup>1</sup> 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

<sup>1</sup> "Tree" is not expressed in the Greek: but seems to be implied by the "fruit" in the next sentence, though the exact meaning of the passage is obscure.

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

*Xéyovaiν, to SoKelv avrov rrrerrovbévai, avrai to  
Īokciv oires- km Kabà>s tfipovovatv, Kai avp[3rp  
aerai avroîs, ovati/ aaiopárois Kat SatpovtKoîs.*

### III

Cf. Luke 24, 89  
Acta 10, 41

1.. 'E7W yap Kat pera rrjv àvóaTaaiv èv aapKĪ avrov olia Kai iriarevai ovra. 2. Kai ore rrpouç trepi Ilérpov yX&ev, etf>y avrots' Adplere, -frrjXaij/yaaTe pie Kai j.'Sere, on ovk eipì Batpóvtov itaióparov. Kai evδv<j avrov ipjavTO Kai ein-arevaav, KpaÔévres aapKĪ avrov Kai rS> Trveiipartil ita tovtio Kai Qavárov KaTeibpónypaav, 'púpédipaav ie vrrep bavarov. 3. pera Be rr/v àvàaraaiv avvé<f>ayev avroîs Kai avvemev <Eç aapKiKos, Kaírrep rrvvpariKS><; tjv(úpievos Tip rrappi.

### IV

1. Tavra Be rrapaivâ) vpîv, àyaTTTjroi, élbà>ç ori Kai vpeis oînais ë-^ere. 'n-poÿvXàaatû Bè vpai àrrò rà>v brjpiá>v rüv àvδpa>Tropi<jp<pa>v, ovç ov pôvov Beî vpiâç py trapaié^eadat, jXX' et ivvarov pyiè avvavrâv, 2 povov Bè irpoaev^eaë3 vrrep avTtâv, èàn 7T<uç peravopaaatv, orrep ivaKoXov, tovtov Bè è'^et è^ovaiav 'irjaovj; Tipiaros, to

1 irt'fôfiari GLC, appari A.

3 avPaPTwF BG, ffvvavrâv avroîs LAC.

8 7rpo<reÛx«<r0€ BC(S), irpo<revx€(r)ai GLA.

## IÔNATIÛS TO THE SMYRNAEANS, h. l-1V. i

say, that his Passion was merely in semblance,—but it is they who are merely in semblance, and even according to their opinions it shall happen to them, and they shall be without bodies and phantasmal.

### III

1. For I know and believe that he was in the <sup>The Resur-</sup> flesh even after the Resurrection. 2. And when he <sup>teflesh”</sup> 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, <sup>Warning</sup> knowing that you also are so minded. But I guard you in advance against beasts in the form of men, <sup>teachers</sup> 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

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

*àXpÔLvôn ppS>v Çpv, 2. ei yàp to SoKelvl ravTa èirpà^Op òtto tov Kvplov rjpôw, Kayà> to SoKelv èèèepat. 1l Sè Kai èavTov ckSotov SéStu/ca tÆ OavaTrp, Trpoç Trvp, Trpoç pà^aipav, irpo<; Ôppia ; ÿXX' èyyvs pa^aipa! èyyvs Oeov, pera^û Oppto>v pera^v Oeov' povov èv tð) ÿvôpaTi 'Ipaov XpLCTTOv*  
 pmi. 4,13 *eic to crvpTTadeîv aiiTw iràvTa viropévat, airrov pe èvBuvapovvTOP tov TeXelov àvdpànrov.2*

### V

1. "Ov Tiveç àvvoôivTes àpvovvTai, paXXov Sè rjpvri0TI<Tav vtr avTov, ovTes avvpyopoL tov Oavarov pâXXov rj t>|ç ÿXpOelas' ouç ovk eireia-av al Trpo<f>pTeîaL ovSè ô vo/xoç Moivcrewç, ÿXX' ouSè péyjiL vvv to evayyéXiov, ov8è Ta ppeTepa rùv KaT àvSpa TraOppara. 2. Kcà yàp Ttepi ýptov to avTo (f>povovTLV. TL yáp pe oxpeXeî t|ç, et èpe èiraLvel, tov Sè Kvpión pov /3Xo(T(f>ppeî, pp opoXoyùv avTov <rapKO<fiópov ; à Sè tovto Xéytov3 reXetcnc ai>Tov ÿTrppvpTai, àtv veKpo<f>ôpo<;- 3. Ta èe ovôpaTa avTtiiv, OLTa cLTTia-Ta, ovk èèò^év pob èyyapâyjai. ÿXXà ppôè yévoitÓ pot avTÛv pvppoveveLV, pèpL<; ov peravopaaia-LV eèç to irados, o eoTiv ppS>v àvàTacris.

1 Here and elsewhere Bg read rÿ So/ceîr against G which has tð Sokéîp.

2 add. ycvop.tvov GL.

3 Aeyor BC, GLA.

IGNATIÛS TO THE SMYRNAEANS, iv. i-v. 3

power over this. 2. For if it is merely in semblance that these things were done by our Lord I am also a prisoner in semblance. And why have I given myself up to death, to fire, to the sword, to wild beasts? Because near the sword is near to God; with the wild beasts is with God; in the name of Jesus Christ alone am I enduring all things, that I may suffer with him, and the perfect man himself gives me strength.

V

1. There are some who ignorantly deny him, but Against  
rather were denied by him, being advocates of death s  
rather than of the truth. These are they whom  
neither the prophecies nor the law of Moses  
persuaded, nor the gospel even until now, nor our  
own individual sufferings. 2. For they have the same  
opinion concerning us. For what does anyone profit  
me if he praise me but blaspheme my Lord, and do  
not confess that he was clothed in flesh? But he  
who says this has denied him absolutely and is  
clothed with a corpse. 3. Now I have not thought  
right to put into writing their unbelieving names;  
but would that I might not even remember them,  
until they repent concerning the Passion, which  
is our resurrection.

## The apostolic fathers

### VI

1. MijSetç TrXaváaPa)- Kai Ta ζTrovpávia Kai p Bo^a Twv ayyeXwv Kat, oi apyovTes òpaToi re Kai àóparoi, èav pt) TTiaTevaaiav eis to aipa XpicTov, Mt 19,12 Kcuceivots Kpiais *irrir* ó ^ζcop&jp ^wpei'rw. 1ottoç ppðeva <j>vaiovTO) to yap oXov ècrTÎv tti'cttis Kai ayiirp, o>v ovèèn irpoKeKpiTai. 2. KaTapádeTe Se roùç eTepozo^ovvTas eis ti i/v %ápiv 'Iptrov Xpiarov ttjv eis ppàs èλθov<rav, Triàs ènavTioi eicriv ttj yvá>prj tov ðeov. Trepì ζyairys ov péXeì avTois, ov Trepì xtfpas, ov Trepì opipavov, ov Trepì GXi^o-p,évon, ov Trepì Seðeju.évou rj XeXvp-évov, l ov Trepì ireivSivTOS y èiyjrüvros.

### VII

1. Eù^apiariaç Kai Trpocrevxfs aTrexovrat, Sia ro py òpoXoyeív Tyv ev^apterTiav aapKa eivai tov crcoTr/pos ì)più>v 'Ircrov ζsptcrTOV Ti)V vrrep toiv àpapTiðiv rjpSyv iradovcav, fjv t i} xPriaT01"l'ri 0 TraTr/p rjeipev. oi ovv àvTiXéyovTes 'rp ooipea tov Oeov (rvÇrJTOvvTes aTrovpvaKOVaiv awecfiepev Sé ai/TOcs àyarrâv, iva Kai ζva<TTÔi<riv. 2. irpeirov, ècTTiv àiréxeaðai t s>v toiovtwv Kai prpre Kar ièiav irepi avTÔiv XaXeîv prpre Koivp, 'irpotrexeiv Sè

l KiXvp.ivov BGL, om. AC.

8 irptirov BA(L), Tpcirov ovv Gg-

VI.

1. Let no one be deceived ; even things in heaven <sup>The unl-</sup> and the glory of the angels, and the rulers visible <sup>^udg'</sup> 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 <sup>The un-</sup> who have strange opinions concerning the grace of <sup>behaviour</sup> Jesus Christ which has come to us, and see how <sup>of heretic»</sup> 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 <sup>Heretics</sup> they do not confess that the Eucharist is the flesh of <sup>Eucharist</sup> 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

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

τ ο ις ἑρπο^>?2Ταίς, l^aίπεTtvi; be evayyeXi'p, ev  
 αἰ τ ο irá0o<; ijpîv bebifianai Kai η̄ àνὰραais  
 rereXeiwrai. rovs êè pépia/xoûς (ftevyere ci>ç àpxiji'  
 KaKÛv.

### VIII

1. nàrreç râ> liriakIttm aKoXovffeire, ζx; 'Iqaoûi  
 Xpiaroi rà irarpi, Kai râ> irpea/Bvrepw ζ>çí roí?  
 àiroaToXoîç. tous ζε SiaKovouç IvrpéireaOe ζç  
 Θεov IvroXrjv. pifiéis %wpis tov liriaKoirov tí  
 irpaaaérai τὸν àvijKÔvitov els tijv iKKXr/aiav.  
 iKeivij fienaia ev^aptaria yyeia0a>, y viro liri-  
 aKoirov ovaa r/ αἰ àν avràs lirirpéfi-p. 2. oirov àν  
 (jiavîj ó liriakottos, Ikcî τ ο irXijOog lirio,l wairep  
 oirov àν y 'Ir/aov? Xpiaro'\*;;2 IkÉÍ y KaOóXiKy  
 lKKXr;áia. ovk l^ov lariv ywpis rov lirtaKoirov ovre  
 fiairrl^eiv ovre áyáirijv iroieív ζXX' ô àν IkÉÍvo<;  
 èoKipday, τ ο vτ ο Kai rfi 0e<S evápearov, iva  
 áa^aXéi y Kai /3é/3aiov irâv b irpâaaere.<sup>34</sup>

### IX

1. EifXoyór laTiv Xoiirbv ànavrplrai ■qπàs^ ζ>ç érl  
 Kaipbv e^opev el<; 0ebv peravoeiv. KaXüi exei,  
 Θεov Kai liriaKoirov eièévai. o ripSiv liriaKoirov viro  
 Θεov TeTipiiTaf ó Xáδpa liriaKoirov ri irpaaawv

<sup>1</sup> fyru B, tara Gg.

<sup>2</sup> Xp. BA, Xp. 'Π7<r. GL.

<sup>3</sup> irpáo-ffETe BSA(g), irpálatTai GL.

<sup>4</sup> ripâs Bg(SA) Kai GL, " it is reasonable to return to sober-  
 ness, and ... to repent."



## IGNATIUS TO THE SMYRNAEANS, v ii. 2-ix. i

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 Submission Christ follows the Father, and the presbytery as if Bishop and it were the Apostles. And reverence the deacons as petabyte™ 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”<sup>1</sup> 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 Honour soberness, while we still have time to repent towards Bishop<sup>8</sup> 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

<sup>1</sup> 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.”

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

rô> <5í<x/96X&) XaTpevei. 2. irávra ovv vp.lv èv  
 ^ápiTi TrepiacreveTW à^ioi yàp ècrrre. Kara TravTa  
 pe àveTravaare, Kal vpâs 'lyaovi Xpiaroç. àirovra  
 pe Kal irápovTa T/yaTrrjaaTe. àpoi/Br|l vpiv o theo<,  
 8i' bv Travra viropévovre? avTov rev^eaOe.

### X

1. Kal 'Péov2 'Ayaôôirov, oî èirr]KoKov-  
 (hprav poi etç Xôyov Geov, KaXâvi èTroiyaaTe  
 virobeí-ápevot cð? biaKovovs theov-3 oî Kai evyapia-  
 Tovtriv t m KvptM irrrèp vpâ>v, o ti avTov? aveiravaaTe  
 icarà iràvTa rhoTrov. ovSèv vpiv ov pi) àiroXeiTai.

ilTim. i.ie 2. àvrtv)(pv vpSiv to irvevpá pov Kal Ta beapá  
 pov, a ovv\_ v7rept]^avi'i<raTe ovbè é-7rjja^vv0i}Te.  
 ovbè vpâç eiraia^vvdricreTai rj reXeia ÿX7rtç,4  
 Iijaoûç XpiaTOf.

### XI

1. 'H irpoaev^t) vpwv aTrfjXffev èm ryv eKKXij-  
 aiav Tt]v èv 'ÀvTio^ela t |}ç Svpiac, odev ðebe-  
 pévos deoirpeireaTaTotf becrpoîs TrávTaí àairà-  
 l^opai, oì>K ζtv a^io<; èKelòev eivai, ea^aTof avTMv  
 ζov KaTa géXrjpa be KaTrféiMOriv, ovk éK avveiðóTo<;  
 àXX' èK %ápiTO<; ðeov- rjv evyppai TeXeiv poi

1 ànoi&rì B, àjuoijøe\* (\*, anetyfrai g(A), retribuat

3 B has rdiov and it is possible that this, also found in g, is  
 right, but 'PeoM is transcriptionally more probable,

3 ðfOV BA, XpMTTOV fteov G(L).

4 ζAiris BA g, ir|ffTts GL.

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

I. You did well to receive as deacons of God, Thank»to Philo and Rheus Agathopous, who followed me in the smyrnaeana 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 Tho Church Antioch in Syria, and I greet all men as one who in Syna comes thence in bonds which are most seemly in God's sight, though I am not wo/thy 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,<sup>1</sup> but by the grace of God, and

<sup>1</sup> Or, possibly, " by my own complicity

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

*Sodfjvai, "va èv ry 7rpo<revxy vpxàn deov èirirv-yto.*  
 2. "va ovv vpwv TeXeiov yévrjTai το έργον Kai eirl  
 yrjs Kai èv ovpavtp, irpeirei els Ttrrpi deov yeipo-  
 Tovfjcrai 11 ]v èKKh.'rpTlav vpwv deoTrpeafievTifv, εις το  
 yevópevon èv 'S.vplal avyyapítvai àiTois, οτι  
 elpipevovcriv Kai ζireXaftov το iSiov péyedos Kai  
 ÛTreKaTeaTadr] àiTois το λèiov crwpaTeíov. 3.  
 è<f>ávTj poi ovv deov2 àipov Trpàypa. Tpepyjrai Ttvà  
 twv vperépwv per' èTricrroXfjs, "va awSo^aap 11jv  
 Kara deov àiTois yevopevrjv evèiav, Kai οτι Xipévos  
 èTvyvavov3 ri} Trpoaevvy vpwv. TeXeioi  
 ovres TcXeia Kai <f>povèIte. déXovaiν γὰρ vpîv  
 ev irpácreiv déos eToipos els το Trapé^eiv\*

Phil. 3, is

## XII

1. 'A<T7ràÇeTai vpâs rj àyÛTrr) t &v àbeXtyôv twv  
 èv Tpwási, odev Kai ypàya) vpîv 8ià Jioùppov,5 ov  
 aTrearelXare peT èpov àpa 'E^ecriotç, τοis àéléX-  
 <j>oîs vpS>v, os' KaTa irávTa pe àvéiravaev. Kai  
 o<f>έXov irávTes ai>Tov èpipovvro, ovTa è^epirXaptov  
 deov èiaKovias. àpetyeTai avTov rj %apis KaTa  
 Trarrà. 2. aairá^opai τοv à^iόdeov èviaKOirow  
 Kai deoirpeirès irperr^vTepiov Kai τοvs avvSovXovs  
 pov èiaKovovs Kai τοvs KaT àvèpa Kai KOiwp  
 irávTas èv òvόpaTi 'lijaov XpιαTov Kai ri; aapKi

1 ζV Svπia B(A)g, tus Zupias GL. 2 Oeov BLA, OWL. Gg.

8 Itvxov B. \* Trapéx(ν B, irap<xa'Xf'v) Gg.

8 Bippov B; the spelling of this varies considerably both here and in Eph. ii, 1, and Philad. xi, 2. It is possible that Bóppos, which has some support in L is really right.

I pray that this may be given to me to the end, and that by your prayers I may attain to God. 2. In order then that your work may be perfect both on earth and in heaven, your Church ought to appoint for the honour of God a delegate of God to go to Syria, and congratulate them that they have gained peace, and have recovered their proper greatness, and that their proper constitution has been restored. 3. It appeared to me therefore a deed worthy of God for you to send one of your number with a letter to join in extolling the tranquillity which they have obtained from God, and that through your prayers they were now gaining a haven. As you are perfect, so also may your counsel be perfect. For if you desire to do well God is ready to help you.

## XII

1. The love of the brethren who are at Troas Greetings salutes you, whence I am writing to you by Burrhus, from Troas 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,

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

*avrov Kai raí a'ipaTi, Tradet, re Kat avamaaei  
aapKiKrpj re Kai irvevpaTiKrp èv evoTiyri deov Kai  
vpwv- %ápis vpìv, êXeoç, eiprrr), vtropovr) Sia  
Trarrò?.*

### XIII

1. 'A-ffira^opai roù? o i k o v s r w r à è è X < f > ô > v p o v a v v  
y v v a i ^ i K a i r e K v o i s K a i r à ? T r a p d é v o v s r à ? X e y o -  
p é v a s % o r ' i p a s . e p p a e r d é p o i è v è v v â p e i i r a r p o s . l  
a t H r a ^ e r a i v p â < ; < S > Î X a > v e r v v è p o i w v . 2 . à a i r à ^ o -  
p a i t o v o ï k o v T a o v l a ç , 2 y v e v ^ o p a t è è p â a d a i  
T r i a r e i K a i a y a i r p a a p K i K p r e K a i i r v e v p a r i K T j .  
à t r i r à Ç o p a i " A X k t j v , t o i r o d p T o v p o i o v o p a , K a i  
& á < j > v o v t o v à a v y K p i T o v K a i E v r e K v o v K a i i r a v T a ç  
K a T o v o p a . ê p p a i a d e è v ^ á p i T i d e o v .

n p o s n o A Y K A P n o N i p n a t i o s .

'lyvaTio<;, ô Kai <deot]>ôpoç, HoXvKapTro) èiri-  
aKOTTip èKKXrjd-ia'i Ipvvpvaiwv, pâXXov èiri-  
aKOTrppévtp viro deov iraTpos Kai Kvpiov 'lycrov  
XpitTTOv, irXeiarà yaipetv.

1 Tarpus LA, *trveifia-ros* G(g) “spirit.” The difference in  
MSS would be between irps and ws.

2 Taoutas GL, Taouias Ag.

## IGNATIUS TO POLYCARP

by his Passion and Resurrection both of flesh and spirit, in union with God and with you. Grace be to you, mercy, peace and endurance for ever.

### XIII

1. I salute the families of my brethren with their wives and children, and the maidens who are called widows. Farewell in the power of the Father. Philo who is with me greets you. 2. I salute the house of Tavia, and pray that she be confirmed in faith and love, both of the flesh and spirit. I salute Alee, a name most dear to me, and the incomparable Daphnus, and Eutecnus,<sup>1</sup> and all others by their several names. Farewell in the grace of God.

### VII,—IGNATIUS TO POLYCARP.

Ignatius, who is also called Theophorus, to Polycarp, who is bishop of the Church of the Smyrnaeans, or rather has for his bishop God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ, abundant greeting.

<sup>1</sup> It is not impossible that eitreKror is an adjective meaning "with good children," and referring to liaphnus. Zahn takes this view.

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

### I

1. 'ATToSeyó/teró? crow 11)v èv ðeS> yvwprqv TjSpaa-  
*pévrjv tú? ¿Tri irérvav àKÌvt)Tov, VTrepêogàÇw, Kara-  
 ^iwffei<; tov irpoacótrov crow tov àpwpov, ov  
 òvatprpv èv ðew. 2. trapaKaXw ere èv ^apni g  
 èvèéSverai, trpocr&èivai tw ùpóprp crow Kai iràvTas  
 irapaKaXeiv, 'Iva aw^wvTai. èxSÌKet crow tov  
 t Óttov èv rrácri) èiripeXeia erapKiKr/ tc Kai trvevp,a-  
 TiKip rip; èvwcrews eftpovTiÇe, 17? oitSèv ùp,eivov.  
 irlivras fiderrate, <ú? Kat, ere o Kvpios' irávrvw  
 àiftyov èv àyàrrp, wertrep Kai Trotet?. 3. trpoev-  
 ^aís cr^oXaÇe ¿StaXetTrroí?\* aiTov avvecriv  
 rrXeiova !); è^ets' yprpyopei ciKoippTOV irvevpa  
 KeKTijpévo!;. tois ko.t avZpa KaTa op.oi)Oetav  
 Oeov XàXec ttcIvtwv t <<ç vócrovs /Sacrale côç  
 TéXeioç á0XrjTú<j. ottov TjXeíwv kottos, ttóXv  
 zcépàoc.*

Eph. 4, 2

Mt. 8,17

### II

1. KaXouç *paderas* èàv (j;cXíj, ¿(apis voi ovk  
 ècTTiv páXXov toÛç XoipoTepovs èv TrpaoTijTi  
 viroTaccre. ov Tráv Travpa ti) avTij epirXacrTpw  
 ðepaTreveTat. tov? Trapo^vcrpovi èp/Spo^aìi Trave.  
 2. cf>ónipo<; ylvov tú? ól ðcjk èv atraeriv Kai aKepaiot  
 ei? ¿ei tú? ij irepterTepá. Sia tovto erapKiKOS ei  
 Kai TrvevpaTiKos, 'iva tci epaivópevá aov et? trpocr-

Mt. io, 16

*l i om. G, but the parallelism with ij irepitrTepá shows that this is only an accident.*



I

1. Welcoming your godly mind which is fixed as Salutation if on immovable rock, I glory exceedingly that it fawnin' was granted me to see your blameless face wherein I diligence 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.<sup>1</sup> Where the toil is greatest, is the gain great.

II

1. If you love good disciples, it is no credit to you; The need rather bring to subjection by your gentleness the "Ó/the"2 more troublesome. Not all wounds are healed by weaker the same plaster. Relieve convulsions by fomenta- brethreD tions. 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

<sup>1</sup> 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.

**oit**

*sUrfmaL asan asoltr/ 'oos sUioiLaodcp amLav ao  
aoidast aoL vlst/ .anomgoisxjsrin Ur/ ivdU-^*

AI

•VLavaisdoiLa Sydli

*aoiLodL «Xrtn-iz, vlvx ıio± 'aoLhgviL Sy-rik ig  
aoL 'bdv·ll'y a^L 'aoıú<frm(is|\n rtoX 'aoLvdo SvrHi gg  
aoJ. 'aoLvdpn aqL 'aoaodXn aqL 'vxoooodjL aqdivx  
o sil o aoL 'sangaydvLvn Saodivx SaoL -is ao  
aoaiL Soiv^aoiLo aosyjL -tlaisidoJLa Sv-rili SoJ.an  
IVX vai '29g ^"or/U aisasrfodia vi.av.iL aosg assisas  
9j VLVixprl 'amna ivn ivffvsds^ ol aoj.Uvgv  
aiLvs aoxpLsii -SoasrloLiLaL amrluy Sm i>oivd<js  
iqjlo •awmLSDvUxiLvLysi sv ltd hsLaaoxunv^  
-iqodsLs Tvn mais iolviiloi^v ssLaaosio^ iq •£*

III

•iwhiLvLU y 'aod vrlnsq vl ivsf

*mLs aoXajfiiLan -aoo vLaviL vlvx -ivo isilsil ao  
7»w 5^ idsjL 'Soiamiv Um^ iyn viodvgfyri vdsg ol  
•itULLixffv aosff Aro 's<j>lia -aisXaLiiLs aosg ol Sis  
'vasiix Soasdo^vrhsX Sm ivx saoidsan ivLhadsçjax  
Sm 'so ISLIVILV sodivx o g -sdasooidsiL solvt!  
-oidvX soLaviL ivy lliL isx soasylerf SmiLO 'd^mdsavefi  
loo vai ISLIV VLvdoy ag vl .Sllassivxon aoilm*

**sasHivJ onoisodv am**

## IGNATIUS TO POLYCARP, n. 2-iv. i

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.<sup>1</sup> Be sober as God's athlete. The prize<sup>2</sup> is immortality and eternal life, of which you have been persuaded. In all things I am devoted to you,—1 and my bonds, which you loved.

### III

1. Let not those that appear to be plausible, but **Against** 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 **His duty to** their protector after the Lord. Let nothing be done **the™hurchf**

<sup>1</sup> The general meaning of this passage is fairly clear, but the details are hopelessly obscure. Possibly something has dropped out of the text.

<sup>2</sup> *Stfia* means a "money-prize," which was given in some of the Greek games instead of the *arelaros* or crown.

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

<rov yivécrdw ppòè ali ànev θεov rt ΤΤραααε, oirep  
 ov8e 7pàcr<reis- evaraffeì. 2. TrvKVOTepov avva-  
 1 6, 2 ymyai yiveaOwaav è^ ζvopaTos arávTas Çì/ret.  
 3. SovXovç Kai 8ovXas pp v7repp<l>àver àXXa ppèè  
 avrol ipvaiovadcocrav, ζXX' eZç èð^av 0eoî> irXéov  
 8ovXevéra>aav, ζva KpeiTTovos eXev0epías ζtto 0eov  
 Tv^ioaiv. py èpaTtoaav aito τοv κοινον éXev0e-  
 pova0ai, iva pp SovXoi evpe0èàaiv èiri0vpias.

### V

1. Tàç /caxore^Viaç <f>evye, pâXXov <è trepl  
 τοιτωνv opiXiaiv iroiouv. rati ζSeXc^aiç pov irpocr-  
 XáXeì, áyarráv τοv Κυριον Kai tous avp/Siois  
 àpKeíaOai aapKl Kai ΤΤvevpan. ópoíco} Kai roú;  
 Eph. 5 25. ζ8eX<foiç pov irapâyyeXXe èv òvopaTi Ipaov  
 VpicTov, àyaTráv ràç cpyffiovt; ζ>ç ó Kζ>pio<; rpv  
 èKKXpalav. 2. et tiç 8vvarai èv àvveia pèveiv el<ç  
 Tippv tt}ç aapkos τοv Κυριον, èv aKav^pala  
 peveTw. èàv Kav^papTai, àircOXeTO, Kai eav  
 yvioadp TrXéov τοv èiriaKoirov, e<f>6apTai. irpeirei  
 Se το Ís yapoveri Kai Tais yapovpévais pera yva>pps  
 τοv èiriaKOTTov Tpv ζvoicTiv troieíã0ai, ζva o yápos  
 y KaTa Κυριον Kai pp KaT èiridvpiav. iravTa etç  
 Tippv 0eoî> yiveadat.

### VI

1. T<û ètrta-KoTrtp irpocré^eTe, ζva Kai ò 0eos  
 vpîv. àvTii/rvxov èyà> τδ>v viroraaaopeviov τόj  
 èTTia-KOTra, Trpe<r[3vTepois, StaKovois' Kai per

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 in spirit. In the same way enjoin on my brothers 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 heed to you. I am devoted to those who are subject to the bishop, presbyters, and deacons ; and may it be

## t h e a p o s t o l i c f a t h e r s

H Tun. 2,4  
*avrâv poi to pépos yevono axeiv èv Oeâ. avy-  
 Koirlivre àXXÿXois, avvaOXeire, avvrpéxere, avp-  
 'rrioi'xeTe, crvyKoipââuê, avveyeípecrde eiç Oeov  
 oiKÓvópoi Kai rrápeZpoi Kai virypérai. 2. àpé-  
 CKere a Tpareveaffe, à^> ov Kai rà cr^rávia  
 KopiÇeaOe' pÿ tí? vpâv Zeaéprap evpedy. to  
 /BdiTTiapa vpâv pevera tó? oirXa, y ttictti? oÿç  
 TrepíKeÿaXaia, ÿ àydTry ¿? Zópv, y viropovy âç  
 TravailXÎa. rd Zeiroana vpâv rd epya vpâv, iva  
 ra aKKeirral2vpâv dipa Kopiyade. paKpodvpy-  
 crare ovv per' àXXyXav èv irpaoryri, tós o Oeos  
 peO' vpâv. òvaiprp) vpâv Zia iravrós.*

### VII

1. 'EvreiS^ y eKKXyala y èv 'Avrioxeia ry<;  
 ^vpias elpyvevet, <ôç èZyXaffy poi, Zia rrjv rrhoa-  
 evxyv vpâv^-. Kayà evdvpóTepo<; èyevopyv èv  
 apepipvia, Beov, èàvrrep Zia tov iraOeívn Ôeov  
 èrrirvxa, eiç rô evpeOíjvaí pe èv ry àvaarâaeið  
 vpâv padyrÿv. 2. irpéirei, HoXvKapre ôeopaKapi-  
 o-ToraTe, avpfiovXiov àyayeívn OeoirpeTréaraTov Kai  
 ^eipoTOVijaai riva, ov ayarryTov Xiav èxere Kai  
 ùokvov, ôç Zvvyæerai geoZpópo<; KaXeíadaí' tovtov  
 Kara^iâaai, iva Tropevðei<; «ç hvpiáv Zo^day vpâv  
 ryv ðokvov àydiryv eiç ZôÇav ôeov- 3. Xpierrivós

1 The use of the Latin words is remarkable: *Se<rép-ru:-p-  
 dextrior*, *5ex3<nra = deposita*, and *&KKfirTa = accepta*.

2 3<ç rpoſſevxiiv G, 5ià ttJs irpo<reux.ris Lg.

8 ivaartiirei GL, aITT|<rfti "through your intercession" gA.

## ÍGNATIUS TO POLYCARP, vi. i-vii. 3

mine to have my lot with them in God. Labour with one another, struggle together, run together, suffer together, rest together, rise up together as God's stewards and assessors and servants. 2. Be pleasing to him in whose ranks you serve, from whom you receive your pay,—let none of you be found a deserter. Let your baptism remain as your arms, your faith as a helmet, your love as a spear, your endurance as your panoply, let your works be your deposits that you may receive the back-pay<sup>1</sup> 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 <sup>the Church</sup> through your prayers, as it has been reported to me, <sup>In Antioch</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup> 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

<sup>1</sup> 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.

<sup>a</sup> Or perhaps "a disciple at your resurrection."

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

*éavrov ζιζιοvalar ovk e%ei, àXXà θεâ> απxàÇei.  
rorro το έpyov θεov èαTiv Kai vptòr, orar avrò  
àiroπTiaYTe. Triaevo yap Ty ^ápni, oti eToipol  
ζare els eviroitav θεS> àryKovaav. eldojs vpwv το  
avvrovov Tys àXyOelas, Si ðXlywr ù/xâç ypap-  
πιTtor irapeKiiXeaa.*

### VIH

1. 'EttàÈl iráaais Tais eKKXyaíais ovk y8vvri0yi'  
ypctyai Olà το έλjai<j>rys ifXelr pe airò Tpaiáeos  
eiç NeáiroXiv, &ς rò θεXypa TrhoaTaaaei, ypatyei^  
Tais eπirpoaθev eKKXyaiais, ζ>s θεov yrápyr  
KeKTypepos, els το Kai avTOvs το avTO Troiyaaí,  
(ol per Ovrápevoi- ireÇovs Trepidai, oí o'e èiri-  
aToXàs Olà Tur viró aov Trepipópiop, iva 8o^aa-  
0yTe altovia epyipy2 ζ>s a^ios tón. 2. àairàÇopai  
trávTas ovopaTos Kai ttjv tov 'Ettitpottov  
avv oXtp Tw o'ÍKip avTys Kai t Siv TeKVtov. áaTrá-  
Çopai "Atto-Xov tov uyairyTov pov. aairá^opai  
tov peXXovTa KaTa^iovaθai tov els ζivπίav  
TTopeveaOai. eaTai y %apis peT avTOv 8ia  
TravTos Kai tov irépTrovTos avTov HoXvKÚpTrov.  
3. èppòiaθai vpàs 8ia TravTos èv θεâ> ýpòiv Lyerov  
AptVTó) evxppai, èv u> 8iapeivyve èv évÓTyTi θεoi>  
Kai èiriaKoi ty. àcrTráÇopai "A.XKyv, tó 7po0yTζv  
poi ovopa. èpptoaOe èv Kvplip.

1 ETTÈI GA, ^Tetel oZv Lg.

2 The combination of singular and plural is very strange. L makes all singular, A all plural. The punctuation given is in the main Lightfoot's, but even so the sentence is unsatisfactory.



## IGNATIUS TO POLYCARP, vn. 3-vin. 3

gives his time to God. This is the work of God and of yourselves, when you complete it. For I believe in the grace of God, that you are ready to do the good deeds which are proper for God. I exhort you by no more than these few lines, for I recognise your fervour for the truth.

### VIII

1. Since I could not write to all the Churches because of my sudden sailing from Troas to 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<sup>2</sup> may be glorified by a memorable deed), as is worthy of you. Request for  
write to P to  
Q1((rhcs  
|

2. I greet all by name, and the wife of the Procurator<sup>3</sup> 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 Alee, a name very dear to me. Farewell in the Lord. Final  
KreetInss

<sup>1</sup> The modern Cavalla, on the coast of Macedonia, between Constantinople and Salónica; the Roman road comes down to the sea there, and is still in fair preservation.

<sup>2</sup> Modern English obscures the fact that this "you" is plural. The others are singular.

<sup>3</sup> Or, perhaps, "of Epitropus."



THE EPISTLE OF POLYCARP TO  
THE PHILIPPIANS

## THE EPISTLE OF POLYCARP TO THE PHILIPPIANS.

POLYCARP was the Bishop of Smyrna in the first half of the second century, and was martyred, in all probability, on February 23rd, 155 a. d., at the age of eighty-six. He had been a disciple of John, and opinions differ as to whether this John was the son of Zebedee, or John the Presbyter.

According to Irenaeus<sup>1</sup> 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

<sup>1</sup> Adv. Haer. v. 33. 4.

## POLYCARP TO THE PHILIPPIANS

this letter which in the Ignatian MSS. seems to have had a different textual history from that of the other six.

The epistle is preserved in eight defective Greek MSS., representing a single archetype, in two long quotations in Eusebius, and in a Latin version contained in the Latin version of the *Corpus Ignatianum* (see p. 171). The reconstructed archetype of the Greek MSS. is quoted as G, that of the Latin MSS. as L, and Eusebius as Eus. A full collation of the individual Greek and Latin MSS. is given by Lightfoot.

# TOY AHOY nOAYKAPIHOY

EniSKOnOT 2MYPNH2 KAI IEPOMAPTTPO2

**npos <i>iAinnHSioT:s e i i i x t o a h**

11oXvKapTTO? Kai oi avv avTip Trpea/SvTepoi  
11j ζKKXrjala rov deav rrj TrapoiKovay  
'ÍtXÍTTrov'f eXeoç vpîv Kai eip^vp Trapa  
Oeov iravTOKpaTopos Kai 'Ipcrov Xpiarov  
1ov craiTrjpos ypûv ir'Xvi0vv0ei'rp

## I

1. Xvpí^áp^p vpîv peyaXavs èv toi Kvpiip ppSiV  
'Ii/cto0 èe^apévois to, piprjpaTa Trp  
àXrjdoys èiyaTrps Kai irpoTrép^fraaiv, <ùç èireftaXev  
vpîv, rovi èveiXrjpeónovs tois iiyioirpeTréaiv èeapoîs,  
aTivà èariv ètaSypara twv àXpOâis vito Oeoîi Kai,  
1ov Kvpiov ppMV ÍKXeXeyevwv 2. Kai oti rj  
jBeftala 11/s iriaTews vpâv plÇa, è£ àpxaitov  
KaTayyeXXopévy ^pôvcov, pé^pi vvv iuapévei Kai  
KapTroipopéi eis 1ov Kvpiov ypôjv 'Irprovv XptcrTOv,  
ôç virépeivev v-rrèp t Sxv èipapTiâiv ppwv ea>s ôavaTOv  
KaTavTTprai, ov fjyetpev ò Oeós, Xvaas Tas ζ>ðivas  
1ov aèov 3. eis ov ovk IBôvTes TTiaTeveTe ^apâ

Acts. 2, 24  
I Pet. i, s

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

Poly carp and the Elders with him to the Church Greeting  
of God sojourning in Philippi; mercy and peace  
from God Almighty and Jesus Christ our  
Saviour be multiplied to you.

I

1. I rejoice greatly with you in our Lord Jesus The hos-  
Christ that you have followed the pattern of true  
love, and have helped on their way, as opportunity pians  
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 Their faith  
rooted faith, which was famous in past years, still  
flourishes and bears fruit unto our Lord Jesus  
Christ, who endured for our sins, even to the  
suffering of death, "whom God raised up, having  
loosed the pangs of Hades, 3. in whom, though you  
did not see him, you believed in unspeakable and

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

Eph.2,5.8.9 àveKXaXprcp Kai SeSo^aapév), evi f)V rroWol  
 èmòvpoaiv eicreXdelv, elSóre<f, ori papiri èare  
 creaaxpivot, ovk è£ epycov, àXXà deX.rjpart Oeov  
 Sta 'Tijaov Xptcrrov.

### II

1. Ato àvaÇcotràpevot ràç ôa-</>vaç vpwv SovXev-  
 care râ ôeâ> èv </>ð/3ço Kai àXr/dela, àrhoXiTrovret  
 (Eph's'i?)- ' ievr'lv paratoXoyiav Kai TToXXcOV  
 Ps. 2, li irXávrrjv; rriarev lavre<; elj tov èyetpavra rov Kvpiov  
 I Pet. 1, 21 ppcov 'Irirovv Xpiaròv sk veKpcòv Kai Sovra avrà  
 Phil. 3, 21; Só^av Kai dpónov Èk Se^icòv avrov' co vrreràyq ra  
 2, 10 irávra èrrovpdvta Kai èiriyeta, <p nacra nvorj  
 Xarpevei, ôç epyerat Çcòvrcov Kai veKpcòv,  
 (ii Tim. 4, 5); T. S. alía è K^Trifret, ô Eeç è 7ro ràv àTrçtdovvraev  
 II Cor. 4, 14; avrai, 2. ó 3è èyeipaç avrov èK veKpcòv Kai 57lzaç  
 (I Cor. 6, 14); èyepel, èav notûpev avrov ro déXrjpa Kai nopevco-  
 Kom. 8, 11) peÔa èv raïs èvroXalt avrov Kai àyancòpev à  
 yyanycrev, àne^opevoi rciarp àSiKtaç, nXeove^ta?,  
 I Pet. 3, 9 çfuXapyvpiav, KaraXaXiâ^, ljevèopapTvpiaç' prj  
 ànoSiSóvrei; kùkov àvn KaKov y XoiSop'iaç àvrl  
 XoiOopiaç Tj ypóvdov àvrl ypovGov f) Karàpav àvrl  
 Karapas' 3. pvpovevovres Sè wv eìnev ó Kvpioç  
 Mt. 7, 1, 2; òiSdaKcov Mr; Kplvere, 'iva p.rj Kptdrje' à<plere,  
 6-9; Kàz àycoùpnevrit vpàv vXXvñk) òi Xevyñje' eò  
 Luke 6, 20; pérpcp perpslre, àvTipeTprjOrjaerai vplv Kai ori  
 Mt. 5, 3, 10 paKçptot, Oj rrrco^ol Kai ol StoKÓpevoi eveKev  
 SiKaioavvrj<i, ori avrcòv èarl v j fiaaiKeta rov  
 Oeov.



POLYCARP TO THE PHILIPPIANS, i. 3-n. 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 <sup>Exhorta-</sup> in fear” and truth, putting aside empty vanity and <sup>VirtuV\*</sup> 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 <sup>The hope of</sup> raised him” from the dead “will also raise us up” if <sup>resurrectur</sup> 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 <sup>The Lord's</sup> 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.”

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

### III

1. *Taura*, à<sup>e</sup>X(f>oi, ovk èpavrw èrrirpeifas  
 yπάόο) vpîv rrepl τi)ξ oiKaioavvr/i, ζXX' èrrel  
 vpeîi ηpoerreKaXeaade pe. 2. aure yàp èyà>  
 ovre aXXo<; opoioidi èpol èvvarai KaraKoXovdyaai  
 ry crolla rov paKapíov Kal èvBó<sup>o</sup>ov IlaùXou, ôç  
 yevópevoi èv vpîv Karà rrpocorrov rww rare  
 àvθpó>Tra>v èèida<sup>e</sup>ev ùKpL<sup>^</sup>ws Kal fiefiaicoi rov  
 nepi àXyOelai Xóyov, ôç Kal àrràv vpîv èypayfrev  
 èmaroXàs, eli ài èàv èyKVTrryre, àvvyOyaeade  
 oiKOòopeladai eì? ryv SoOeiaav vpîv irurriv'  
 Gal 4, 26 3. *ym* èarlv pyryp rravrww ypwv, erraKoXovtiavayi  
 ττjç eXTriSoç, rrpoyovayi ryi àyàrryi ττjç eìç deov  
 Kal Xpurrvòv Kal eìs ròv rtXyaiov. èàv yàp rii  
 rovratv èvròid y, rreTrXypaKev èvroXyv BiKaio-  
 avvyi' ó yàp è<sup>e</sup>cov ayàrryv paKpàv ècrriv rraayi  
 àpapnai.

### IV

1. 'Apxy Sè nàvrww 'xaXerrww ifnXapyvπia.  
 eìSórei ovv ori ovSèv eia-yvèyKapev eìs ròv Koapov,  
 ζXX' ovSè è<sup>e</sup>veveyKeiv ri e<sup>o</sup>pev, òrrXiaàtpeda roti  
 orrXon ryi 8iKaioavvyi Kal èiSà<sup>w</sup>ppev èavrovi  
 n fon c, ~ rrpùrov rropeveaffai èv ry èvroXy rov Kvpiov'  
 2. erreira Kal ràç yvvaÎKai ypûtvìl èv ry èodeiay  
 avraîi rricrei Kal àyàrry Kal àyveia arepyovaat

1 The MSS read *iixûv* "your," hut the confusion between *ifiû*» and *Tip-ûy* is so common that "our" may safely be restored.

III

1. These things, brethren, I write to you concerning righteousness, not at my own instance, but because you first invited me. 2. For neither am I, the nor is any other like me, able to follow the wisdom of the blessed and glorious Paul, who when he was among you in the presence of the men of that time taught accurately and stedtastly the word of truth, and also when he was absent wrote letters to you, from the study of which you will be able to build yourselves up into the faith given you ; 3. " which is the mother of us all" when faith follows, and love of God and Christ and neighbour goes before. For if one be in this company lie 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

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

- rovç** èavT&v àvèpas èv Trciay àXrj0ei,a Kai àya-  
 'rrcóaas irdvTas è£ ìcrov èv irciap èyKpareia, Kai rà  
 T¿Kva TraiSeveiv rr/v Traiðeivav tov cj>ó/3ov tov deov-  
**3. ràç** Xypas trcoÿpovova-as -rrepi ttjv tov Kvpiov  
 i Tim. 5,5 viaTiv, èvTvyy/avovcras ¿StaXeiTTraç -rrepi -rravTcov,  
 paKpàv overas -rráerys ¿ta/3oxfjs, KaTaXaXias,  
 -ÿ-evèø/jMpTvpias, cfaXapyvprias Kai iravTos KaKov,  
 yivwoKovcras ôti eiai dvaiaerTrjpiov' deov Kai oti  
 TràvTa parporrKotreÍTai, Kai XéXydev avTov ovOev  
 I cor. 14,25 ovTe Xoyiapcôv ovTe èvvoiSiv ovre ti toiv Kpv-rrTÔiv  
 Trjs Kapèias.

### V

- Gai. e, 7 1- Eì8ot6ç, ovv, oti, Oeòç ov pvKTTjpiÇeTai,  
 ôcfreiXopev áticos Tps èvToXps avTov Kai ji>oéps  
 irepwraTeív. 2. ¿points SiaKovoi àpep-rrroi KaTev-  
 àt-rriov avTov Tps ¿iKaioervvps a>S deov Kai  
 i Tim. 8, 8 **xpíOTov** SiiÎkOVOI Kai OVK àvdpMTTùV /ii) èlà-  
 ^oXot, pp èéXoyoi, à(f>iXàpvppoi, èyKpaTeís Trepì  
 TràvTa, evoTTrXay^voi, èrripeXeís, Tropevbpevoi KaTa  
 Tpv àXijðeivav tov Kvpiov, ôç èyéveTo èiaKovos  
 TràvTùV <þ èav evapecrTrjcraipev èv tô> vvv atèovi,  
 aTroXrpp-opeda Kai tov péXXovTa, Kadèns vTréffxeTO  
 Joh. 5, 2i ypiv èyeepat r/pàs è/c veKpiv, Kai oti èàn TroXirev-  
 II Tim 2,12; crcápeda à^iwç avToï, Kai ervp(3aaiXevaopev avTÔ>,  
 cf.Rom.8,17 €>ye TncFTèuopev. 3. ¿poicos Kai vecoTepot, àpepir-  
 TOL èv Tràaiv, Trpo iravTos TrpovoovvTes àyveias  
 Kai -^aXivayjovvTes èavTOVs àirò iravTos KaKov.  
 KaXov yàp to avaKOTTTeadaì àiro tcüv èiridvpicôv  
 i Pet. 2, ii ; èv tô> koctum, oti, Ttâcra è-TTidvaca KaTà tov  
 icor.6,9.io TTvevpaTos cTTpaTeveTai, Kai ovTe Tropvot ovTe

POLYCARP TO THE PHILIPPIANS, iv. 2-v. 3

husbands in all truth, and loving all others equally in all chastity, and to educate their children in the fear of God. 3. Let us teach the widows to be discreet in the faith of the Lord, praying ceaselessly for all men, being far from all slander, evil speaking, false witness, love of money, and all evil, knowing that they are an altar of God, and that all offerings are tested, and that nothing escapes him of reasonings or thoughts, or of "the secret things of the heart."

V

1. Knowing then that "God is not mocked" we Christian ought to walk worthily of his commandment and "bUgation. glory. 2. Likewise must the deacons be blameless virtuous before his righteousness, as the servants of God and life 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

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

*paXaKol ovre àpaevokocTai fiacriXeiv Oeov  
 KXiipovopraovaiv, ovre oi iroiouvTes rà aroira.  
 Siò oeov aire^eaOat. avrò TràvTiov tov tivv, viroracr-  
 aopévov<; τοις ir^ea^vrépoL^ Kai eiaKÓvot; ¿? Oeà>  
 Kai XpiUTcp- ras TrapOévovs év àpivpip Kai àyvp  
 avvei^~ptrei TrepnraTeiv.*

### VI

1. Kai oi irpeafivTepot Sè evairXayyyoi,  
 tràvra^ èXeppoves, èTrtaTpé<f>ovTe<; rà cwroire-  
 TrXavripÀva, ètuaKeTrrópevot tràvra^ ¿aOeveis, pp  
 àpeXovvTes ^r'ipas rj òpifiavov rj Tréw/Toy. ¿XXà  
 TppovoovTe<; àel tov KaXov évamiov Oeov Kai  
 àvvpónrwv, «TTe^ò/iepOι Tràcrp òpyῖp, irpoartto-  
 Kplaea>¿i ùBìkov, paKpàv ovres TràcTjs  
 tpiXapyvpias, pip ra^écoy TrcarevovTe^ Kara tivovs,  
 pij ¿TToTopoi év Kplaei, eidóre<; ori iràvTes ò(f>ei-  
 Xérav èapèν άpapriat;. 2. el ovv èeópeda tov  
 Kvplov, iva Tjplv à</>?7, ¿(fteiXopev Kai r;/ziic  
 àcfiievai • àrrevavTi yap twv tov Kvplov Kai Oeov  
 ècrpèν è<f>0aXpâ>v, Kai Trappaç èeî TrapacTr/vat  
 Tip firpiaTi tov XpiGTOv Kai eKaaTOV virèp avrov  
 Xóyov Bovvai. 3. ovroi ovv BovXevaiopev avrà  
 peTa ipóftov Kai TrciüTrp; evXafieías, Kaóajs avT0<;  
 èveTelXaTO Kai oi evayyeXiaápevoi fjipá<; ÚTróaToXoi  
 Kai oi Trpo<f>fiTai, oi TrpoKTjpvjavTes ttjv èXeivaiv tov  
 Kvplov rjpwv ÇvfXiúTai Trepì to KaXov, àve^opevoi  
 Tlàv aKavBáXtvv Kai tδ>v yjevBaSéXifKv Kai t f>v  
 év vTroKplaei iftepovToiv to ovopa tov Kvpiov,  
 oiTives àiroTrXaviòcri Kevovs àvOpanrov.

Prov. 3.4  
 (HCor.8,21;  
 Bom. 12, il)

Rom. 14, 10.  
 cf. II Cor. 5  
 Ps., 2, 11 ;  
 Heb. 12, 28

POLYCARP TO THE PHILIPPIANS, v. 3-vi. 3

inherit the Kingdom of God," nor they who do iniquitous tilings. 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." <sup>1</sup> 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." <sup>Forgiveness</sup> 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. <sup>The service of God</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The introductory formula "knowing that" renders it probable that these words are a quotation, but the source is unknown.

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

### VII

- I.Toh.4,2,3; 1- **Ilâç** yàp ôç àv py òpòλoy?ì 'lyaoov  
 ii Joh. 7 *Xpiarov èv capici éXrj\vdévai, àvTi^piaTÓs ècrriv*  
*Kai oç av py opoXoyr to papTvptov tov trravpov,*  
*Îk tov Sca/3ôXov ècrriv. Kai ôç àv pedoSevr| Ta*  
*Xoyia tov Kvpiov irpos ràç ISiaç èTtdvpias Kai*  
*Xey^ ppTe àvdaTaatv prjTe Kpiaiv, ovtoç TTrcoTo-*  
*tokos ècrriv tov varava. 2. Sio ζTroXiTropreç*  
*Tijv paraioyTa tôλv 110XXwv Kai ràç -^cevSoSi-*  
*SaaKaXiaç èiri tov è£ àpyfp ypîv irapaSoOévTa*  
 I Pet. 4,7 *-KÓyov èiriarpè-^rtòpev, vifyovTes icpos ràç eùyàç*  
 Mt. 6,13 *Kai TrpocTKapTepovTes pT/orieiatç, Sepaeaiν aiTov-*  
*pevoi tov TravTeiroTTTpv Oeòv py elaeveyKeîv ypà<;*  
 Mt. 26,41; *ei'ç rreipaapòv, Kaòà><i èjirev ó Kvpio<j' Tò pèv*  
 Mk. 14, 38 *irvep-a Trpòvujiov, eç> \p9/)*  
*oe çrapç aa-uevr^*

### VIII

- ITim. 1,1 1. 'A^iaXeittw; ovv 7Tpoa~KapTepâ>pev Ty eXiriBi  
*i'ipwv Kai T& appa/Bana biKaiotrnyys ypûtv, oç*  
 I Pet. 2,24 *èaTi Xpi<TTÔ<; 'lj?<rouç, ôç àvÿveyKev ÿpww Tac;*  
*ápapriac; t ç iè>iw aóipaTi erri to ÇvXov, bç*  
 I Pet. 2,22 *àpapTiav ovK eTTOiyaev, ovèè evpédy SôXoc èv tô)*  
*GTopaTi avTov- ζXXà Si ypas, 'iva Çpacopev èv*  
*avTW, Trávra virépeivev. 2. pipyrai ovv yevwpeða*  
*t?)ç viropovy; avrov, Kai èàv Tràa^apev Sia*  
*to ovopa avTov, SogaÇaipev avTov. tovton yap*  
*ypîv tov vTTOypappòv eòyKe Si éavTOV, Kai ypeii*  
*TOVTO èTriaTevaapev.*



VII

1. "FOR everyone who does not confess that Jesus <sup>Warning</sup> 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.<sup>1</sup> 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, persevere, and in the pledge of our righteousness, that is in auct 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.

<sup>1</sup> This phrase, according to Irenaeus (*Adv. Hacr.* iii. 3, 4.) was applied, presumably later, by Polycarp to Marcion.

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

### IX

1. *TlapaKaXû ovv* Tranraç u/iâç, *irebdapxebv* too *Xjya> Tj<> ði/caiorjwris'l km, àaKelv iràcrav* vttō-  
*p.ovrjv, rjv Kai elSare icar* ð([>0aXp,ov<; *ov p.ónov èv*  
*Toiç paKapLOis lyvaTbbp Kai, Zwabpbw Kai 'Pov(f>a>*,  
*àXXà Kai èv aXXObs* τοῖς ἐφ vpbèav *Kai èv avTip*  
*llatiX» Kai to is Xo it to is airoaToXoi;' 2. TreTreia-*  
 Phil. 2, io *p,èvovs oTb ovrob* Tranreç *ovk et? Kevov eSpapbov,*  
*çXX' èv Trtoret Kai SbKaboavvp, Kai oTb et? tov*  
*i clero. 5,4 òcf>ebXó/j,evov avTob<; toittov eial irapà iô> Kvpbw, co*  
 li Tiro. 4,io *Kai avvétradov. ov yàp tov vvv rjyàirraav aitava,*  
*çXXà tov vTrèp rj,p,ó)v àtrodavónTa Kai Ob r/pàl vttō*  
*to v deov àvaaTavTa.*

### X

?c r'r \*58                    h's Cl'S° state et domini exemplar sequimini,  
 I Pet. s, 8(2, firmi in fide et immutabiles, fraternitatis amatores,  
 H):  
 Job. 13, 34; diligentes invicem, in veritate sociati, mansuetudine  
 15, 12, 17;  
 Eom. 13, 8                    domini alterutri praestolantes, nullum despicientes.  
 Tob. 4, io;                    2. Cum possitis benefacere, nolite differre, quia  
 i Pot. 5, 5;                    eleëmosyna de morte liberat. Omnes vobis invicem  
 Eph. 5, 21                    subiecti estote, conversationem vestram irreprensi-  
     bilem habentes in gentibus, ut ex bonis operibus  
 I Pct. 2, 12                    vestris et vos laudem accipiatis et dominus in vobis

1 *ti? A<iy^ TÍ)s biKaioavvris GL, ovi. 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 the righteousness, and to endure with all the endurance o\*<sup>“mcpill”</sup> which you also saw before your eyes, not only in the martyrs 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 Persever- the example of the Lord, “firm and unchangeable pfinamin-o- in faith, loving the brotherhood, affectionate to one pya!d , 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

l>. 62, non blasphemetur. 3. Vae autem, per quem nomen domini blasphematur. Sobrietatem ergo docete omnes, in qua et vos conversamini.

### XI

1. Nimis contristatus sum pro Valente, qui presbyter factus est aliquando apud vos, quod sic ignoret is locum qui datus est ei. Moneo itaque ut abstinenceis vos ab avaritia et sitis castil veraces. Abstinete vos ab omni malo. 2. Qui autem non potest se in his gubernare, quomodo alii pronuntiat hoc? Si quis non se abstinerit ab avaritia, ab idololatria coinquinabitur et tamquam inter gentes indicabitur, 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 Cf. Phii. liThess.i 4 gloriatur in omnibus ecclesiis, quae dominum<sup>2</sup> solae tunc cognoverant; nos autem nondum cognoveramus. 4. Valde ergo, fratres, contristor pro illo et ii Tim. 2,25 pro coniuge eius, quibus det dominus paenitentiam veram. Sobrii ergo estote et vos in hoc; et non ii Thess. s, sicut inimicos tales existimetis, sed sicut passibilia membra et errantia eos revocate, ut omnium vestrum corpus salvetis. Hoc enim agentes vos ipsos aedificatis.

<sup>1</sup> An *et* after *casti* would be natural, but it is only found in two of the MSS of L.

<sup>2</sup> Some MSS. of L read *deum* instead of *dominum*.

POLYCARP TO THE PHILIPPIANS, x. 3-xi. 4

through whom the name of the Lord is blasphemed.” Therefore teach sobriety to all and show it forth in your own lives.

XI

1. I am deeply sorry for Valens, who was once Valens made a presbyter among you, that he so little understands the place which was given to him. I advise, therefore, that you keep from avarice, and be pure and truthful. Keep yourselves from all evil. 2. For Against how may he who cannot attain self-control in these aviue 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.<sup>1</sup> For concerning you he boasts in all the Churches who then alone had known the Lord, for we had not yet known him. 4. There- The fore, brethren, I am deeply sorry for him [z.e. Valens] <sup>^v^icus4</sup> 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 *roft oSaiv iv àpxi itrurroKaii aliiov*, 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 Iesum Christum et in ipsius patrem, qui resuscitavi eum a mortuis. 3. Pro omnibus sanctis orate. Orate etiam pro regibus et potestatibus et principibus atque pro persequentibus et odientibus vos et inimicis crucis, ut fructus vester manifestus sit in omnibus, ut sitis in illo perfecti.

Ps. 4, 5; Eph. 4, 2; Heb. 6, 20; Gal. i, i; i Tim. 2, i. 2; Luite'o, 27; phil. 3, is; Joh. 15, 16; i Tim. 4, is; James 1, 4

### XIII

1. 'Eypai/rare<sup>2</sup> poi Kai vpeîs Kai 'lyiwrtô?, "v, èàv T4Ç ïTrép^i/Tai ets Supiap, Kai Ta Trap vpâv

<sup>1</sup> *lût deum* is omitted by some of the MSS of L.

<sup>2</sup> 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,<sup>1</sup> 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,”<sup>2</sup> and for potentates, and princes, and for “ those who persecute you and hate you,” and for “the enemies of the Cross ” that “your fruit may be manifest among all men, that you may be perfected ” in him.

XIII

1. Both you and Ignatius wrote to me that if anyone was going to Syria he should also take your

<sup>1</sup> Probably this ought to be regarded as a quotation from the letter of the Philippians to Polycarp.

<sup>2</sup> *Pro regibus* is no doubt a translation of *irrip* and *fiiaiKds* is regularly used as the title of the Emperor.

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

*airoKopaap ypappara' Strep n-oirpito, èv  
Kaipov evfferov, eire ζ'(ó, erre ov treptroi l tpe-  
afievrovra km trepl vpmv. 2. ràç eTricrroXa?  
lyi'aTiou ràç trepadeiaa<i pplv vit avrov Kai  
aXXaç, oaa<j ei^opev Trap" ppîv, ζtrep-^rapev vplv,  
Kaôà><: èvereiXaaôe' arrives vTroveTaypevai eiaïv  
rp etriaroXp ravrp, è^ a>v peyâXa ζ><f>eXpθijvai  
Svvpcreaffe. trepté^ovai yàp triariv km vtropovpv  
Kai trâaav oiKoBoppv Tpv eiç ròv Kvpiov ppStv  
àvfjKOvaav. Et de ipso Ignatio et de his, qui cum  
eo sunt, quod certius agnoveritis, significate.*

## XIV

Haec vobis scripsi per Crescentem, quem in praesenti commendavi vobis et nunc commendo. Conversatus est enim nobiscum inculpabiliter; credo quia et vobiscum similiter. Sororem autem eius habebitis commendatam, cum venerit ad vos. Incolumes estote in domino Iesu Christo in gratia cum omnibus vestris. Arnen.

*l nép.nu Eus. misero (= L.*



POLYCARP TO THE PHILIPPIANS, xm. i-xiv. i

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 Jiad probably made use of it, especially the "Apostolic Constitutions" and the "Church Ordinances," a rough reconstruction of some of its features had been obtained; but it was not known to be extant until Bryennios in 1875 discovered it in the Patriarchal library of Jerusalem at Constantinople, in the manuscript which also contains I and II Clement and is quoted for them as C.

This is the document of which a text and translation is given in the following pages. But the question still remains open how far it truly represents the original "Teaching." Since Bryennios' discovery two copies of a Latin version either of a part of our Didache, or of a cognate document have been discovered, and it would now be possible to use

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

at least four authorities for the text of the original "Teaching." These are :—

- (1) Bryennios' Didache = C.
- (2) The Latin version.
- (3) The "Church Ordinances" (usually quoted as KO).
- (4) The "Apostolic Constitutions," bk. vii.

All these authorities<sup>1</sup> have to be considered in any attempt to reconstruct the original "Teaching." Their mutual relations are not clear ; it is possible that Bryennios' Didache, and the Apostolic Constitutions represent a second recension of the "Teaching" and that the Latin version, KO, and the reconstructed "fifth source" represent, though not in relatively so pure a form, the first recension.

The question may be best studied in Funk's edition of the Didache, and in Harnack's *Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur*.

Besides this there is a further question : it is clear that the Didache or "Teaching" was itself a composite document, and the first part is always known as "The Two Ways." A moment's comparison shows that this part is closely connected with the last chapters of the Epistle of Barnabas. The problem therefore arises whether Barnabas used the Didache (or the original "Teaching"), or the Didache used Barnabas, or both used a common source. The matter is not clear, but probably the majority of scholars incline to the last view, and many think that the common source,—the original "Two Ways"

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

## THE DIDACHE

—was a Jewish pre-Christian document, used for catechetical purposes, perhaps especially among Proselytes.

The chronology of this complex document is very obscure. The original "Two Ways" may be early first century or even earlier. The original "Teaching" is probably early second century, or possibly earlier, and the second recension of the "Teaching," represented by C, can scarcely be later than the second century, though it is possible that a few phrases in C may represent textual accretions.

As it stands the Didache may be described as a manual of Church instruction. The first part, "The Two Ways," is a statement of the principles of Christian conduct, which is to be taught to catechumens before their baptism (chaps, i-vi); then follows a series of instructions as to the practice of Christian worship, Baptism, Fasting, the Eucharist, the discrimination and treatment of Apostles<sup>1</sup> 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. Rendei 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.

ΑΙΑΑΧΗ ΤΩΝ ΑΦΙΑΕΚΑ  
ΑΥΟΧΤΟΑΙΝ

AiScr^ Kvpiov eia T;üp eçoèèKa airoaToXaiv  
tois eOveaiv.

I

1. Oèoi Suo eteri, pàa Tip Çarp Kai pia tov  
ðavaTov, èiatfiopà òe ttoAXi] peTaÇv tmv évo o8(òv.

Mk. 12,  
30-31,  
Lév. io, 18

2. 'H pèn onv çSài Tip iporp èaTiv avTip irporrov  
ç'yaTTi/cretç tov Oeov tov iroiãiaavTa ae, èevTepov  
top TTvj(TLov (rov ço? acavror TTavra ðe ocra éav  
OeXijarp pp yiveadai aot, Kai av aXXai pi] iroiçi.

Mt. 7,12;

3. TouTùit\* 8e T&v Xóyav r; éiéa\i] èaTiv avTi)'

Mt. 5, «. io.  
Lukeo 32 33

e^oyeÍTe rouç KaTapwpévovi; vpîv Kai irpoaev-  
Xea^e virèp Tcòv è^dpò>v vpiüv, vTjaTeveTe èè virèp  
TÛV èia>KovTa>v vpàs' Troia yàp yápis, eav ayairaTe  
rouç àyairûvTas vpàs; ovÿi Kai Ta ç6v\i] to avTo  
TToiovaiv; vpeiç; óè àyarràTe tovs piaovvTas

Kal, °^X é^ere è^dpón. 4. aTre^pv tojv  
aapKiKwv Kai aa>p,aTiKÛv èiridvpiojv eav Ttç



# 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 The two Death, and there is a great difference between the two Ways.

2. The Way of Life is this: "First, thou shalt The Way of 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: The explanation  
"Bless those that curse you, and pray for your enemies, and fast for those that persecute you. For what credit is it to you if you love those that love you? Do not even the heathen do the same?" But, for your part, "love those that hate you," and you will have no enemy. 4. "Abstain from carnal" and bodily "lusts." "If any man smite thee on the

1 This is the so-called "negative form of the Golden Rule." It is found in some MSS. in the "Apostolic decrees" in Acts xv. 28, and is, in various forms, met with in Jewish and Early Christian literature.

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

- Mt. 5, ss 48 *aoi Sty pàrriayia et'ç ryv Bs^iav aiayóva, arpéifrov*  
Mt. 5,41. 40 *avrà Kai ryv àXXyv, Kai eery réXew èav àyya-  
pevay ere t k p.iXiov ev, vrraye peer' avrov 8vo' èav*  
Luke 6, 30 *àpy τῆς το Ipàrión aov, 80s avrai Kai rov ^iràiva'  
èav Xà{3y τῆς ζττὸ erov rò aov, piy àrrairsi' ov8è*  
Luke 6, so *yàp Bvvaai. 5. rrvrì rç> àirovvri ae 8i8ov Kai  
iyi àrrairei' iràai yàp déXel 8í8oa0ai ζ rrvryp e/t  
rtàv I8ia>v ^apiapMraiv. piak apios ò 8i8ovs Karà  
ryv èvroXyvl à0óios yap èavv. ovai τὸ3 Xapfòà-  
vovrr sì p,èv yàp %peiav éyeav Xapfòavei τῆς, à0<pos  
sarai' ò Sè piy ^peiav s^eov Baiasi 8i/cyv, ivari  
èXafte Kai eĩç ri' èv avvo%y Sè yevófienv è^eraa-  
Oyaeraì rrepì àiv srrpa^s, Kai ovk è^eXevaeraì  
Mt. 5,20 *èKSÍdev, p,é-)(pi<; ov àrroBàì ròv ea%arov Koòpàvryv.  
6. àXXà Kai rrvspì rovrov Sè eipyrai- 'IBpeoaárcy o y  
èXsypioavvy aov eiç ràs ^sípát aov, pié^pit àv  
yvà><;, rivi Sepi.**

## II

- Mt. io, n 1. *kevrèpa Sè èvróXy ry<; BiBa^y^' 2. ov  
<fjovsvaei<ì, ov pioiyevaei^, ov rraiBoepffopyaei^, ov  
rropvsvasi^, ov /cXèiJretç, ov payevaeis, ov efiap-  
piaKevasi^, ov c[>ovevaei<j rsKvov èv e[>0opa, ov8e*

1 This passage is found in the 4th mandate of Hermas, and suggests that this part of the Didache is later than Hermas (C. 140 A.D.).

## THE DIDACHE, t. 4-11. 2

right cheek, turn to him the other cheek also," and thou wilt be perfect. "If any man impress thee to go with him one mile, go with him two. If any man take thy coat, give him thy shirt also. If any man will take from thee what is thine, refuse it not"—not even if thou canst.<sup>1</sup> 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." Alms 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 lyse philtres; thou shalt not procure abortion, nor The second teaching<sup>16</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 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.

zif

-ayjLy acoLaoi. dvL na .So%oqqaan a^Url SodaLdox^  
a^Url 'aUjLoxn dli± Sia vrloqajfi q¿ joiWigo UgiaiLa  
'sUooaj^ aotiik Ur/ 'aorl aoanaL -g '•70x>4|iaX vidi/nx  
-oxmqia amzaviLy nmtaoi. dvL na .maiLax^ yj-aó axaa  
attiri 'amdiogvmdaiL a^Url Sonii.vdU.Qvri 'aqUrf iog  
-10VIL3 açUrl 'avidLvxoX^P alii, sia laLUqo UoiaiLa  
'SoiLonooamw aoaiL Uri 'aori aoanaj. '•ivj.amtt  
-aak> TüiaXiori amzayiLv ami.aol dvk na .sorixvQ  
-<j>qxUjfiq ai^Uri SoA>qxodXoiv a^Uri 'nviandoiL aUj.  
sqdiL viriaQULa U dvk lakUqo 'SUi.UriaQiilLa aoaiL  
Uri aori aoanai. 'g 'ivi.aqiaaah loao^ acoLavjLv  
arntaoi. dvk na .somriaQ açiiri Sqmi.ðida aqUri'sUl  
-mxU^ a<j>Uri 'doaq<l> aqj. sqdiL UUdp U c/»Z la^U^o  
'soxihdq aoailj Uri 'aoi.qv aoiorio So lo vil ojl v  
tdm qodUaojL so lo vil qjj.y aA.qa<f> 'aori aoana^

III

•aoo /UXajji,  
;tax daiLq SiaoUiLvLy 3g sao 'U%a30od.iL am gg idajL  
'Sia%Laxs aari sao pwp 'aoiLmdgan v1/ivil SiaoUoiri  
qo 'i 'aoo aoioUx-iL nox »1»» avdUaoiL riUx  
-aoÿ llajilix t0 'SoavtpUdaiLq 9gao sUqUomvm agao  
sUi/idmo11o agao %viLdv ggiao StLLnaaoax-iL liaa nao -9  
•ia%ydl sonarlmLoartarl yxx? 'soaan qo 'sUgaajft  
aoo S0AIÇX o 1VJ.03 nao •vioomx^iQ k aoLyavQ  
dvUj Si.vil .soomxty<j ???° wrima/aq (loa  
nao 'ifr „ •SiaoUnvnioUari ao 'siaoUkoxonvn qo 'siao  
-Uda-Ldvriogaaafi. qo 'siaoUndouLa nao 'g •aoioUx il 1eg 'q -?k  
gox »x SiaoUriaQiM-a nao 'siaaai-noiLv rtaQUstaak a 'oi ~poxs

sasHivj onoisodv m

## THE DIDACHE, ii. 2-111. 5

commit infanticide ; "thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's goods" ; 3. thou shalt not commit perjury, "thou shalt not bear false witness" ; thou shalt not speak evil ; thou shalt not bear malice. 4. Thou shalt not be double-minded nor double-tongued, for to be double-tongued is the snare of death. 5. Thy speech shall not be false nor vain, but completed in action. 6. Thou shalt not be covetous nor extortionate, nor a hypocrite, nor malignant, nor proud, thou shalt make no evil plan against thy neighbour. 7. Thou shalt hate no man ; but some thou shalt reprove,<sup>1</sup> and for some shalt thou pray, and some thou shalt love more than thine own life.

### 111

1. My child, flee from every evil man and from all Further like him. 2. Be not proud, for pride leads to to t<sup>f</sup><sup>M</sup> murder, nor jealous, nor contentious, nor passionate, catechumeri 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

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

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

t mp *KXoiral yew&vrai. 6. TeKVov pov, py ylvov*  
*yoyvvtros, èjreiùr] óèyyei eiç Tyv [BXamfoypíav,*  
*pyèè avôâèys pyèè Trovypoippwv ζk yap tovtcüv*  
*ζTrávTajv [iXac-ÿypiai yew&VTai. 7. ïaOι oé*  
*Trpaii'ç, èirel of irpaéis KXypovopyaovcn Tyv yíjv-*  
*8. yívon paKpóOvpos Kai ζXeypovv Kai aKaKOS Kai*  
 Mt. 5, 5;  
 Ps. 36, ii  
*f)(<rv-)(io<ç Kai àyaOòs Kai rpe/JMV tovs Xóyovs èia*  
*TraPToç, ovç yKova-as. 9. oi% í^ám aeavTov*  
*ovèè èóxreis Ty i^v^y crov Ôpetaos. ov KoXXyOy-*  
*creTai y 's!WÍ aou f^rá v^ryXtón, ζXXá p-e-ra*  
*èiKairov Kai Taireivíáv àvaaTpa^ÿay. 10. rã*  
*avp/Baivovrii aoi èvepyypMTa &ç àyaOà Trpoaèè^y,*  
*eieìbs on arep Oeov ovèèv yiverai.*

### IV

1. *TeKVov pov, tov XaXowTos noi tov Xóyov*  
*tov Oeov pvrjaOrjaTj vvktoç Kai rj pépa<s, nprjcreis*  
*èè avTov <09 Kvpiov oOev yap y Kvpiovys XdXeïTai,*  
*eKei Kvptos eiTTiv. 2. ζK^yryaeis èè Kat)' ypépa*  
*Ta TTpóaanra tð>v áyíav, 'iva ζTravairarjs toÿs*  
*Xôyoïç avTiáv. 3. ov iroOyaeisl a-^icrpa, elpyvev-*  
 Proy. 31, 9;  
 et. Joh. 7, 24  
*<7619 3è payopéyovs' Kpiveis èiKaitos, ov Xy-^rp*  
*TTpocrcùTrop çÀ,eyçat> c11l irapairTtop>a(TW. 4. ou*  
*èi^rv^ycrèK, TTOTepov earac y ov.*

5. *Mi; yivov jrpos pèv to Xa/üeiñ eKTeivcvv Tas*  
*%eipas, trpos èè to èovvai crvcHriðv. 6. èàn èÿys*

1 The editors usually emend to *noíüireis* "make."

THE DIDACHE, in. 5-iv. 6

are thefts engendered. 6. My child, be not a grumbler, for this leads to blasphemy, nor stubborn, nor a thinker of evil, for from all these are blasphemies engendered, 7. but be thou "meek, for the meek shall inherit the earth ;" 8. be thou long-suffering, and merciful and guileless, and quiet, and good, and ever fearing the words which thou hast heard. 9. Thou shalt not exalt thyself, nor let thy soul be presumptuous. Thy soul shall not consort with the lofty, but thou shalt walk with righteous and humble men. 10. Receive the accidents that befall to thee as good, knowing that nothing happens without God.

IV

1. My child, thou shalt remember, day and night, The duty him who speaks the word of God to thee,' and thou "Itcchumcn shalt honour him as the Lord, for where the Lord's to the nature is spoken of, there is he present. 2. And v u c 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 Against receive, but shuts them when it comes to giving. 6. Of meanne88

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

*Sia rwv ^eipMV crow, Saiaeis Xvrpaxriv apapriwv cou. 7. ov Sicrráaeis Sovvai ovSè SiSovs 7077V-o"«?- yvteffij yáp, tíç ècrriv ò rov ptadov /caXos àvrairoSórrJ^.* 8. ovk àirocrrpa(l>n<ry ròv èvSeó-p, evov, cavyKoiv<i>vrprei<j Sè irávra rai àSeXcfîâ crow Kai ovk èpeîç iSia eivai' el yap èv τ«3 àdavarcp KOivtevoi ècrrre, irôacp paKXov èv rois dviroí<j ;

9. Ovκ ζpeí? rrvj %eîpâ crow aitò rov viov crow ¶ ζTro τi)î dvyarpó<i crow, àXXà aitò veorrjros SeSâÇei? ròv (j>ó/3ov rov deov. 10. ovk èirirà^ei<; SovXa) crow y rraièiuKr], roi? èrti rov avrov Oeov èXrrbÇova'iv, èv rriKpla trov, [ζr/rrore ov p,i] <\$>ofirjβli-erovrai ròv èrr àp.<f>orépoi<; deov ov yàp épierai Kara rtpóutertov KaKecrai, ζXX' è<\$ ouç rà rrvepia riroipacrev. 11. v/zeîç Sè oi SovKot vítorayrj-creerde roí? KVpíoc<j vp.tev ois rvirai deov èv aia^vvp Kai <l>ô/3a>.

12. Mio-rça'ei? irâaav viroKpiaiv Kai irâv h p/rj àpearòv rà> Kvpiâ>. 13. ov p-i) èyKarcùdrrri'i èvroXas Kvpiov, <f>vXâ^ei<; Sè à irapeKa^es, p/rpte irpoandeis prjre àÿatpôrv. 14. èv eKKkrjcrla è^opo-λoyrj arj ra irapairrtepMrá aov, Kai ov irpo<rèX.ev<rrj èiri irpoaev^yv crow èv avvelenerei irovypâ- avrr) ècrriv rj ζSoi ri)?

De>rt 4, 2

## V

mu 15,19

1. 'H 8è rov davárov ζ36? èariv avrip irptorov rràrvrtev irovrjpà ècrn Kai Karâpac pecrrrp cpovoi, poi^eîtai, èirtdvpiat, itopveîat, K\oirai, elScoXo-



## THE DIDACHE, iv. 6-v. i

whatsoever thou hast gained by thy hands thou shalt give a ransom for thy sins. 7. Thou shalt not hesitate to give, nor shalt thou grumble when thou givest, for thou shalt know who is the good Paymaster of the reward. 8. Thou shalt not turn away the needy, but shalt share everything with thy brother, and shalt not say that it is thine own, for if you are sharers in the imperishable, how much more in the things which perish ?

9. Thou shalt not withhold thine hand from thy son or from thy daughter, but thou shalt teach them the fear of God from their youth up. 10. Thou shalt not command in thy bitterness thy slave or thine handmaid, who hope in the same God, lest they cease to fear the God who is over you both ; for he comes not to call men with respect of persons, but those whom the Spirit has prepared. 11. But do you who are slaves be subject to your master, as to God's representative, in reverence and fear.

12. Thou shalt hate all hypocrisy, and everything that is not pleasing to the Lord. 13. Thou shalt not forsake the commandments of the Lord, but thou shalt keep what thou didst receive, " adding nothing to it and taking nothing away." 14. In the congregation thou shalt confess thy transgressions, and thou shalt not betake thyself to prayer with an evil conscience. This is the way of life.

## V

1. But the Way of Death is this : First of all, it is wicked and full of cursing, murders, adulteries, lusts, fornications, thefts, idolatries, witchcrafts, charms,

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

Rom. 1, 29-30 *Xarptat, payetat, tfrappaKtat, ζpiraya!., ■vp'euêo-  
papTvpiai, v7TOKpi<rei<; BcirXoKapûta, BoXoç, inrepîi-  
(fravta, Kama, aù0d8eta, irXeovegla, aia^poXoyía,  
tpiXorviría, dpaauTTj^, vy/roi, aXaÇoveia. 2. 8i^k-  
rat ayaBSav, piaovvres áXrj0eiav, ζyairtòvreì  
AjreùSoç, où yivúiffKovTe^ ptaBov 8ucatoavvi]<;, où  
Rom. 12, 9 *KoXXápevot àya0a> oùδè Kplaet 8tKata, àypVTt-  
vovvres ovk etç to àya0ov, àXX' etç to Ttovr/pov  
Ps. 4, 2 *wv paKpdv irpavrrp; Kai vtropovq, parata àya-  
Is. 1, 23 *Trâvres, SidiKOVre^ àvrarrô8opa, oÛk èXeowreç  
7rT(i)%ôv, où iravovvTe<; ètri KataTTOvovpivw, où  
Wisd. 12, 7 *yivcóaKovTe<; τov TroirpravTa aÛTOvs, <f>oveî<; reKvcov,  
^>0opett TfXdaparo} Oeov, ζTrouTpec^opevot τov  
èvèeopevov, Kara7rovovvTÉ<; rov ÔXipôptvov, ttXov-  
ala>v trapákXrjTOi, TrevrjTO>v avopot Kptraí,  
travdapápT^TOf pvaBeirjre, reKva, atro τovtcùv  
àiràvTCùv.*****

### VI

Mt. 24, 4 1. "Opa, prj rlf ere TrXavqap ζirò ravrrp; t ^ç  
Ô8ov τi]ç ètèàχfjt, ζirei trapekτοî Oeov ce oièdaKei.  
2. εΖ pèv yàp 8vvaaat jjaariiiaat oKov rov Çvyov  
rov Kvpiov, reXeto<; eap' et 8' où 8vvaaat, ô 8ùvp,  
τovτο rrotei. 3. trepi 3è ττjç /Spçôcrecoç, ô 8vvaaat  
fiómaaov atro 8è τov ei8toXo0vrov Xtav irpoae^e'  
Xarpeía yàp èart 0e5jv veKp&v,

### VII

Mt. 28, 19 1. Ilepι ζε τοû /9a7TTÎ<7/xaToç, ovрто fiaTTTtaare'  
ravra rràvTa TrpoeiTróvreì, /BaTT-iaare els τo  
3i8

## THE DIDACHE, v. i-vu. i

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 exhortation 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, to idols.'

### VII

1. Concerning baptism, baptise thus : Having first Baptism rehearsed all these things, " baptise, in the Name of

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

Mt. 28, is *ovopa rov TraTpòì Kai tov viov Kai tov ayiov irvevpaTOi èv vBaTi Çmvti. 2. èàn 8è pij vBmp Çûv, eiç aXXo vBtop fidirTiaov el 8' ov Bvvaaii èv fiv^pcp, èv depprp. 3. èàn ðè àpr^oTepa /x?7 ex???, eK%eov eli Trjv KeifiaXijv Tpii vBcop eli ovopa iraTpòì Kai viov Kai àylov irvevpaTOi. 4. irpò 8è rov /Sairrlaparoi TrpovrjaTevaato) o ftairrlÇaiv Kai ó ftatrTifiópevoi Kai el Tivei àXXoi Bvvavrav KeXeveiì 8è vrjaTevaai tov fiairritypevov trpo pias t; Bvo.*

### Vili

Mt. 6, is 1. *AI Se vr/trTelai vpù>v prj éaTcoaav perà tov v virokpiTÛv. vpaTevovai yàp BevTepa aafifiLTCùv Kai TepTTp' vpeü 8? vr/aTevaare Terpâea Kai TrapavKevrvjV. 2. pifió irpoaevyeaffe &ç oí virokpiTai, àXX' cüç eKeXevaev ó Kvpios èv Ttp evayyeXia> auToü, ovici) TTpoaevxeaOe' IIÚTep ^pSiv ó èv Ttp oiipavà, ayiavO-pro) to ovopá aov, eX0eTO> í) fiaaiXeía <rov, yevpdrjTO) to OéXppá aov &ç èv ovpavip Kai èiri yrj^ tov âpTov ppoiv tov ètrtovaiov Bòì Tjply atjpepov, Kai af>ei rj piv TijV 0<peiXpv ijptov, &ç Kai ppeli àfiitepev roîç ó<j>eiXÉTat<j ripâ>v, Kai pij elaevéyKpi rjpái eli ireipaapov, àXXa pvaai ì^pài àirò tov Trovr)rov' oti aov èaTiv rj Bvvavn Kai ì) Bó^a eli tovì al&vai, 3. Tpii ríji ypepai ovtoð irpoaev%ea0e.*

## THE DIDACHE, vii. i-vin. 3

the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit," in running water ; 2. but if thou hast no running water, baptise in other water, and if thou canst not in cold, then in warm. 3. But if thou hast neither, pour water three times on the head "in the Name of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit." 4. And before the baptism let the baptiser and him who is to be baptised fast, and any others who are able. And thou shall 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 <sup>Fasting</sup> they fast on Mondays and Thursdays, but do you fast on Wednesdays and Fridays. 2. And do not pray as <sup>Prayer\*</sup> 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 *iiriiiia-iov*, 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.

t h e a p o s t o l i c f a t h e r s

IX

1. ITepi Sè t »}s eii^apiaTÍas, ovra><; ev^apiaTrj-  
&are' 2. irpwTov irepi tov iroT^pion l Eú^apia-  
Tovpév aoi, irárep rjpmV, virèp Tjt ayiaç àpsrreKov  
AaveiS tov iraiSot aov, ^s èyvàptaat ypîv Sia  
'Irjaov tov iraiSôt aov aol rj Sô^a eis tous aiûvat-  
3. Trepì Sè tou K\àap,aTos' Ev^apiaTovpév aot,  
TTo/rep pprjiv, virèp t ?}s £wi}s Kai yvçaea>t, rjt  
èyvrópiaat pplv Sia 'Iyaov tov TraiSot aov- aoi t ?  
Sô^a eis tous aiûvat. 4. &aitep pv tovto to 2  
KXáapM SieaKopiriap-évov èiravo) t mv opeiov Kai  
awa^ffèv èyévero ev, ovto) awa^Or/Tat aov rj  
ÏKKX'qaiá citto t Úv irepaTwV tt)s 7>}s eis ttjv aryv  
[SaaiXeiov- oti aov èaTiv rj Sô^a Kai rj Svvap-is  
Sia Ti/croû X/jicttoû eiç tous at'wuas. 5. p^Seis Sè  
(payeTto p-rjSe 7riçT0) çTro tî)s ev^apiaTiaç vp,wv,  
çXX.' oí ^aTTTiadévTes eis ovopa Kvpiov Kai yàp  
Mt. 7, 0 Trepì TOVTOV éipt)Kev ô Kvpios' Mt; Scôte to ayiov  
to is Kval.

X

1. Met ç Sè to èprXriaÔTivai ovtoç ev%apiaTi]-  
aare' 2. Ev%apiaTovpév aoi, Trarep àyie, virep  
tov àyiov òvopaTÓs aov, ou KaTeaKrvVwaas ev Tait

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

2 t ç om. C.

THE DIDACHE, ix. i-x, *i*

IX

1. And concerning the Eucharist, hold! Eucharist The  
thus : 2. First concerning the Cup, " We give thanks Euclli'r'l'i  
to thee, our Father, for the Holy Vine of David thy TheCup  
child, -which, thou didst make known to us through  
Jesus thy child ; to thee be glory for ever." 3. And  
concerning the broken Bread : " We give thee thanks, The Bread  
our Father, for the life and knowledge which thou  
didst make known to us through Jesus thy child.  
To thee be glory for ever. 4. As this broken bread  
was scattered upon the mountains, but was brought  
together and became one, so let thy Church be  
gathered together from the ends of the earth into  
thy kingdom, for thine is the glory and the power  
through Jesus Christ for ever." 5. But let none eat  
or drink of your Eucharist except those who have  
been baptised in the Lord's Name. For concerning  
this also did the Lord say, " Give not that which is  
holy to the dogs."

X

1. But after you are satisfied with food, thus give The Anal  
thanks : 2. " We give thanks to thee, O Holy Father,  
for thy Holy Name which thou didst make to taber- Eucharist

1 The translation fails to preserve the play on the words,  
which might be rendered " concerning the giving of thanks,  
give thanks thus, etc." But this would obscure the fact that  
εὐχαριστία is here quite clearly " Eucharist " (cf. v. 5).

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

*/capSiaic fjpMV, Kai virep Ttj? yvcóaem? Kai TrierTe&iç  
 Kat áOavaaía?, fj? èyvcoπiaa? rjp.iv èia 'ipaov tov  
 Wisd. 1,14; Traièð? aov aoi ρ Sofia etç tovç alcòva?. 3. av,  
 24, g; ðeairora iraviOKparop, eterica# ia iravra eveteev  
 Rov-4\*11 toù óvóp.aTç? aov, Tpoçfipv Te Kai ttotov eScoKa?  
 toi? àv0pd>Troi? eiç cnroXavaiv, iva aot ev^apiaTri-  
 aaiaiv, ripiv Sè è^aplaco irvevpaTiKrxjv Tpoÿijv Kai  
 ttotov Kai Çaiyv alcoviov Sta tov TraiSó? aov.  
 4. ttò TiàvTWV evççapiaTovpév aoi, oti SvvaTo? ei  
 aoiI rj Sofia eiç touç alcòva?. 5. pvpa0rjTt, Kvpie,  
 ttjç ç«Xî/crtaç aov, rov pvaaa0ai avrpv 0tto  
 Trarrò? irovripov Kai Tekeicðaaì avrrjv èv Trj àyàitj  
 Ht 24,31 aov, Kai avvaçiov avTtjv atro tcòv Teaaapwv  
 àvépwv, Tipi àyiaa0eíaaiv, etç ttjv arjv ftaaiXeíav,  
 Tjv TjToípaaa<; avTrp oti aov èaTiv p èvnap.i<; Kai  
 rj èó^a eiç touç alcòva?. 6. èX0éρο) ^ápi? Kai  
 Mt. 21,9.15 TrapeX0eTO) ò Koap.o? ovto?. 'Çiaavva Tip 0eq>  
 i Cor. 16, 22 tavelé, eï rtç áyio? èaTiv, èpλέa0a>' eï ti? ovk  
 eaTi, p.eTavoé'iTO) piapàn çOá' àfirjv. 7. toíç 8è  
 irpo^Tai? èimpéireTe evyapiaTelv oaa 0éXovaiv.*

## XI

1. AOç àv ovv êk0àiv èièà^p vp,â? TavTa iravTa  
 Ta Trpoeippéva, èé%aa0e aiiTov 2. èàn èè avrò?  
 ô èièàKiov aTpacfieì? BiBaaKi) oXXtjv èièa^pv el?  
 to KaTavaai, p,r) avTov aKovarjTe' el? èè to  
 7rpoa0eívai èiKaioavTjv Kai yvSsaiv Kvpiov, èè^aaBe  
 avrov &>ç Kvpiov.

1 0 reads *ai* which is a common mistake for *croi*, but  
 Harnack prefers to emend to 3ri *iurarbs eï erii\* eroi k.t.K.*



## THE DIDACHE, x. 2-xi. 2

nade 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,<sup>1</sup> Amen."

7. But suffer the prophets to hold Eucharist as they will.

## XI

1. Whosoever then comes and teaches you all Travelling these things aforesaid, receive him. 2. But if the toacclers teacher himself be perverted and teach another doctrine to destroy these things, do not listen to him, but if his teaching be for the increase of righteousness and knowledge of the Lord, receive him as the Lord.

<sup>1</sup> A transliteration of Aramaic words meaning "Our Lord ! Come !"

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

3. ITepl 8e rani airoaroXa/v Kai Trpoÿyrcôv, Karà to 8óypa tov evayyeXlov ovreo 'rtobÿaare. 4. ττûç 3è ζττοοτοXo? èpyópevos Trpdì vpàs 8e^0yTo> &>ç Kvp/os' 5. ov peveî èè el pyl ÿpèpav plav èàv 3è y %peía, /caí ryv àXXYv rpecs 8è èàv pebvy, ifrev-èòTrpocj/yTyt; èarl. 6. èi-epypijpevos <5è ó àiroaroXos py8èv Xap/Bavéra) et py dpTOv, et>? ov aiiX/ady-èàv 8è àpyvpiov alry, ylrevèoirpocf/yTyí ècm.

7. Kai TràvTa rrpotpyTyv XaXovvra èv irvçvpart ov Treipaaere ov8è Sia/cpivecre' rrâcra yàp àpapTba acj/edyereri, avry 8è y àpaprea ovk à<pe0ÿ<rerai. 8. oii 7ràç 8è ó XaXwi> èv irvevpart Trpo^yrys èànv, ζXX' èàv è^y tovs rpoTTOvs Kvpiov. àrrò oüiv toiv rpoTTCov yvaaffyererat <■ÿevèòTTpocj/yTys /cae o 7rpo<pyr<!. 9. /cal 7ràç TrpocfÿTys opcÇcov rpárre^av èv irvevpari ov cfidyerac ait' aiirrp;, el 3è pÿye •\*lrev8oirpo<l>yTy<; ζcttÍ. 10. 7ràç 8è Trporj/yryc; èièàa/caiv ryv aXydeïav, el à èbSâcr/ceb ov irobeî, ■ÿevSoiTrpoÿyTy<j èarl. 11. 7ràç 3è 7rpo^>yTy<; 3e-So/cbpacpevos, àXyfhvós, ττοicòv eli pvarypiov /coapi/còv è/c/cXyaias, py 8b8âa/ca)V 8è Troieîv, oaa avrò? Troie?, ov KpiOyarerab è<ç> vpcòv perâ Oeov yàp eyei ryv /cplacv maavrcoi yap èrroiycrav /cab oí àp^aiòb irpoffiyrab. 12. ôç S' âv elrry èv irvevparb' 80s pob àpyvpia y èrepà riva, ovk aKovcreade avrov' èàv 8è Ttepl dXXaiv varepovvrwv eüity Sovvab, py8els aiiTov Kp/verco.

1 et ^4 are omitted by C, but xii. 2 seems to make the correction quite certain.

THE DIDACHE, xi. 3-xi. 12

3. And concerning the Apostles and Prophets, <sup>Apostles</sup> act thus according to the ordinance of the Gospel.<sup>1</sup>

4. Let every Apostle who comes to you be received as the Lord, 5. but let him not stay more than one day, or if need be a second as well; but if he stay three days, he is a false prophet. 6. And when an Apostle goes forth let him accept nothing but bread till he reach his night's lodging; but if he ask for money, he is a false prophet.

7. Do not test or examine any prophet who is speak- <sup>Prophets</sup> ing in a spirit, "for every sin shall be forgiven, but this sin shall not be forgiven." 8. But not everyone who speaks in a spirit is a prophet, except he have the behaviour of the Lord. From his behaviour, then, the false prophet and the true prophet shall be known. 9. And no prophet who orders a meal in a spirit shall eat of it: otherwise he is a false prophet. 10. And every prophet who teaches the truth, if he do not what he teaches, is a false prophet. 11. But no prophet who has been tried and is genuine, though he enact a worldly mystery <sup>2</sup> 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.

<sup>1</sup> It is unknown to what ordinance the writer refers.

<sup>a</sup> 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 ft.).

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

### XII

*ptus* \*! 1' ° èp^ópevos èv ovipari Kvpiov  
 cf. Job.' 5, « ^e'xðr;r<ú- eireira Sè %OKipá<ravre<; avrov yviiiicreade,  
 avveaiv yàp egere Segiàv Kai àpiarepav. 2. el  
 pèv rrapoàiiif èanv ó èpxopevos, ftorjdeire avrà,  
 oaov Bvvaaffe' ov peveì Se irpòs vpà<; el prj Svo y  
 rpeif rjpepas, èàv rj àvàyK-rp 3. el Sè òeXeì rpos  
 iipàs Kadf/adai, reziari;? a>v, èpyagéaOai Kai  
 payerai. 4. et Se ovk e%ei réyyrjv, narà rrjv  
 trvveaiv vpSiv rrpovorprare, ttw? pr) àpyos peO'  
 vpwv Oprerai Xpiariavós. 5. el S' ov òéXeì avrai  
 iroiéiv, xpiarépvropós èuri" rrpoe^ere arra rSiv  
 roiovraiv.

### XIII

Mt.io.io: 1. üâç Sè Ttpotbiurm aXvffii/ò<; GéXaiv KaóriaOai  
 cf. Luke 10:7. Ttpo\$ vp.çui agio? €(Ttb 7Ïfi 7p0(j>T)3 aVTOU. 2.  
 }p||8rim-5) waaÜTtoç StSaa-KaXoç aXyffivof èanv agio? Kai  
 avrò; aiairep ó èpyàrqs ri)s rpoifirjs avrov. 3.  
 rràaav ovv arrap^yv yevv>)pára>v Xr/pov Kai  
 àXaivo^, {3om> re Kai rrpofràrwv Xa[3àv bátreis ryv  
 çTrap^rjv rois Trpoffujraiç' avrai yap eieriv oí  
 àpxiepeís vpSiv. 4. èàv Sè prj êxr)re rrpocl)ijri]v,  
 8ore Totç Trrai^oiì. 5. eav crinav rroipSt rtjv  
 àrrapxqv Xa^àv Sòç Karà rrjv èvroXijv. 6.  
 ócauTtoì Kepápiov oiìvov y eXaiov avoi^at, ttjv  
 àirapxiùv Xaftiàv Sòç roiç rrpocl)yrai<;' 7. àpyvpiov  
 Sè Kai iparlapov Kai rravro<i Krrjparo<; Xaftiàv ri]v  
 àrrapyç>ív, ç>s àv eroi Kara rrjv evroXrfv.

XII

1. Let everyone who “comes in the Name of the Travelling Lord” be received ; but when you have tested him you shall know him, for you shall have understanding of true and false. 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 laterally, “ right and left understanding.”

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

XIV

1. Kætæ KvπiaKrvj Se Kvπiov avvayflivres  
*KXáaare dpTov Kai ev^apiar^aare, TTpoe^opoXoyrp*  
*aápevoil ra irapairTwpiaTa vpwv, oirws Kadapd*  
 24 Mt' 5\*23' &vería vpSiV 2 rj. 2. tt¿? ¿e ¿X<j>v rpv àp<j>i{3óXiav  
*pera τοῦ eraipov avrov prj avveXdérw vpív, ews*  
*ov SiaXXaywaiv, 'iva prj KOivw0rj rj Ovaia vpwv.*  
 Maiaeh. i, 3. avTrj yáp èariv y pr/ðeíaa virò Kvπiov' 'Ev  
*iravTi τὸ τίς ἔστιν καὶ ἁποφάσις ἵνα ἴσῃς ὅτι οὗτοι*  
*οἱ τῆς ἀληθείας εἰσὶν ἀποστόλοι, καὶ οὗτοι οἱ*  
*οὐκ ἀποστόλοι οὐκ ἀληθεύουσιν.*

XV

1. XeiporovítaaTe onv éavroís èiriaKoirovS Kai  
*biaKovovS a.jpov<; τὸν Kvπιον, dvSpas irpaeif Kai*  
*á</>iXapyvnoví Kai àXijOeíf Kai Se8oKipaapévov<}'*  
*vpív yap XeiTovpyovai Kai avroi rrvj Xenovpyiav*  
*ráv TrpoujrvjTláv Kai SiSaaKaXtov. 2. prj onv*  
*V7repiéirjre avrov<;- avrai yáp eiaiv oí reriπripévoi*  
*vpStv perd ráv irpo^rpríov Kaí SiSaaKaXov.*  
 3. 'EXéy^ere Sè ¿XXtjXovç prj èv opyr/, ¿XX' èv  
 Mt. 5,22-26; 18,15-35 *elppvp co? è^ere èv tá) evayyeXitp- Kai vrvri*  
*aaroXpvnTi Karà rov èrèpov pTjSei<; XaXeÍTO) prj>e*  
*rrap' vpwv aKovérai, êwç ov peravo^ay. 4. t «ç Sè*  
*eù^aç vpwv Kai ràç eXerjpoavvas Kai iráaas rds*  
*irpágeis ovTw troirjaare, ¿s ^XeTÉ TV evayyeXí^>*  
*τὸν Kvπιον fjpwv.*

1 wpotre^o^oXoyTjtrcijUeFOí. C.

2 ijuán 0.

THE DIDACHE, xiv. i-xv. 4

XIV

1. On the Lord's Day of the Lord come together, The Sunday  
break bread and hold Eucharist, after confessing <sup>worshlp</sup>  
your transgressions that your offering may be  
pure ; 2. but let none who has a quarrel with his  
fellow join in your meeting until they be reconciled,  
that your sacrifice be not defiled. 3. For this is  
that which was spoken by the Lord, " In every place  
and time offer me a pure sacrifice, for I am a great  
king," saith the Lord, "and my name is wonderful  
among the heathen."

XV

1. Appoint therefore for yourselves bishops and Bishopsand  
deacons worthy of the Lord, meek men, and not <sup>eacons</sup>  
lovers of money, and truthful and approved, for they  
also minister to you the ministry of the prophets and  
teachers. 2. Therefore do not despise them, for  
they are your honourable men together with the  
prophets and teachers.

3. And reprove one another not in wrath but in Mutual  
peace as you find in the Gospel, and let none speak reproofs  
with any who has done a wrong to his neighbour,  
nor let him hear a word from you until he repents.

4. But your prayers and alms and all your acts  
perform as ye find in the Gospel of our Lord.

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

XVI

Mt. n. 42; Lutee 12. 35 1. rpyyopeîre yrrep Ipoſſjs vpSiY ol Xvvyoi  
 f p<av pñ) (TpeavTjTWiTaV) Kai at òa<pv€\$ vpcòv plq  
 ìKXv<r0(ü(ra.v, ìXXì ylvea0e eroipoi- ou yàp ol'Sare  
 Mt. 24, 44 rr/v &pav, èv y o Kvpios T)ps)v épurai. 2. ttvkvw s  
 Mt. 25,13 gè awayOr/trea^e ÇvjTovvTes ra avr/Kovra rais  
 Barnabas ■^rv^aîs vpûv ou yap oxpeXrjaei vpâs 0 Tras xpovos  
 IT 9 rijs TTutTews vpâv, èav prj èv T0> ècr^arw tcaipâ  
 TeXeïco^ijTe. 3. èv yàp Tais écœurais ypépais  
 TrXt)0vv0yaovrai ol yjevðoTTpo(l>rjTai Kai ol <j>0opeis,  
 Kai arpa<f>ijaovTai rà irpoftara els Xvko vs, Kai  
 àyàirr] arpa^yaerai els piaos. 4. av^avovarjs  
 yàp rrjs àvopias piarjaovaiv ìXXt/Xovç Kai  
 8ià>^ovcri Kai TrapaSàxrovai, Kai rorè cftav^a-erai ó  
 Mt. 24, 24 ; KoapoTrXavrjs ì>S vlos 0eov, Kai iroiyaei arjpeîa Kai  
 ^■g11 Thcs3 répara, Kai rj yrj Trapaðoii<reTai els ^eipas avrov,  
 Apoc.13,2.13 Kal TToi>iaei à0épiTa, à ovberrore yéyovev è£ aliivos.  
 5. rorè tfÇei y ktichs râ>v àv0pà>Tro>v eis tijv  
 ml 24, io TTvptocriv Tij s èoKipafflas, Kai aKavðaXia0rjaovTai  
 TToXXol Kai àiroXovvrai, ol 8è vTropelvavres èv ry  
 Mt. ip, 22 ; Triarei avrâ>v atuQricrovrai vir' avrov tov Kara0é-  
 Mt. 24, so paros, 6. Kai rare (pavijaeTai Ta appèla rr/s  
 Mt. 24, si, aXr/0elas' Trpürov a-ppèiov èKTrerâaeais èv ovpavtp,  
 of. I Cor. 15, ìiTa arjpeiov ^itovfjs aaXiriyyos, Kai ro rp'irov  
 IThess. 4, io àvaaraais veKpéav. 7. ou iravrav 8é, ìXX' ìis  
 Zech. 14, 6 èppé0r)- "HÇei ó Kvpios Kai iravres ol àyioi per  
 Mt. 24,so; aurov. 8. rorè oi]rerat o Koapos tov Kvpiov  
 26,64 ép)(ppevon €7ravcù rcov veçpèKtov tov ovpavov.



XVI

1. " Watch " over your life : "let your lamps" be Warning not quenched "and your loins" be not ungirded, enduit but be "ready," for ye know not " the hour in hand 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.<sup>1</sup> 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."

<sup>1</sup> 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 Aendel Harris's edition of the Didache.



**THE EPISTLE OF BARNABAS**



## THE EPISTLE OF BARNABAS

The document which is always known as the Epistle of Barnabas is, like I. Clement, really anonymous, and it is generally regarded as impossible to accept the tradition which ascribes it to the Barnabas who was a companion of S. Paul, though it is convenient to continue to use the title.

It is either a general treatise or was intended for some community in which Alexandrian ideas prevailed, though it is not possible to define either its destination, or the locality from which it was written, with any greater accuracy. Its main object is to warn Christians against a Judaistic conception of the Old Testament, and the writer carries a symbolical exegesis as far as did Philo; indeed he goes farther and apparently denies any literal significance at all to the commands of the Law. The literal exegesis of the ceremonial law is to him a device of an evil angel who deceived the Jews.

The date of Barnabas is doubtful. Two attempts have been made to fix it from internal evidence. In the first place, the ten kings in chap. vi. have been identified with the Roman Emperors, and thus a date well within the limits of the first century has been suggested, though there is no unanimity as to the

## THE EPISTLE OF BARNABAS

exact manner in which the number of the ten Emperors is to be reached. In the second place attention has been drawn to the reference in chap. xvi. to the rebuilding of the Temple, and this is supposed to refer to the events of 132 a.d. Neither theory is quite satisfactory, but neither date is in itself impossible. The document no doubt belongs to the end of the first or beginning of the second century.

The text is found in the following authorities :—

(1) The *Codex Sinaiticus*, an uncial of the fourth century, now at St. Petersburg, and published in photographic facsimile by the Clarendon Press.

(2) The *Codex Constantinopolitanus*, found by Bryennios in 1875 and now at Jerusalem, the same MS. as that known as C in I. Clement and the Didache.

(3) In eight defective MSS., in which owing to some accident the ninth chapter of the epistle of Polycarp is continued without a break by the fifth chapter of Barnabas. These MSS. are clearly descended from a common archetype, copied from a MS. in which Barnabas followed Polycarp, but the pages containing the end of the latter and beginning of the former were lost, and a copyist who did not observe this merged the one into the other.

(4) A Latin version, extant in a single MS. at St. Petersburg, in which the text stops at the end of chap. xvii. It thus omits the "Two Ways," and the question (perhaps insoluble) arises whether the Latin has omitted it, or the Greek interpolated it. At present the general opinion is in favour of the former view.

## THE EPISTLE OF BARNABAS

Barnabas, like I. Clement and Hermas, became canonical in some circles : it is quoted by Clement of Alexandria as Scripture, and is referred to by Origen as a Catholic Epistle, while it is included in the Codex Sinaiticus among the books of the New Testament, not, as is sometimes said, as an appendix, but following immediately after the Apocalypse, without any suggestion that it belonged to a different category of books.

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

- Codex Sinaiticus.
- C = Codex Constantinopolitanus.
- G = the archetype of the eight Greek MSS.
- L = the Latin version.

'diaiLriaiL dirin dqdxrri yivn vw^noiiDa 'do^on] sia  
 n.dVDIn.adUiin anyrrrinanii. soi.noioi. tori «2xx>3 ilo  
 'doÿvxs no jfen TDdaoqvaii 7X sodar! noi. drnrin idaii.  
 lori únUyari dva 11.0 'annoi. dno sodarii)diLox -g  
 •nonnv sUm% i^iH-ya (jç3 dirin da lamoi/Duka Uiivkv  
 1»» sh.diiL UyriLari 11.0 'nori dhXna^ din. damn Svrin  
 dninvky 'onnoi. Sia mLrw mrio^nxLvttt Snnavin imi  
 'Soidan sUdnnoi-omq mqq da daDnaqmdOD varia mo  
 'ivrvivi.DiiLa vxxojl Svdlivvx dirin aa 11.0 'd)i.nvr/a  
 Smqiadnu ivn oinoi. dno SodariDiau.au. -amrin siajto  
 ü±(ffoiLiH,a loria U dmrin ma da^UñLa^a ari mi.no  
 •Svrin ^a vrinadii. noidnn sULUjl sUi. noinnoxiL  
 noi. qiLv dOdarinXanna dirin da miiaxÿ SmgUv  
 11.0 'ivdUgmv am^ni/ya mmvria mdn>X/.nr> doyyvri  
 lyn qig -g •9x12^0^73 aidyX sUnn.vrinadiL Svadmq  
 sUi. doi-nÿria T Smi.no .diDVriqa/iii. dmrin S7o§ogrt3 ivn  
 Sioidvrvri S101. riha irrlodwdfynadaiin dhxo^daiin  
 ffiiin ivn 7X daiLq 'Svrin Sia nmnyrimivm^ Qoaff  
 noi. nmi dmi.onoñii. ivn dmi.do dari nm^vLay^ 'Z  
 •lirttidia da 'iyriU soi-dVDiniv^v no± noidnn  
 i-Lvrfodq da 'Sadai-vkoff iyn loin 'ai-ativ^ -j

l's  
 ;8 '1 IU,



## THE EPISTLE OF BARNABAS

### I

1. Hail, sons and daughters, in the name of the Lord who loved us, in peace. Greeting  
auction0

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; <sup>1</sup> 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

<sup>1</sup> Literally "spring."

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

*Iva perà ri)ç TricTewç vptàv reXeiv ey^re rijv yvôiatv.*

Tit. i, 2;

6. *Tría ovv Sóypará èanv Kvptov Çidtlç eXiriç, "PÀ?7 réXoç 7tkt t éwç 'ppMv' Kai SiKatoavvij, Kpiaews àp%ri Kal réXog' àyà-rrp ev<f>po<Tvvj<i Kal àyaXXtâcretog epycav èiKaLotrvvrj<! paprvpia.l I. èyvtôpttrev yàp -qpiv ó SetriroTJ;? Sià rSiv 7po<l>rJTÛv rà rrapéXrjXv6óra Kal ra èvearSo-ra, Kal rS>v peXXovraiv èovç ÛTrap-^a^ ypiv yevaewg, à>v rà KaO' eKaara ffXérrovreg èvepyov-peva, Kadm<; èXàXrjaev, oipeièXopev rrXovatoorepov Kal vyjrr)XçTepov rpoaáyetv rà> <f>o/3tp avrov. 8. èyà> èè ov^ tos BtSáaKaXo?, àXX' wç els èi; ipûn vrroóeí^ci) oXlya, Si' aiv çv roí<s rrapovatv evtfrpavdyaeade.*

## II

1. *l^pepuv ovv ovaûv rrov)på>v Kal avrov rov èvepyovvros 'çypvros rrjv è^ovatav, ç(frecXopeu iavrols rpoaeyovres eKtyjrelv rà èiKaiaip,ara Kvptov. 2. tt}ç ovv mcrTewç rpLcov elcriv fiorfiol <l>o/3os Kal virofiovp, rà 8è avp./:aXovvra rj)p,iv pbaKpoOvpàa Kal èyKpàreia' 3. rovrwv ovv jlevov-rasv rà rrpôs Kvpiov àyvtài, awev^palvovrai*

1 The text of this whole passage is confused : *tres emit ergo constitutiones domini, vitae spes initium et consummatio L and no more ; rþia oiv bý^ará itriv Kvpiov, fail, vlans, çKtÍÍr, àpxh sai teKos n^iâiv, sai ûiKeoffvii Kpltrews apxh, Kai réKos àyâtri, evtppoaóvn, Kal ayaWiaaeus ipyw iv SiKaioavyais pap.rupia K* The text printed is that of Ó, which gives the best sense, though it is doubtful if it is more than the correction of an early corruption.

## THE EPISTLE OF BARNABAS, i. 5-11. 3

your knowledge may be perfected along with your faith.

6. There are then three doctrines<sup>1</sup> of the Lord : <sup>The three</sup> “ the hope of life ” is the beginning and end of our <sup>doctrines</sup> 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 <sup>Prophecy</sup> 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 <sup>The need</sup> the worker of evil himself is in power, we ought <sup>of Virtue</sup> 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

<sup>1</sup> Or possibly “ ordinances ” or “ decrees. ”

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

avrei? aotfiía, avvecTK, èiricrrppp, yv&ais. 4. ire-  
 (fiavéptoKev yàp ppîv èia Trávrav rcòv irpoifiprcòv,  
 ori ovre Ovtricòv ovre oXoKavra;para>v ovre Trpoa-  
 <f>opûv xppÇei, Xéyav ore pév 5. Tí pot rfxpôo<;  
 is. i, i-is T-)v Ovaifl)V j \çyei Kvpio<i. ifXpppç elpi  
 óXoKavraipárwv, Kai aréap àpvcòv Kai aïpa ravpiov  
 Kai rpaywv ov ;BovXopat, ovè' àv èpyppade oÿûpvai  
 pot. ris yàp è^e^prpaev ravra çK rcòv xelP^>v  
 vpiòv ; rrareîv pov rpv avXpv ov irpocrOpceade.  
 èàn (fjéppre crepièdXiv, páratov- òvpiapa ftèèXvypà  
 poi èanv ràs veoppvias vpcòv Kai ra craftftara  
 ovk aveyppai. 6. ravra ovv Karppypcrev, iva ó  
 Kaivòs vopos rov Kvpiov pp&v Tpcrov lípiarov,  
 ànev Çvyov àvàyKps còv, pp avdpanroiroiprov è%y  
 rpv Trpoatpopâv. 7. Xéyei Sè rràliv irpos avrov^  
 èya> èvereiKappv τ ο Î ç r r a r p a a i v v p û v c k t t o -  
 Jer, 7,22,23 pevOpçvoí<; çK AîyvTTTOu, rrpoevèyKai poi  
 çXoKavràipara Kai Ovaía<; ; 8. àXX' p roûiro  
 èveretXappv avroîs' eKaaro^ vpâtv Kara rov  
 Zeeb. 8,17 TrXpcriv èv rp Kapèia éavrov KaKiav pp pvpaiKa-  
 Keirou, Kai opKov y^revèp pp àyarrâre. 9. aiaOà-  
 veaðai ovv otjieixopei', pp ovre<> aavveroi, rpv  
 yvmpv rpç àyadaavvp^; rov irarpoç ppwv, or  
 ppîv Xéyei, fjém> ppàs pp ôpoiwç rrxava>pevov<i  
 rs. si, 19 èKe'ivois Çpreîv, iraç rrpoaàiopev avrai. 10. ppîv  
 ovv ovtas Xéyei- Qvaia râ Kvpitpl Kapèia crvvre-  
 rpippév, oapp evwSiaç râ> Kvpicp Kapèia èo^a-  
 Çovcra rcòv rreirXaKora avrpv. aKpi^eveadai ovv  
 ôcjieiXopev, àèèXcfioi, rrepi rps ffcvrrppias ppòiv, iva

1 TU Kvpltp CL, TW K (LXX),

THE EPISTLE OF BARNABAS, n. 3-11. 10

with them. 4. For he has made plain to us through all the Prophets that he needs neither sacrifices nor of Jewish burnt-offerings nor oblations, saying in one place,<sup>sacrifice</sup>  
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.”<sup>1</sup> We ought, therefore, brethren, carefully to enquire concerning our salvation, in

<sup>1</sup> 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.

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

*pp o Trovppos TrapeiaSvatv irXavps iroipaas ev  
ppiv éKa<f>evZovparj pptis ¿Tro t t jç f&»)? ppwv.*

### HI

is. 58, 4. 5

1. *Kéyei ovv TráXiv Trepí tov tvw Trpoc avTOVS'  
'Tvan poi vpaaveTe, Xéyet Kvpios, wç appepov  
aKovadpvai èv Kpavyp Tpv tpwvvpv vpwv; ov ravrvp  
Tpv vpcrreíav ey¿> é^eXe^áppv, Xéyei Kvpios, ovk  
àvdpwirov raireivouvra rpv -^rv^pv aiitov, 2. o¿8'  
àv Kaptypre ¿>s KpiKOV tov TpàxpXov vpwv Kai  
traKKOv èvBvapade Kai airoSov vrroaTpwapTe, ovü  
ovtws KaXéaere vpaTeiav SeKTpv.*

is. 58, 6-10

3. *t t pòs ppàs  
gè Xéyef T8où avTp p vpaTeia, fjv èyw è^eXe^áppv,  
Xéyei Kvptos' Xve irávaavvZeapov ciOiKias,  
SiaXve o-rpayyaXiàs /Siaitov <TvvaXXaypaTO>v,  
¿TrócFTeXXe Tedpavapevovs èv à^éaei Kai irâtrav  
aZiKov crvyypa<f>pv Siacira. BiâdpvTrre ireivwaiv  
tov apTOV aov, Kai yvpvov èàv ièps irepi^aXe'  
aareyvovs e'iaaye eis tov oikov aov, Kai èàv iBys  
Tatreivov, ov% virepoyÿp avTov, ovBè àirò tvw  
oiKeiww tov aireppaTOS aov.*

4. *Tore paypaeTai  
irpwÿpov to (j>ws aov, Kai Ta iptiTia l aov Ta^ews  
àvaTeXeî, Kai irpoiropvaeTai epirpoadev aov p  
ètKaioavvp, Kai p So^a tov Oeov irepiaTeXei ae.*

5. *rore fiopaets, Kai ó deos èiraKovaerai aov, en  
XaXovTOS aov èpeî' TSov irápeipi- èav àifieXps*

*l tñiária K\* CL, Íáfiara K Corr, (healings) (LXX). This correction, which Lightfoot accepts, is no doubt what Barnabas meant, but the MSS. evidence suggests that it is not what he wrote.*

## THE EPISTLE OF BARNABAS, n. io -iii. 5

order that the evil one may not achieve a deceitful entry into us and hurl us away from our life.

### HI

1. To them he says then again concerning these <sup>Concerning</sup> things, "Why do ye fast for me, saith the Lord, so <sup>fastins</sup> 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

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

Ὁτιο αὐν avvSecrfiov Kai ^ecporovian Kai pppa 707-  
 yvtrpov, Kai ἕδ>ς ttciνSivti rov aprov αὐν eK ifrvxp';  
 αὐν Kai ▀^rvxpv rerarreivaipévov eXe^aj/ç. 6. etç  
 τοῦτο οὐν, ἕ.SeXcfroi, 0 p,aKpóβvp.os -rrpo^Ké^ras, æs  
 èν aKepaioavvp tricTevaei ó Xaoç, ov proípaæev èν  
 τὸν pyairppéva avrov, Trpoeÿävépaia-ev pplv irepl  
 •jrvrarv, 'iva pp irpoappaadipeda ο? èrrpKvTOil rm  
 èKilvoiv vopa>.

### IV

1. Aeî ovv ppâs rrepl râ>ν èvearà>TO>ν èimrôXv  
 èpawâ>VTa<;2 èK^preiv rà èvvâpeva ppas atüÇeiv.  
 tfrvycopev ovv reXetcoç àrro iràvroyv râ>ν èpyatv rpç  
 àvopiaç, pp-rrore KaraXa/Sp ppâs rà epya rp<j  
 avopiaç- Kat, piapatopev rpv rrXavpv rov vvv  
 Kaipov, "va eis ròv péXXovra ayarrpQwpev. 2. pp  
 èS)pev rp èavrâv ^rvxp aveaiν, ware eyeiv avrpv  
 è^ovaiav pera àpapTOÏXwv Kai Tovppwv avvrpé-  
 Xeiv, ppirore òpoia)9à>pev avTOK. 3. rò réXetov  
 aKavèaXov pyyiKev, irepl ov yeypairrai, &>ç Evc»^;  
 ~^7el' Eî? τοῦτο yap ò cemórp^ avvréppKev  
 rovφ Kaipovs Kai τ ἕç ppépas, iva raxwp °  
 pyairpp.évo<; avrov Kai ètri rpv KXppovopias p^p-  
 4. Xéyei èè ovras Kai ò Trporpprp'ì' BatriXetaj  
 SeKa ètri rps yps /BaaiXeva-ovcriv, Kai è^avaarp-  
 trerai OTriadev3 piKpòs ^aaiXeys, òç raireiváiaei  
 rpeíç vifc' èv riðv ^aaiXéarv. 5. òpoia><; Trepì rov

6i"ov'9o9i

Dan. 7,24

3 ἕtt^Kvtoi K, irpocTT7,lvTo< C, *proselvtae* L ; the use of the words in Philo suggests that they both mean proselytes, so that the evidence of L is ambiguous.

2 ipauvúvras tt, ἕpsvúvras C.

8 oirttrSey CL, útria&iv avrà? K (Theod.).



## THE EPISTLE OF BARNABAS, in. 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

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

- Dan. 7,7. 8 *avrov Xéyet AawT/X' Kaì étoov to reraprov ffrjptov to TTOi/rfpov Kaì ic"xyp'òv Kaì xaXeTrcórepov Trapa Trávra rà ôr/pia τ ι /ς ^aXátra-»)?,l Kaì cι>ς è£ avrov àvèreiXev éeKa Kepara, Kaì è% avrSov pucpov Kepas Trapatpvààiov, Kaì â>s èrairelvwaev v<j> èv rpia nov peyáXaiv Kepànov. 6. avvtévai ovv oÿeiXere. en Sè Kaì roîno èpotrà) vpàs &>ς t'ç è£ vp,â>v o)v, Didacheii, 7 *locàis èè Kaì Tràvras ayarrwv vrrep τ τ jv ■j'vXivP°v' irpoaé^eiv vvv eavroîs Kaì prq opoiovaOai natv è-nawpevonTas raîs àpapiais vpSrv Xéyovras, on rj SiadrjKTJ ζKeivcùV Kaì p/JMV. 1. 'qp&v p,év aXX eKeîvoi oîrnos eiç réXoc ζTrcóXeo-ap avryv Xafiovros Exod. 34,28 *pèp rov Mcovaécos. Xéyet yàp ÿ ypaiejrp Kaì rjv Ma>vrjç<; èv no opei vrjarevtov rjç,épa<; reaaapaKovra Kaì vivras reaaapaKovra, Kaì eXa^ev τ τ jv Exod. 32,16 *éiad^K^v aîro to v Kvpiov, 7rXa«aç Xt^traç yeypap,- p.évas nò áaKTvXa rjç<j xeipo<j to v Kvpiov. 8. áXXa e-naTpatfievTe^ èiri rà eiòwXa airwXeaav avTryv. Exod. 32, 7 *Xéyei yàp oîrnos Kvpios. Mo>vafj Mavaí), Kará- Deut. 9,12 *t Û%oos, on rjvopTjaev ζ Xaoç (TOV, ovs é^rjyayes eK yrjs A-lyvirrov, Kaì avv^Kev Matvaijs Kaì epi^ev ràs évo TvXaKas eK twv xelP^v avrov' Kaì auverpiBii avrSov éiadriKy, 'iva rj to v fiyaTTTipévon 'Iijctov èyKarao-cfipayiadT) etç ri)v Kapéiav rpiLWV èv èX-rrléi. rjfs TLcrreros avrov. 9. TtóXXà 8è déXarv ypá(j>eiv, ov% ms éiéáaKaXos, ζXX' á>? irpeirei àyaTróðvn à(f>' &v e^opev prj éXXeîreiv, ypápetv èarrovéarra, irepityrjpa vpátv. Sto Trpo(réx<opev èv raîs èa^àrais T]pépais' ovàèv******

## THE EPISTLE OF BARNABAS, iv. 5-iv. 9

the fourth Beast, wicked and powerful and fiercer than all the beasts of the sea, and that ten horns sprang from it, and out of them a little excrescent horn, and that it subdued under one three of the great horns.” 6. You ought then to understand. And this also I ask you, as being one of yourselves, and especially as loving you all above my own life ; take heed to yourselves now, and be not made like The unto some, heaping up your sins and saying that the cStiân covenant is both theirs and ours. 7. It is ours : but or Jewish? 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.)<sup>1</sup> Wherefore Admonition let ds pay heed in the last days, for the whole stedfastness

<sup>1</sup> 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  
xvl' yap ζxjieXyaei ypa<; o oraç xpónos t ^ç Triare»?  
yptàv,l èàv py vvv èv Toà àvòptp Katpty Kai rot?  
péXXovaiv aKavBáXov;, ζvj rrpérret vioíç; Oeov,  
àvrtarâpev, 'iva2 py a^y rrapeíaSvatv à péa<j.  
10. tfivytopen atro rráays paraióryro^, ptayawpev  
reXeíav; rà épya r>}? rrovypâ<; ζ8ov, py Ka0'  
èavrovf èvSvvovreç povâÇere á>? y&y SeêiKaiw-  
pénot, ζXX' ètri rò avrò avvep^ópevoi avvÇyreîre  
irepl tov Kotvy aup<fiérovTO<;. 11. Xeyei yàp y  
r» 5 21 ypatpy' Ovai ol avverai éavroîç Kai èvtòrrtov  
éavraiv èmarypoves. yevápeBa irvevpartKol,  
yevâîpeda vaàs réXeto\*; rS> Oe<p. è<j) oaov èarlv èv  
i». S3 is peXeriôpev rov yö/Bov rov Oeov Kai <}>vXâa-  
aetv àytovtÇaipeôa rà? èvroXaç avrov, iva èv roí<j  
SiKaiwpaaiav avrov ev<j>pavôâ>pev. 12. ò Kypios  
i Pet i ir àTrpoatùTroXtfpTrra)'; Kptvei rov Koapov. eKaaros  
et. Rom.' 2, ' Kaffwv èrrofyaeν Kopteîrai. èàv y àyaθó<;, y  
Gai. 2,6 SiKaioavvy avrov qrpoyyyaerai avrov' èàv y  
il Cor. s, io trovypó^, ó piaθo<; ry<; trovypias èrrrhoa0ev avrov'  
13. 'iva pyrrore èTravarravopevoi æç KXyrot èrriKa0-  
VTTvàacopev raí<; âpaprtais ýpwv, Kai ô rrovypâ<;  
âp^atv Xa/3â>v ryv Ka0' ypwv ègovaiav àrrótayrai  
ypâs àrro ri|ç /BaaîXelas rov Kypiov. 14. eri δè  
KaKilvo, àðéX<f>oi pov, voelre' orav ^Xeirere perà  
ryXiKavra aypeia Kai répara yeyovôra èv ríj>  
'lapayX, Kai ovrav; èyKaraXeXel<f>0ai avrov's'  
mt. 20,16; rrpoe^topev, pyrrore, yeyarrrai, rroXXoi  
22,14 KXyroi, oKiyoi δè èKXeKTol evpe0âpev.

l t ís arfare»» K, ri» (o>ris C, vitae nostrae et  
fidei L.

2 Iva K, Iva otv C, Iva . . . fiiKas om. L.

## THE EPISTLE OF BARNABAS, iv. 9-iv. 14

time of our life and faith will profit us nothing, unless we resist, as becomes the sons of God in this present evil time, against the offences which are to come, that the Black One may have no opportunity of entry. 10. Let us flee from all vanity, let us utterly hate the deeds of the path of wickedness. Do not by retiring apart live alone as if you were already made righteous, but come together and seek out the common good. 11. For the Scripture says : “ Woe to them who are prudent for themselves and understanding in their own sight.” Let us be spiritual, let us be a temple consecrated to God, so far as in us lies let us “ exercise ourselves in the fear ” of God, and let us strive to keep his commandments in order that we may rejoice in his ordinances. 12. The Lord will “ judge ” the world “ without respect of persons.” Each will receive according to his deeds. If he be good his righteousness will lead him, if he be evil the reward of iniquity is before him. 13. Let us never rest as though we were ‘ called ’ 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.”

Apparently a loose expression = “ confiding in our call.”

The apostolic fathers

V

1. Eις τὸντο γὰρ ἰνρέπετεν ὁ Κνptos οραπαSov-  
vai ττjv crápKa eis Karatydopav, iva Tp à<pe<ret  
rtáv àpapTiwv àvvic0<òpev, o èaTiv èν τό> a'ipaTi  
roί} pavTiapaTos avTov.l 2. yeypainai yap  
irepi avrou à pèν Trpbs τov 'lapapX, à Sè irpos  
Is. 53, s. 7 ppàs, λέγει Sè οίλτ úιç! 'TL~piavpaTía9p Sia Tas  
àvopias ppSiv Kai pepaxaKiarai Sià Tas àpapTias  
ppivv τS} p<é>\<üTii avrov ppeis iáOppev <úç  
77ποftaTov ζTri aifiaypv pxfp, Kai ζ>s àpvbs àÿwvos  
evavTiov τov KeipavTos avTov. 3. ovkovv virep-  
ev^apiaTelv è<f>eiXopev τὸ} Kvpim, oti Kai Ta  
irapè\p\voOota ppîv èyvduπiaeν Kai èν τοis ève-  
cttSxtiv ppàs èao<πiaeν, Kai eis Ta peXXovra ovk  
Prov. 1, ir èapèν àavveTOi. 4. Xéyei Sè p ypaipp- Ovk  
ù Sîkois èKTeiveTai èiKTva irTepatToîs- τὸντο Xéyet,  
oti èiKaiws ÛTroXeîTai avffpwjros, bs è%o>v oèov  
SiKaioavvps yvSiatv eavTov els ôbov ckotovs  
ζTroavveyei. 5. tri ζè Kai τὸντο, àbeXifioi pov  
el ζ Kνptos virépeiveν iradeiv irepi Trjs ^vxfis  
ppwv, a>v iravTOS τov Koapov Kνptos <p eürev ò  
Gen. i, 26 Oeàs itfrò KaTa/SoXijs Koapov Iioijaa>pev àv0-  
pojTTOv KaT eiKova Kai Ka0' ôpolæaiv ppeTepav  
ττS>s ovv inrépetev virò ^eipòs àv0pa>7Ta>v 7ra0eîv ;  
6. pá0eTe. oi 7rpo<f>ijTai, air' avTov e^ovTes ττjv  
•ftâpiv, eis avTov èirroc^pTevaav avTòs Se, "va  
ii Tim. i, io KaTapypap τὸν OávaTov Kai Tpv èc veKpiòv avá-  
I Tim. s, 16 GTaarv Sei^p, oti èν aapKi eSei avrbv <f>avepto0rjvac,

l altari τὸν φραυτπαρος aurai) garríapari avrov τὸν  
aïparos CL, a natural correction of the more difficult phrase.

## THE EPISTLE OF BARNABAS, v. i-v. 6

### V

1. FOR it was for this reason that the Lord endured The reason to deliver up his flesh to corruption, that we should passion be sanctified by the remission of sin, that is, by us Cbrlat 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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virépeivev, 7. 'iva τοῖς irarpaai-v tijv èirayyeXiaiv  
 arrocü, Kaï avroç èavTÛ tov Xaov tov Kaivov  
 eToipaÇcov eirioeil;rj èiri tîç ἡΓÇ a>v, ore Tip  
 àvaaraaiv airi><! iroi>< iroi>< Kpivei. 8. Trépas ye  
 τοῖ ciciúaiccov tov rlaparjX Kaï TpXiKavra répaTa  
 Kaï appela iroi&v è/cppvaaev, Kaï vireppyaipaev  
 avrov. 9. ore Sè τοὺς Ibiovs àiroaToXovs tous  
 péXXovaas Krijpvacrev to evayyéXtov aiiTov èl-eXéi;-  
 aTO, livras virèp irâaav âpapTiaiv avopcirrèpovs,  
 iva ðeiiçr/, oti ovK pXdev KaXéaai SiKaiovs, aXXà,  
 àpapTcoXovs, TOTe èÿavépcoaev éavTOV elvat viov  
 Oeov. 10. e; yap prj pXdev èv aapKi, ovó àv ircos l  
 oí àvdpcoiroi èaiüüpaav ;SXéirovTes avrov, ots tov  
 aeXXovTa pp elvai r/Xiov, epyov twv yeipiüv avrov  
 virap^ovTa, epfSXeirovres ovk layyovaiv eis Taç  
 ciKTivas avrov àvTO<f>0aXpvaai ; 11. ovkovv o  
 vlos toü Oeou els tovto èv aapKÏ TjXdev, iva to  
 TeXeiov TÛv àpapriSiv ávaKe<f>aXaicoáy to Ís Bie^  
 affiv èv OavÓTep tous irpocfipTas avrov. 12. ovkovv  
 eis tovto virepeivev. Xéyei yap 0 beos Tpv irXpypv  
 Tps aapKos avrov oti è^ avTÛv "Orav iraTa^  
 coatv tov iroi>éva éavTÛv, tote àiroXeÎTai Ta  
 irpó/iaTa Tps ircipvps- 13. avTOS Sè pdeXpaev  
 ovico iraffeiv eSei yap, iva citi Í^vXov irádp.  
 Ps. 22,40 Xéyei yap ô irpoc^prevcov èir' aviw- Qeial pou  
 Ps. 119,120; t //ç curo popÿaias, Kai' Ka0/jXa>aón pou  
 t Ûs aàpKcis, oti irovppevopévcov avvaycoyai èira-  
 la. 50, 6.7 véaTpaàv pot. 14. Kaï iráXiv Xéyei- TSov, rédeiKa  
 pou rov vürov eis pâariyas, Tas Sè aiayovas eis  
 pairiapara- to Sè irpocairôv pov è0>jKa ;>s arepeàv  
 irérvav.

OÛÒ' ÁV TTCüi frs, ou5' ;çf c, &V GL.

Za'h. 13, 6. 7  
 cf. Mt. 26, 31

Ps. 22,40

Ps. 119,120;

la. 50, 6.7



THE EPISTLE OF BARNABAS, v. 6-v. 14

flesh," endured 7. in order to fulfil the promise made to the fathers, and himself prepare for himself the new people and show while he was on earth that he himself will raise the dead and judge the risen. 8. Furthermore, while teaching Israel and doing such great signs and wonders he preached to them and loved them greatly ; 9. but when he chose out his own Apostles who were to preach his Gospel, he chose those who were iniquitous above all sin to show that "he came not to call the righteous but sinners,"—then he manifested himself as God's Son. 10. For if he had not come in the flesh men could in no way have been saved by beholding him ; seeing that they have not the power when they look at the sun to gaze straight at its rays, though it is destined to perish, and is the work of his hands. 11. So then the Son of God came in the flesh for this reason, that he might complete the total of the sins of those who persecuted his prophets to death. 12. For this cause he endured. For God says of the chastisement of his flesh that it is from them : "When they shall smite their shepherd, then the sheep of the flock shall be destroyed." 13. And he was willing to suffer thus, for it was necessary that he should suffer on a tree, for the Prophet says of him, "Spare my soul from the sword" and, "Nail my flesh, for the synagogues of the wicked have risen against me." 14. And again he says: "Lo, I have given my back to scourges, and my cheeks to strokes, and I have set my face as a solid rock."

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

### VI

- t«. 50, 8,9 1- "Ore ovv eTroirjirev Trpv èvToXtfn, *ri Xé/ec* ; Tif  
 ó Kpivópevo*f poi*; aVTlcTTi/Tco por rj nç ó àiKatov-  
 pevof *poi*; eyyitraTW το) Traiδi Kvpiov. 2. ovai, vpîv,  
 oti vpeîf TrâfTeç ζç tpaTiov iraXawdrirTeaGe, Kai  
 errijf Karajàyerai vpâf. Kai ttÛXiv Xeyei o -rrpo-  
 is. 28,16, èirei &>ç XÍ0o<j la"xyð<; èréOp eic (t v v t pi/3i j v -  
 »fs3°m 'ISov, épj3aXcó eic ra 0epéXia 'S.tcov VÍOov 1toXv-  
 l Pet. 2, 6 TeXff) ζkXsktov, ζKpoycoviaîov, èvTipov. 3. ζIra Tl  
 is. 28,16 Xéyei; Kai oç eXitioei stt' avTov!\*ipjaeTa.l eZç tov  
 alcòva. èiri Xi0ov ovv rjps>v y ζXttis; prj yevoiTO'  
 àXX' ζirei èv la-^v'i TeOeiKev ttjv aápKa aùrov  
 is. 50,7 Kvpiof. Xéyei yáp' Kai è0pKe pe ζig aTepeàv  
 Ps. iit TTSTpav. 4. Xéyei 3è TraXiv ó AÍ0ov  
 22- 24 ov ÛTreBoKipaaav oi oiKoSoftovvTes, ovtoç éyevrj0p  
 elf KecjjaXpv ycoviaf. Kai iráXiv Xéyef Aúriy  
 ècTTiv p Tjpépa rj peyaXrj Kai Gavpa(TT>'j, rjv ÎttoÎ-  
 T)aev ò Kvptof. 5. aTrXovaTepov vp,îv ypà<f>co,  
 "va cwir/Te' eyi> irepí-^rripa Trj f àyàir^f vfuòv.  
 nsTá'8' G- ti ovv Xéyei TráXiv ò TrpocpijTr/f; Hepiéa^ev p,e  
 avvayaiyp Trov'ppevop.évcov, èKVKXwaàn pe còcrei  
 Ps. 21, io peXicraai Kpplov. Kai' 'Eîri tov IpaTiaov pov  
 èfiaXov KXr/pov. 7. èv aapKt ovv avTov péX-  
 XovTof <pavepova0ai Kai Tràa^etv, \*7poe<pavepéc>0p  
 to 7rà0of. Xeyei yap o TrpocppTT!; èiri tov 'la-parfX-  
 is. 3, 9, io, Oóai ttj tyvxii avTcòv, oti jSe^ovXevvTai ^ovXpv  
 2,12 TTOvpjav Ka0 eavTcòv, elirovTef Arj<rwpev tov

l òs eXiriceî èir\* avTov G, ó Triareùæy els aurón KCL  
 probably owing to the influence of the LXX. eKiriaet jg  
 covered by the following eK-rris.

VI

1. When therefore he made the commandment <sup>Proofs</sup> what does he say? "Who is he that comes into court <sup>p^^</sup> 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

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

- Exod. 33, Lev. 20,24 *SìKaiðv, ore Bútr^ppcrros ppiív ètrriv. 8. τί, Xéyee ó «XXoç rrpó^prps Mcoveri}ç avTûîç; T3ov, ráBe Xéyete júpeos ó deos' JàitréXdare eis rpv yrjv rpv áyadpv, pv ζόφιοαεν júpeos rw 'Aftpaapi jtai 'liraa/t Kai 'laetá/3, jtai KaraKXppovopipaare avrpv, ypv péovcra v yaXa Kai pieXe. 9. τί, ζε Xéyei p yvwcris ; /ζadere. eXrreaare, tfr/criv,l erri roi' èv aapKi peèXXovra ipavepovadai vpiiv 'ipcrOvv. ávdpwrros yàp yp èariv rràa^ovcra- árho uiporr-eijitou yàp rps yijs p rrXàais rov 'ASàp, èyevero.*
- Exod. 33, 3 *10. ré ovv Xéyee- Eic rpv ypv rpv áyadpv, ypv péovaav yaXa Kai piéXi; evXoypros ó KÚpeos ppáiv, àðeX<j>oi, o irodo'av Kai vonv dépievos èv ppiiv rwv Kpvjc'wv avrov- Xéyee yàp à rrpoipprps rrapa-jBdXpv Kvpeov- ris vopae, el /ζp erodios Kae èrrecr-rp/iti>v Kai àyaTTitàn rov Kvptov avrov; 11. erree àvafcatvécras ppeàs èv rp àipétrei rwv àp,ap-nwv, èrhoipae v ppàs àWov rùirov, ws rraiZiww e%eev rpv y/rv/^pv, ws àv 8p àvaTrXaatrovros avrov pp.às. 12. Xéyei yàp p ypaÿp rrepì pp.wv, ws Xéyee rw viw- Ilocpawpiev Kar eiKova jtai KaO' ófoiówcrev ppiwv rov àvdpwrrov, koi ap%erw(rav rwv dppíwv rps yp); Kai rwv Trereivwv rov ovpavov Kai rwv lyfiúwv rps 9aλáaaps. Kai eirrev KÚpeos, ISwv to KoXov rfxáapia ppwv Av^aveade Kai rrXpdvvéade jtai -rrXppwcrare rpv ypv. ravra rrp'os "Túv víón. 13. -ráXev croe evióei^w, rrwv rrp'os i/P'às Xéyee.2 éevrépav rrXáaiv evr' éa-^árwv*
- Eph. 2, io; 4, 22 24 *10. ré ovv Xéyee- Eic rpv ypv rpv áyadpv, ypv péovaav yaXa Kai piéXi; evXoypros ó KÚpeos ppáiv, àðeX<j>oi, o irodo'av Kai vonv dépievos èv ppiiv rwv Kpvjc'wv avrov- Xéyee yàp à rrpoipprps rrapa-jBdXpv Kvpeov- ris vopae, el /ζp erodios Kae èrrecr-rp/iti>v Kai àyaTTitàn rov Kvptov avrov; 11. erree àvafcatvécras ppeàs èv rp àipétrei rwv àp,ap-nwv, èrhoipae v ppàs àWov rùirov, ws rraiZiww e%eev rpv y/rv/^pv, ws àv 8p àvaTrXaatrovros avrov pp.às. 12. Xéyei yàp p ypaÿp rrepì pp.wv, ws Xéyee rw viw- Ilocpawpiev Kar eiKova jtai KaO' ófoiówcrev ppiwv rov àvdpwrrov, koi ap%erw(rav rwv dppíwv rps yp); Kai rwv Trereivwv rov ovpavov Kai rwv lyfiúwv rps 9aλáaaps. Kai eirrev KÚpeos, ISwv to KoXov rfxáapia ppwv Av^aveade Kai rrXpdvvéade jtai -rrXppwcrare rpv ypv. ravra rrp'os "Túv víón. 13. -ráXev croe evióei^w, rrwv rrp'os i/P'às Xéyee.2 éevrépav rrXáaiv evr' éa-^árwv*
- c.en. i, 26 *10. ré ovv Xéyee- Eic rpv ypv rpv áyadpv, ypv péovaav yaXa Kai piéXi; evXoypros ó KÚpeos ppáiv, àðeX<j>oi, o irodo'av Kai vonv dépievos èv ppiiv rwv Kpvjc'wv avrov- Xéyee yàp à rrpoipprps rrapa-jBdXpv Kvpeov- ris vopae, el /ζp erodios Kae èrrecr-rp/iti>v Kai àyaTTitàn rov Kvptov avrov; 11. erree àvafcatvécras ppeàs èv rp àipétrei rwv àp,ap-nwv, èrhoipae v ppàs àWov rùirov, ws rraiZiww e%eev rpv y/rv/^pv, ws àv 8p àvaTrXaatrovros avrov pp.às. 12. Xéyei yàp p ypaÿp rrepì pp.wv, ws Xéyee rw viw- Ilocpawpiev Kar eiKova jtai KaO' ófoiówcrev ppiwv rov àvdpwrrov, koi ap%erw(rav rwv dppíwv rps yp); Kai rwv Trereivwv rov ovpavov Kai rwv lyfiúwv rps 9aλáaaps. Kai eirrev KÚpeos, ISwv to KoXov rfxáapia ppwv Av^aveade Kai rrXpdvvéade jtai -rrXppwcrare rpv ypv. ravra rrp'os "Túv víón. 13. -ráXev croe evióei^w, rrwv rrp'os i/P'às Xéyee.2 éevrépav rrXáaiv evr' éa-^árwv*
- Gen. 1,28 *10. ré ovv Xéyee- Eic rpv ypv rpv áyadpv, ypv péovaav yaXa Kai piéXi; evXoypros ó KÚpeos ppáiv, àðeX<j>oi, o irodo'av Kai vonv dépievos èv ppiiv rwv Kpvjc'wv avrov- Xéyee yàp à rrpoipprps rrapa-jBdXpv Kvpeov- ris vopae, el /ζp erodios Kae èrrecr-rp/iti>v Kai àyaTTitàn rov Kvptov avrov; 11. erree àvafcatvécras ppeàs èv rp àipétrei rwv àp,ap-nwv, èrhoipae v ppàs àWov rùirov, ws rraiZiww e%eev rpv y/rv/^pv, ws àv 8p àvaTrXaatrovros avrov pp.às. 12. Xéyei yàp p ypaÿp rrepì pp.wv, ws Xéyee rw viw- Ilocpawpiev Kar eiKova jtai KaO' ófoiówcrev ppiwv rov àvdpwrrov, koi ap%erw(rav rwv dppíwv rps yp); Kai rwv Trereivwv rov ovpavov Kai rwv lyfiúwv rps 9aλáaaps. Kai eirrev KÚpeos, ISwv to KoXov rfxáapia ppwv Av^aveade Kai rrXpdvvéade jtai -rrXppwcrare rpv ypv. ravra rrp'os "Túv víón. 13. -ráXev croe evióei^w, rrwv rrp'os i/P'às Xéyee.2 éevrépav rrXáaiv evr' éa-^árwv*

1 <pi;alv ííC CL Clem. Alex. om. N\*G.

\* AeTei CL(g), Kényi Kvpios X.

THE EPISTLE OF BARNABAS, vi. 7-vi. 13

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<sup>1</sup> 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

<sup>1</sup> 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.

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

Cf. ML  
19:30,  
20:16,  
Exod. 33, 8

ζTroírjaev. Xéyei èè Kvpto<ι> 'I8ov, iroiû Ta catara  
ó>ς; rà TTp'jítA. eif tovto ovv SKppv^ev ζ irpo-  
(jxriTrpr EicreXétare etç yrjv péovaav yáXa /caí péXi  
Kai KaraKupcevaare avrps. 14. i'Se ovv, ppeis  
ávaTreTrXáapeda, /caôà>ς; TràXiv èv éréptv Tcpcf/prp

Ezek.  
11, 19; 36, 26

Xéyer 'ISou, Xéyei Kvpio<ι>, è^eXâ> tovto/v, tov-  
recTTiv oiv 'Trpoe/SXeTrev to irvevpa Kvpiov, ras  
Xidívas Kapíáas Kai èpfiaXw aapKivas' oti avTi>ς;  
èv crapKi epeXXev ÿavepovcrdai Kai ΓΨ 'qp.LV

Ps. 43, 4

KaTOiKeiv. 15. vabs yap áyios, èibeXcfioi pov,  
T<ρ Kvpitp to KaTOIKpTppiov rjpvúv ri)ç KapSia<ι>  
16. Xéyei yap Kvpios iráXiv- Kaì èv t Ívi otpdrj-

Ps. 22, 23

aopai raí Kvπίcp t S> fje<ι> pov Kai bo^aa0rjaopai;  
Xéyei- 'Ei^opoXoy/jaopaí aoi èv éKKXrjrria àSèXcfiâv  
pov, Kai ^raXât croi ávápeaov éKKXpaiaf ayicov.

ovkovv rjpei<f èapev, ouç elcrpyayev eif Tpv ypv tqv  
àya3ìjV. 17. ti ovv to yáXa Kai to peXi; oti  
TcρSiTov to TraiSíov péXitTi, eiTa yáXaKTi Çowittoi-  
eiTav ovtcüs ovv Kai Tjpei.<ς; 11j iriaTei 11jί éirayye-  
Xia<ι> Kai t j> Xóycp jpooiroiouvpevoi ^r/aopev KaTa-  
KuptevovT&i Try; 7^ç. 18. TrpoeiprjKapevl ζe

Gen. 1,  
26, 28

éirávoi. Kai av^avéadoxrav Kai TrXpdvvea3a>aav  
Kai ápyeTwaav t S>v lydvwv. riç ovv ó Zvvapevos  
vvv apxptv dppiww 7] l^dviov rj ireTeiva/v tov  
ovpavov; aludáveadai yâp ζÿeiXopev, bn to  
áp^eiv èÇovtriaç èariv, "va t k èiriTa^at Kvpievap.  
19. et ovv ov yíverai tovto vvv, apa ppiv eíppKev,  
1101è' OTav Kai avToi TeXeicodcòpev KXypovopoi  
t t;j; SiadiKTjs Kvpiov yevéadai.

I Trpotip^iKafiiv K, irpoeipijKf CG, L omits the whole sentence.

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days he made a second creation ; and the Lord says, " See, I make the last things as the first." To this then the Prophet referred when he proclaimed, "Enter into a land flowing with milk and honey, and rule over it." 14. See then, we have been created afresh, as he says again in another Prophet, " See," saith the Lord, "I will take out from them" (that is those whom the Spirit of the Lord foresaw) "the hearts of stone and I will put in hearts of flesh." Because he himself was going to be manifest in the flesh and to dwell among us. 15. For, my brethren, the habitation of our hearts is a shrine holy to the Lord. 16. For the Lord says again, " And wherewith shall I appear before the Lord my God and be glorified?" He says, "I will confess to thee in the assembly of my brethren, and will sing to thee in the midst of the assembly of saints." We then are they whom he brought into the good land. 17. What then is the milk and the honey ? Because a child is first nourished with honey, and afterwards with milk. Thus therefore we also, being nourished on the faith of the promise and by the word, shall live and possess the earth. 18. And we have said above, "And let them increase and multiply and rule over the fishes." Who then is it who is now able to rule over beasts or fishes or the birds of heaven ? For we ought to understand that to rule implies authority, so that one may give commandments and have domination. 19. If then this does not happen at present he has told us the time when it will ;—when we ourselves also have been made perfect as heirs of the covenant of the Lord.

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

### VII

1. *Ovkovv vostre, rsKva ev<l>poavvr< ;, on rrávra ò KaXôç Kt/pioy rrpoe<f>avepa>aev rj/iiv, iva yv&pev, to Kara, rrávra evxapi<rrovvre<; oipeiXopev aiveiv.*
- ii Tim. 4,i 2. *el ovv ô uìð? rov θεov, an Κυριος Kai pieXXtov*  
 (i. rct. 4,5) *Kp[VçÏV Çûvras Kai veKpovs, erradev, 'iva p rrXrjyr)*  
*avrov ^worroirjcrp ■qp.cis' rriarevawpev, 'ori o yio<;*  
*rov ðeov ovk rjèvvaro rra&eiv ei p.rj Si rjpiâ<;.*
- Mt. 27, 3. *¿XAà Kai aravpa>ðeiv<; èrrortÇero oLei Kai xoXij.*  
 S4'4S *aKovcrare, ιτεÛç rrepi rovrov rreiftavépcokav oi*  
 Lev. 23,29 *itpels rov vaov. yeypappevrjs èvroXfjs' 'Oç av*  
*fjvrj vqcrrevcrp rpv vrjirreia, bavàrio è^oXeOpevOrj-*  
*crerai, èvereiXaro Kypios, èrrei Kai avros vrrep riov*  
*rpj-erépiov àpiipriûv epeXXev ro cuevas rov rrev-*  
*paros rrpoadyépeiv θvaiav, 'iva Kai à rvro<; o*  
*yevópevos èrri 'laaaK rov rrpocrevexðe.vTO<; erri ro*  
*dvaiaarypiov reXeaôp. 4. ri ovv Xéyei èv rà>*  
*rrpo<f>i']rrj ; Kai ipayerioerav rov rpàyon rov*  
*rrpo<rif>epop, evov rrj vrjareia vrrep rraerûv rû>v*  
*âpapritov. rrpocréxere ÛKpi/3ið<;- Kai ijiaýeraiaav*  
*oi ipepi povoi Trarre? rà evrepov arrXvrov p.era*  
*o^ov<;. 5. rrpàs ri ; èrreièrj èp,e vrrep àp.apnð)v*  
*p.eXXovra rov Xaov p.ov rov Kaivov rrpoa^epeiv*  
*rðv crâpKa p,ov p,éXXere rrorlÇeiv xpXrjV pierà*  
*ofouç, ipáyere vp.eiv<; povoi, rov Xaov vijirrevovros*  
*Kai Korropévov èrri crâKKOv Kai crroSov. ìva Oei^p,*  
*ori êeiv avrov rraðeiv vrr avriiv. 6. à èvereiXaro,*  
 Lev. 16,7.9 *rrporréxere' Xái/Bere Bvo rpàyon^ KaXovs Kai*  
*¿poiov; Kai rrpoadevýKare, Kai Xaj3éra> ò lepevs*  
*rov èva eiç oXoKavnopa vrrep aptapriiiv. 7. rov*



## THE EPISTLE OF BARNABAS, vn. i-vu.

### VII

1. Understand therefore, children of gladness, that the good Lord made all things plain beforehand to us, that we should know him to whom we ought to give thanks and praise for everything. 2. If then the Son of God, though he was the Lord and was "destined to judge the living and the dead" suffered in order that his wounding might make us alive, let us believe that the Son of God could not suffer except for our sakes. 3. But moreover when he was crucified "he was given to drink vinegar and gall." Listen how the priests of the Temple foretold this. The commandment was written, "Who-soever does not keep the fast shall die the death," and the Lord commanded this because he himself was going to offer the vessel of the spirit as a sacrifice for our sins, in order that the type established in Isaac, who was offered upon the altar, might be fulfilled. 4. What then does he say in the Prophet? "And let them eat of the goat which is offered in the fast for all their sins." Attend carefully,— "and let all the priests alone eat the entrails unwashed with vinegar." 5. Why? Because you are going "to give to me gall and vinegar to drink" when I am on the point of offering my flesh for my new people, therefore you alone shall eat, while the people fast and mourn in sackcloth and ashes. To show that he must suffer for them. 6. Note what was commanded: "Take two goats, goodly and alike, and offer them, and let the priest take the one as a burnt offering for sins." 7. But what are they to do with the other? "The

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

- SioI'S'*       $\Lambda$ va <sup>TM</sup> *iroT^awatv* ; 1 'ETTi/raTapaTo?, *y*r/aiv, *¿*  
*els. TTpoae^ere*, ttûjç ó tutto? *tov Ijctov cj>ai*-  
*povrai-* 8. *Kat, epvKTuaaTe iravres Kat, Kara-*  
*KevrrjraTe Kai Treptffere to -eptov to kokklvov irepl*  
*tjjv «reçtaX^u avTov, Kai ovTms e¿'?* *ep-ppov [SXpðrjTOi.*  
*Kaï jrrav yévrjTat ovTiw;*, àyei o *fiacrraÇmi tov*  
*Tráyov e¿?* *Trv èppov Kai àtfiaipeî to eptov Kai*  
*èiriTìpatv avrò èm jpvvavov to Xeyópevov pavijX,2\**  
*ov Kai Tovs /SXaaTOvs etw0apev Trpwyetv èv tí|*  
*'Xtiipa evpiaKOVTÉ<f eira póvrv; Tíjs pa^ovs, oi*  
*Kapsol yXvKels elatv. 9. ti ovv tovto sciv ;*  
 Lev. 16, s      7T/3ocréyeT6- *Tòu pèv eva èirl to OvataaTpptov, tov*  
*Sè eva èiriKaTtipaTOv, Kai oti tov eiriKaTapaTov*  
*éaTetfiavwpévov ; éiret8rj oijTOVTai avTov tote ttj*  
 Rev. i, 7. is      *rjpépa tov Troér/py e^ovra tov kokkíov irept Trp>*  
*aápKa Kai èpovatv Oùy outo? éaTiv, ov ttots*  
*77hèf? éaTavpwaapev é^ov6evrj; aavTe^ Kat, KaTa-*  
*KcvTpaavTef Kai èp/TTTvaavTeç ;4 ¿.Xt^w? outo? rjv,*  
*ó t Ót 6 véyTvv éavTOV vtov 0eov elvat. 10. ttw?*  
 Lev. 16. 7      *yàp opoto^ ¿Kelvca ; 6í? tovto opotow; Tovq Tpayovs,*  
*KaXovs, laovs, iva, OTav iða>atv avTov tote ep%o-*  
*p,evov, ÈKTrXaywatv èirl Ty op,otoTrjTi tov Tpayov.*  
*ovkovv ¿Se tov TV77OV tov p.eXovTo<; iraaÿeiv*  
*'Ir/aov. 11. tí 8é, oti to eptov p¿aov twv*  
*aKavOwv Tt0éaatv ; tutto? éaTiv tov 'Ir/aov Trj*  
*eKKXrjata Oép,evos, oti o? éav 0eXr/ to eptov àpat,*  
*to k Ókkivov, 8eî avTov tt0XXA 7ra0etv 8tà to eivat,*

1 ITOIT)GW(7 tí, TTOirjGOijGill' CG.

2 PaX^ Paxñ i

8 ^>axovs KG, paxiis C. rris paxovs can scarcely be right, but in face of the evidence can hardly be rejected.

4 t^ov6ev[]ffa/i,tv tfj.'mvbaym K.

## THE EPISTLE OF BARNABAS, vii. 7-vti. II

other/ he says, "is accursed." Notice how the type of Jesus is manifested : 8. "And do ye all spit on it, and goad it, and bind the scarlet wool about its head, and so let it be cast into the desert." And when it is so done, he who takes the goat into the wilderness drives it forth, and takes away the wool, and puts it upon a shrub which is called Rachél,<sup>1</sup> of which we are accustomed to eat the shoots when we find them in the country : thus of Rachél alone is the fruit sweet. 9. What does this mean ? Listen : " the first goat is for the altar, but the other is accursed," and note that the one that is accursed is crowned, because then " they will see him " on that day with the long scarlet robe " down to the feet " on his body, and they will say, " Is not this he whom we once crucified and rejected and pierced and spat upon ? Of a truth it was he who then said that he was the Son of God." 10. But how is he like to the goat ? For this reason : "the goats shall be alike, beautiful, and a pair," in order that when they see him come at that time they may be astonished at the likeness of the goat. See then the type of Jesus destined to suffer. 11. But why is it that they put the wool in the middle of the thorns ? It is a type of Jesus placed in the Church, because whoever wishes to take away the scarlet wool must suffer much because the thorns

<sup>1</sup> 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 (paxçs = a brier, and sometimes a wild-olive, and = 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 Bendel Harris.

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

<fjo/3epav TTjv atcavdav, Kai OXiftevra Kypievaai avrov. ovra>, ŷrjaiv, oi 0éXovré\$ pe iSeív Kai a^aa0ai pov rijs ^aaiXeias ðfyeiXovaiv OXifiévre; Kai ira0¿vres Xafteív pe.

### Vili

Num. 19

1. Tipa Sè SoKeíre tvttov eívai, ori èvréraXrai rù> "iaparfX irpoaiftepeív 8<ipaXiv rovs avopas, èv oif elaiiv ápapríai réXeiai, Kai aipà^avras Kara-Kaieiv, Kai aïpeiv rare rpv arroSov rraiðia Kai fiáXXeiv els áyyrj Kai rrepni0évai ro èpiov rà kokkivov èni ÇvXov (18e rràXiv à tvttos o tov aravpoîi Kai rà èpiovto kokkivov) Kai to vaaarrov, Kai ovicüs pavrlÇeiv ra rraièia Ka0' 'éva tov Xaov, "va àyviÇaivrai àro rwv àpapriâ>v ; 2. voeíre, ττúλς èv airXorriri Xeyei vp.iv. o poa^oi ô 'liyaouç èariv, oi 7póa-<j>épovre<; avSpes àpapraiXoi oi TTpoeveyKavrei avrov èrri rr/v a<f>ayrjv. ena ovKeri avðpes, oiiKeri ápaprwXúv r) Bó^a.l 3. oí pavriÇovres TraiSeç oi evayyeXiaàpevoí r/pìv rpv a<f>e<rìv rà>v àpapri&v Kai rov ayviapov ríji Kapðias, ois eScoKev rov evayyeXiov rpv è^ovaiav (ovaIV SeKiiSvo els paprvpiov rô>v <f>vXâ>v on SeKaðvo ÷vXaï rov "iaparps), els ro K-qpvaeeiv. 4. ðià ri ðè rpeis iraiðses oi pavrlÇovres ; els paprvpiov 'Afipaàp, 'iaaiÎK, 'laKai/3, on ovroi peyaXoi rà> 0e<j>. 5. ori Se rò èpiov erri rò ÇvXov ; ori ¶

1 eira . . . 8ofa om. L.

THE EPISTLE OF BARNABAS, vn. U-vm. 5

are terrible and he can gain it only through pain. Thus he says, "those who will see me, and attain to my kingdom must lay hold of me through pain and suffering."

VIII

1. But what do you think that it typifies, that the commandment has been given to Israel that the men in whom sin is complete offer a heifer and slay it and burn it, and that boys then take the ashes and put them into vessels and bind scarlet wool on sticks (see again the type of the Cross and the scarlet wool) and hyssop, and that the boys all sprinkle the people thus one by one in order that they all be purified from their sins? 2. Observe how plainly he speaks to you. The calf is Jesus; the sinful men offering it are those who brought him to be slain. Then there are no longer men, no longer the 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.

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

*ftaaiXela T^aoû ζιττ̄ ^vXov,1 Kaī oti ol eXiri^ovTei; ζιf' avrov ÇyaovTai etç tov aiûva. 6. èia ti èè afta to èpiov Kaī to vaaatirov; oti èv Ty jüaaiXela avToû ypepai èaovTai Trovypaī Kaī pvirapai, èv alç r)peîs aa>6r)aopeða' oti Kaī ò àXyûv aapKa èià tov pvTTOv tov vaavrrov tonai. 7. Kaī èià tovto ovtoç yevopeva ÿpiv pév èaTiv jpavepá, eKeivots èè aKOTEivá, oti ovk i'jKOvaav jtovrp Kvpiov,*

### IX

1. Aeyet yàp TràXiv Trepì t̄jv wtiiov, τtwç Trept-eTepev r)psv τtv Kapèiav. Xéyet Kvpioç èv Tip irpoiftyTy Eic ùkoljv j̄t Íov VTr>)Kovaàn pov. Kai is. ss, 13 τtûXlv Xéyet' Akot) aKovaovTat oí TroppwOev, jer. 4,4 â ètroiriaa yvdiaovTat. Kai' \nepiTr'j6r)Te, Xéyet Kvpiot;, toç Kapèiav vpéov. 2. Kai TtàXiv Xéyet-jer. 7, 2.3 "AKOve 'iapai)X, oti Taèe Xéyet Kvpiov à theoç; aov. Ps.33(34),13; Kai TtàXiv to TTvevpa Kvpiov TTpoifirjTevei'2 Tlç Exod, 15,26 jaTlv ó dèXiov Çrjaat elt tov aiûva; ciKoy ζkov-aaTin TTjs (jüoviyi tov Traièof pov. 3. Kai τtoXiv ls. 1, 2 Xéyet' "AKOve ovpave, Kai èvtùTiçov yrj, oti Kvptο<; èXàXrjaev TavTa eic papTvpiov. Kai iraXiv Xeyei' U. 1, io 'Ajcvaate Xoyov Kvpiov, ap^ovTei; tov Xaov roj>- la. 40, a tov. Kai TràXiv Xéyet' 'AKOvaaTe, TéKva, ftoð)VTO<i èv TT) èptjpip. OVKOVV TTepiépepev r)πά>v t hç ζ«ροὰç, "va aKovaavrei Xoyov TriaTevaiopev 47/z.eiç. 4. àXXà Kai rj TrepìTopp, èip' y TreiroiOaatv, KaTripypyral. TrepìTopàp! yàp eippKev ov aapK0<; yevTidjvai' àXXà Trapéftriaav, oti àyyeXoç Trovypo^

1 4ÚA0V K, ivÀy CS. 2 Kai iraKm. . .

GL, om. SC.

## THE EPISTLE OF BARNABAS, v̄m. 5-1X. 4

dom of Jesus is on the wood,<sup>1</sup> 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 circum he circumcised our hearts; for the Lord says in the CISIOW 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."

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

- Jer. 4, s. 4 *ἐρό<|ifev avTov<f. 5. Xéyei irpôç aùrouûç. T<f8e Xéyei Kvpioi; ζ̄ θεο<; v/imv (&>8e evρία/cto évToXrjv)' Mt) <T7recept|Te ζ̄ir <iKav0a,i<i, TrepitppOpTe τ<5 Kvpiεp*
- Dent, io, 16 *vwv. /cal ti Xeyei; Y[epiTpr;0pre Tr/v trKXppo-Kapbiav vpMV, Kai tov TπάpYXov vpάáv ov (Jk Xi q-*
- Jer. 0,25. 26 *pvveiTe. Xañe TraXiv láou, \eyei Kvpiof, Travra ra e0vT] aTrepirppra ciKpofvmiáv, ζ̄ 8è Xaoç oupoç ζ̄TrepÎTî^TOç Kaphías. 6. «XA? èpei<r Kat pipv 'n-εprreT/j.rjTai o Xaos ειç atppayîaa. aXXa Kai iras S.vpos Kai "Apa,y]r Kai Trapreç oί ίεpeίf tüv ειδd>Xo>v. âpa ovv kiiksivoi ζ̄k τiς Siadr/Kip; avTÔiv eiaív; áXXa Kai oί AlyvTTTioi èv Trepitopq eiaív. 7. p.á0eTe ovv, reKva ayá-reys, Trepι iravrcov irXovaiw^, ori 'AfBpaáp., ττlocÛτοç TrepιropAjv 8ovç, èv TTvevpari irpofiXityas ειç jov lrjaovv TTeπιere-p.ev, 'Xaftutv Tpiôxv ypap,pMTO>v Soy/iara. 8. Xeyet yàp- Kai Trepι épepev 'A/Bpaàp, èK tov oikov avrov àvSpas SeKaoKTa) Kai TptaKocriov<;. rτç ovv p è00eíaa avrât ,yvûai<;; p.á0eTe, oti tovç SeKa-okti> Tπά>TOV<;, Kai 8iaarppa irotnjaas Xeyei TpiaKoiouç. to 8eKaoKTζ̄> ε̄ Sζ̄Ka, rj oktoi èyeis 'It|tovv. oti 8è ó oravpôç èv Tip Tav -pp-eXXev èλeiv rpv yápv, Xéyei Kai tovç TpiaKocriovi;. èi)Xoi ovv tov pev Ir/aovv èv τοί? Zvaiv ypap-p.aaiν, Kai èv rζ̄> évi tov aravpov. 9. oléev o Tpv épictfVT0V 8(üpeáv ti)ç 8i8a^i)ç aiiTov Oépevoç èv •ppâv. ovSels yvpiTKOTepov èp,a0ev àrr èp.ov Xoyov a>' i'»,] oti à^ioi èaTe vpei<;.*

^2?n'



THE EPISTLE OF BARNABAS, ix. 4-ix. 9

was misleading them. 5. He says to them, "Thus saith the Lord your God" (here I find a commandment), "Sow not among thorns, be circumcised to your Lord." And what does he say? "Circumcise the hardness of your heart, and stiffen not your neck." Take it again: "Behold, saith the Lord, all the heathen are uncircumcised in the foreskin, but this people is uncircumcised in heart." 6. But you will say, surely the people has received circumcision as a seal? Yes, but every Syrian and Arab and all priests of the idols have been circumcised; are then these also within their <sup>1</sup> 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." <sup>2</sup> 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 <sup>1</sup> (= ten) and <sup>H</sup> (= 8)—you have Jesus <sup>3</sup>—and because the cross was destined to have grace in the <sup>T</sup> he says "and three hundred."<sup>4</sup> 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.

<sup>1</sup> *l.e.* of the Jews.

<sup>2</sup> In Greek, which expresses numerals by letters, this is <sup>T</sup><sup>I</sup><sup>H</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Because <sup>I</sup><sup>H</sup> are in Greek the first letters of the word Jesus.

<sup>4</sup> The Greek symbol for 300 is <sup>T</sup>.

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

X

- Lev. ii: 1. "Οτι, δε *ei-rrev* Οὐ <βάρεα-θε xp̄ipov  
 Dpitt 14 *ovte aeTOV ovte* ὄψιν τῶν ὄψιν Κόπακα ὄψιν  
*irávra ly^Bvv, ôç ovk eyei Xeirtoa èv èavrât, rpta*  
*eXaftev èv ry avvéaec Soypara. 2. Trépas yé toi*
- Deut 4, i. 5 *Xéyei aUTOÎç èv τό) Aevrepovopiy Kai diaθÿ<jo-*  
*pai irpos tov Xadn tovtov rà diKaia>parâ pov.*  
*apa onv ovk effTtv èvToXy Oeov to py Tpcoyeiv,*  
*Miovays Sè èv irvevpaTi èXaXyaev. 3. to onv*  
*^oipiov Tnpôç tovto elirev ov KoXXy0ÿ<ry, ÿyaiv,*  
*àvOpaxrhois toiovtois, arrivés elaiiv opoioi yoiptovl*  
*TovTectTiv orav airaTaXwaiv, èiriXav0avovTai tov*  
*Kvpiov, OTav 5è vaTepovvTai, èrriyivaiaKOvaiv tov*  
*Kvpiov, >ç Kai o 'Xp̄ipos OTav Tpaiyei tov Kvpiov ovk*  
*oiSev, OTav uè rreivâ Kpavyà^ei, Kai Xaftàtv ttoXiv*  
*aiwirâ. 4. OùSè <j>áyn tov àeTov ovSè tov o^vttts-*  
*pov ov8è tov iKTÍva ov8è tov KopaKa- ov py, <pyaiv,*  
*KoXXy0ÿyay ov8è opoia>0yay àv0piirrhois toiovtois,*  
*oiTives ovk oi8aaiv èià kottov Kai iSpâiTOS iropiÇ-*  
*eiv èavTois Tyv Tpoÿyv, àXXà âpTrâÇovaiiv rà*  
*aXXoTpia èv avopia avTtôn Kai èiriTyrovtriv >ç èv*  
*çKepaioavvy TrepitrapovvTes Kai 'TrepitSXerrovrai,*  
*Tiva èKèvaicriv Sià Tyv rrXeove^iav, às Kai rà*  
*opvea TavTa pova éavrhois ov irpoiÇei Tyv Tpo<f>ijv,*  
*àXXà àpyà Ka0ypeva èK^yTeî, tims aXXoTpias*  
*aapKas Karacjiayy, ovra Xoipà Ty irovypla, avTww.*
- Lev. ii, io 5. Kai ov <l>ayy, ÿyaiv, apvpaivav ov8è ttoXv-  
 Troða ovSè cryTTiav ov py, <f>yaiv, ópoio)0ycry  
 KoXXatpevos 2 àvOpdnrhois toiovtois, oitivss eis réXos

1 K, x<4po^S CG, ' KoAAw^ves GL, om. KC.

## X

1. Now, in that Moses said, "Ye shall not eatTheFood-swine, nor an eagle, nor a hawk, nor a crow, nor any fish which has no scales on itself," he included three doctrines in his understanding. 2. Moreover he says to them in Deuteronomy, "And I will make a covenant of my ordinances with this people." So then the ordinance of God is not abstinence from eating, but Moses spoke in the spirit. 3. He mentioned the swine for this reason: you shall not consort, he means, with men who are like swine, that is to say, when they have plenty they forget the Lord, but when they are in want they recognise the Lord, just as the swine when it eats does not know its master, but when it is hungry it cries out, and after receiving food is again silent. 4. "Neither shalt thou eat the eagle nor the hawk nor the kite nor the crow." Thou shalt not, he means, join thyself or make thyself like to such men, as do not know how to gain their food by their labour and sweat, but plunder other people's property in their iniquity, and lay wait for it, though they seem to walk in innocence, and look round to see whom they may plunder in their covetousness, just as these birds alone provide no food for themselves, but sit idle, and seek how they may devour the flesh of others, and become pestilent in their iniquity. 5. "Thou shalt not eat," he says, "the lamprey nor the polypus nor the cuttlefish." Thou shalt not, he means, consort with or become like such men who are utterly ungodly and who are already condemned

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

- eijii? ζcre/3eîç Kai KeKpipévoi i)8i) τϛ davárm, ζç  
 Kai Taura ra l^Oú8ia póνα érrîKarápapa èν τç3  
 (3v6ù vr)%eTai, py KoXup^Sivra ζç τ ζ Xoirrá,  
 ζXX èν TT] yíj xani τov (3v6ov KaroiKeî. 6. àXXa  
 /caí Tôi> 8acrúrho8a ou <f>ây. 7pðç t l; ou pi)  
 yévy, rpTjrriv, -raido<f>f)ópoi ou8è ôpoi(üðr)cry roîç  
 τoioútoîç, ori ô' Xciyoîèç kut èvtaνTov irXeoveKTel  
 Trjv à<§o8eucriv otra yap èri) Çij, **naavrat** <=Xel  
 Tpvrras. 7. ζXXà ou8è Tyv üaivav <páyv ou py,  
 (fiyaív, yevrj /zoi^oç ou8e <p6opevs ou8è opoiaiffyay  
 Toîç τoioúτοίτ. rrpòι t l; oti to Çâ>ov TOVTO Trap'  
 èviauTÒv áXXáaaei Tyv cjiúcriv Kai rrore pèν dppev,  
 Lev. 11.29 Trorè èè 6ÿXu ylveTaL. 8. ζXXà Kai Trjv yaXfjv  
 épíarjaev KaXws. ou pi), tpr/ai», yevqdfp; τoLovtos,  
 oíouç ÛKouopev avopíav TroLovvTas èν τô) aTopaTL  
 8l' aKadapaíav, ou8è KoXXi)oi)crp raeç ζKa0apTOLÇ  
 Tali Tl/v ðvoptav rrotovaaii èν τδ) CTopari. τo  
 yàp tppov TovTO τô) arópaTi Kvet. 9. rrepi pev  
 τü>v ^pcopárcov Xa^cov Mon'cri]? Tpia 8ôypara  
 ovTtoi èν rrvεvpaTi èXàXi)aeν ol 8è kü t' èi Tidvpiav  
 TÎji capKOi ζ)ç Trepí /Bpcoaewf rrpoeèè^avTO. 10.  
 Xapfiávei <5e τwv aÛTÛrv Tpiâ>v SoypaTtov yvcoaiν  
 Pa.1,1 Aave/S Kai Xèyei- WaKapios ávrjρ, çç o Ûk  
 èrropevffp èν /BovXij àaefitòv, Kaðèoi Kai oí indues  
 •KopevovTai èν aKOTEi eli τ ζ Kai èν ζ8a>  
 àpapTwXwv o Ûk èaTT), Kaffèbi ol 8oK0vvres fyofteî-  
 aOat τov Kvpiov àpapTavovaiv &ç o ^oίpoc, Kai  
 èrri Kadé8pav Xoip&v o Ûk èKilôtaev, KaOibi Ta  
 rrereivà KaOrjpeva eli ápirayrjv. è^STe TeXeíwi

THE EPISTLE OF BARNABAS, x, 5-x. io

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. Moreover,<sup>1</sup> thou shalt not eat the rabbit. For what reason? Because thou shalt not, he means, become a corruptor of the young, or become like such men; for the rabbit multiplies during every year its retirements by the way; for it has as many burrow-holes as it lives years. 7. Moreover thou shalt not eat the hyaena.<sup>2</sup> Thou shalt not, he means, become an adulterer or a corruptor nor shalt thou become like such men. For what reason? Because this animal in every other year changes its nature and becomes now male now female. 8. Moreover Moses abhors the weasel rightly. Thou shalt not, he says, become such a person—such men as we hear committing lawlessness in their mouths because of uncleanness; nor shalt thou cleave to women who are unclean and who commit lawlessness in their mouths. For this animal gives birth with its mouth. 9. Moses received three doctrines concerning food and thus spoke of them in the Spirit; but they <sup>The</sup> received them as really referring to food, owing to <sup>\*rihmatlon</sup> the lust of their flesh. <sup>Psalter</sup> 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 scorers” like the birds who sit and wait for their prey. Grasp fully

<sup>1</sup> The translation of sections 6-5 is editorial. Lake gave the Old Latin version. <sup>\*</sup> This prohibition is not in the O.T.

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Lev. 11, 3;  
Deut. 14, 6

*Kai irepl rjς; (ipómem<sup>^</sup>. 11. ττοXiv Xéyei Ma>i<T7}ς-  
<I>àye<τ0e iràv 8iyriXovv Kai papvKζ >pevov. ri Xeyei;  
ori riJV Tpo<f>rp> Xap{3àvm> olàev τov TπέcfiovTa avrov  
Kai 67r' avrà) avaitavopevo<ι ev<f>paíveaθai Soksi.  
KaXav; eiirev /BXeiraty rpv èvroXr/v. ri ovv Xéyei;  
KoXXâade pera ràtv <ι>o/3ovpéva>v ròv Kvpiov, pera  
τ S>v peXerayvrm> â èXaφiov ZtáaraXpa paparos èv  
ri} Kapèta, pera rwv XaXovvraiv rà SiSatcópara  
Kvpiov Kai rijpovvrcov, pera rwv elSóraiv, ori rj  
peXeri) èariv 'epyov evfypoavwvp; Kai àvapapvKta-  
pévww rov Xóyov Kvpiov. ri Se τo 8v)^rjXovv; ori  
ó òhcatos Kai èv rovrai τo3 Kocrpip irepiitarel Kai  
ròv àyiov aliava èK<sup>^</sup>é<sup>^</sup>eraí. fiXeirere, ττ<5ς èvopo-  
ffértprev M<u v (t t) s KaXws. 12. àXXà iródev èKelvov;  
ravra voíjaai rj avviévai; ppeK 8è StKaicov voi)-  
aavTes τ 0<ι; èvroXàs XaXovpev, d>ς; tftfèX-pcevv ó  
Kvpios. 8tà τovτo Trepíerefj-ev ras aKoàs rjπüv Kai  
ras Kapüas, 'iva avvtlàpev raína.*

## XI

1. ZrjTrj<ra>pev Sé, el èpéXpaev τ<jj KVpiw irpo-  
(ftavepiàaaí. irepl τov véaros Kai rrepi rov aravrov.  
irepl pèv rov v8aro<ι; yéyparrrai èrti ròv 'laparjX,  
irà><sup>^</sup> τo (Sdirriapa rò <f>epov àýeaiν àpapriüv ov  
prj irpoaSe<sup>^</sup>ovrai,, àXX' eavrois olKodoprj<rovaTV.  
Jer. 2,12. ia 2. Xéyei yàp ζ Tpo<bi>Tip' "EKarpdi, oúpavé, Kai  
èirl Tovrcp irXelov cj>pi,^aTa> p yp, ori 8vo Kai  
irovr/pà èirolrprev ó X«οç ovροç- èpe èyKaréXi/irov,

## THE EPISTLE OF BARNABAS, x. 10-xi. 2

the doctrines concerning food. 11. Moses says again, "Eat of every animal that is cloven hoofed and ruminant." What does he mean? That he who receives food knows him who feeds him, and rests on him and seems to rejoice. Well did he speak with regard to the commandment. What then does he mean? Consort with those who fear the Lord, with those who meditate in their heart on the meaning of the word which they have received, with those who speak of and observe the ordinances of the Lord, with those who know that meditation is a work of gladness, and who ruminate on the word of the Lord. But what does "the cloven hoofed" mean? That the righteous both walks in this world and looks forward to the holy age. See how well Moses legislated. 12. But how was it possible for them to understand or comprehend these things? But we having a righteous understanding of them announce the commandments as the Lord wished. For this cause he circumcised our hearing and our hearts that we should comprehend these things.

### XI

1. But let us enquire if the Lord took pains to Baptism 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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- TriyyTjv Kai ζavrai; wpv^av fioldpov Oavarov,  
 la. 16,1-2 3. Mi) trérpa ep-qpo; èartv to opoç to àytón pav  
 ^,tvà; èaeade yàp m; rrereivov voaaoi àvmrapevoi  
 voaatcv; à<f>ppr;pevot. 4. Kai tráXiv Xeyet o Trpo-  
 is. 45, 2. 3 'É7(;) rropevaopat epirpoadèn aov Kai oprj  
 opaXita Kai TrvXa; yaKKa; avvTpv^o Kat po^Xovs  
 aiBrfpov; avyKkáato, Kai δ(óaa> aot (fyaavpovs  
 aKoretvov; , áiroKpvtfiow'; , aopárov; , iva yvwatv  
 lb. 33,10-18 ori éyζb Kvpto<; ó Θεός;. 5. Kai- KaTotKrprets ev  
 ú-^r/Xw attriXaitp trérpa; la^ypà;. Ka'f rò vBtap  
 avroû rriarov\* fiaaiXéa pera Só^ij; oifreaûe, Kat rj  
 Ýv%q vpiav peXerrpret <pó/3ov Kvpiov. 6. Kat  
 Pa. i, 3-6 rráXtv èv aXXw 'n-po<j>rjTr/ Xéyer Kai. èarat o  
 ravra itoiÚv ζς to ζvXov to TrecfiVTevpevon trapa  
 t Àς SiefoSouç Ttav vSárcov, ô tov Kapirov avroû  
 Bcôaet èv Katpâ> avroû, Kai to <J>vXXov avrov ovk  
 atropvijaeTat, Kai rravra, oaa àv rrotfj, KarevoSto-  
 Orjaerat. 7. oi% ovra); oí àae^eî; , ov\ ovrco; , ζXX  
 rj <ζ; ò ^vov; , ov èKplirret ô avepo; atro irpoatarrov  
 t ^ς yû<; . Sta tovto ovk ávaarrjaovrat áae;3et<; ev  
 Kptaet ovèè àpapTaiXoi èv ^ovfj SiKattov, ori  
 ytvcoaKei Kvpto; óδòv StKatov, Kai 0809 aaeftow  
 àiroXetrat. 8. atadàveade, itcòs to vBatp Kai tov  
 aravpov ζitl to avrò &ptaev. tovto yap \eyef  
 paKaptot, ôi ètri ròv aravpov èXirtaavres Kare-  
 firjaav el; rò vBtop, ori ròv pèv ptaóðv Xeyet ev  
 Katpto ainov- róre, <j>T)áiv, ζTroBcôaco. vvv δè 8  
 Xéyet' rà <j>vWa ovk aTropvijaerai, tovto Xeyef  
 ori Tráv pfjpa, o èàv è^eKevaerat è% vptàn Stà tov  
 arópaTo; vpà>v èv iriaret Kai áyairp, carat et<j  
 èTtiarpo<pr>v Kai ekirtBa rroWot;. 9. Kai TraXtv  
 crepo; 7tpo<^?jT7)ç Xéyei. Kai rjv r) rjv tov laKio/S  
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dug for themselves a cistern of death. 3. Is my holy mountain Sinai a desert rock? For ye shall be as the fledgling birds, fluttering about when they are taken away from the nest." 4. And again the Prophet says, "I will go before you and I will make mountains level, and I will break gates of brass, and I will shatter bars of iron, and I will give thee treasures of darkness, secret, invisible, that they may know that I am the Lord God." 5. And, "Thou shalt dwell in a lofty cave of a strong rock.? And, "His water is sure, ye shall see the King in his glory, and your soul shall meditate on the fear of the Lord." 6. And again he says in another Prophet, "And he who does these things shall be as the tree, which is planted at the partings of the waters, which shall give its fruit in its season, and its leaf shall not fade, and all things, whatsoever he doeth, shall prosper. 7. It is not so with the wicked, it is not so; but they are even as the chaff which the wind driveth away from the face of the earth. Therefore the wicked shall not rise up in judgment, nor sinners in the counsel of the righteous, for the Lord knoweth the way of the righteous, and the way of the ungodly shall perish." 8. Mark how he described the water and the cross together. For he means this: blessed are those who hoped on the cross, and descended into the water. For he speaks of their reward "in his season"; at that time, he says, I will repay. But now when he says, "Their leaves shall not fade," he means that every word which shall come forth from your mouth in faith and love, shall be for conversion and hope for many. 9. And again another Prophet says, "And the land of Jacob was praised

The Cross

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*erraivovp-evp Trapa Trâaav Tpv ypv. τοῦτο Χέyei'*  
 Cf. Wisd.s,i9 **ro** *aKevos τοῦ irvevπiaTOS avTov àoÇàÇei. 10. eira*  
 Ezek. 47, **ri** *Xéyei ; Kai pv Troraprios eXKCOv etc Sel;icôv, Kai*  
*àveftaivev è^ avTov èévàpa mpaîa- Kai ôç àν cpàÿÿ*  
*èl- avTtâv, Çpaerai eiç τοῦ alcòva. 11. τοῦτο Χέyei*  
*oti ij/xeiç pcèν KaTafialvopceν eiç τοῦ vccop yepiovTes*  
 Ezek. 47, 9 **àpapTcSiv Kai pvrrov, Kai àva^alvopiev Kapiro^o-**  
*ponvTes èν Tp Kapàia τοῦ c;>όβov Kai Tpv èX-rrietà*  
 Ezek. 47, 9 **et'ç ròv Traevi' èν Tw irvevpari C^OVTeç. Kai oç**  
*àν cfráÿÿ òtto τοῦtcov, 'ÇpaeTai els τοῦ alcòva,*  
*τοῦτο Χέyei- òs àν, cftpalv, aKovap τοῦtcùv XàXov-*  
*piévuv Kai iriarevap, ÇpaeTai els τοῦ alcòva.*

## XII

IV Esr 4, **!• 'O/oiotoç TráXiv Trepι τοῦ aTavpov ÔpLÇei**  
 33; 5,5 **èν aXXrp ipoc^pTp Xéyovri- Kai ττὸt € raina avv-**  
*TeXeaOpaerai ; Xéyei Kvptos' lirai ÇvXov κXiOij*  
*Kai àvacrTp, Kai oTav èK ÇvXov aip.a CTa^rj.*  
*è^eis iráXiv irepι τοῦ aTavpov Kai τοῦ uTavpov-*  
 Exod. 17, **2. Xéyei Se iráXiv t & Moiva^,1**  
 18 s' **TroXepiovpiévov τοῦ 'lcrparjX virò tcòv àXXocftvXcov,**  
*Kai iva virop-vyap avTovs rrdXep,ovp,évovs, oti àià*  
*Tas àpiapTias avTcòν irapeáoGpcrav els dávaTOV*  
*Xéyei els ττjν Kapàlav Mwvae'coç τοῦ rreven/aa, iva*  
*Troirjap TVITTOV aTavpov Kai τοῦ /mXXovtos Traa-*  
*%eiv, oti, èàn p,p, cfiÿaív, éXiríacoaiv èir' avTep, eis*  
*τοῦ alcòva TToXep/pOpaovTai. Tidpaiv onv M&ivcrij?*  
*èν èçf^' èv oitXov èν péacp Tps rrvypips, Kai v^pXo-*  
*Tepos aTadels TràvTcov è^éreivev Tas felpas, Kai*

1 Tçp Mutuari NC, ev rtp Mwvaíj GL || in Moses" i.e. in the  
 4c Pentateuch " which was spoken of as " Moses."

## THE EPISTLE OF BARNABAS, xt. g-xti. 2

above every land." He means to say that he is glorifying the vessel of his Spirit. 10. What does he say next? "And there was a river flowing on the right hand, and beautiful trees grew out of it, and whosoever shall eat of them shall live for ever."

11. He means to say that we go down into the water full of sins and foulness, and we come up bearing the fruit of fear in our hearts, and having hope on Jesus in the Spirit. "And whosoever shall eat of them shall live for ever." He means that whosoever hears and believes these things spoken shall live for ever.

## XII

1. Similarly, again, he describes the cross in 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 w'as warred upon by strangers, and in order to remind those who were warred upon that they were delivered unto death by reason of their sins—the Spirit speaks to the heart of Moses to make a representation of the cross, and of him who should suffer, because, he says, unless they put their trust in him, they shall suffer war for ever. Moses therefore placed one shield upon another in the midst of the fight, and standing there raised above them all kept stretching

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

- οὐτέτις TraXiv ἐν'ika ο ἱcrpapX. etra, ðirórav KaO-  
 eîXev, èdavarovvTO. 3. Τρποç ri; "va yvtàaiv oti  
 οὐ Bvvavrai trcoOpvat, èàn pp èir'avrà> èXirltTw-  
 tnv. 4, Kal TráXiv ἐν It spro TrpoiñpTp Xéyeν "OXpν  
 Tpv ppépav ègeTréracra ràç ^εῖπαç pov Tr'òs Xaov  
 ciTreiOpl Kal àvTiXéyovTa ¿Bâ> BiKata pov. 5.  
 TráXiv Mtovaps jroiêî tvttov tov 'Iptrov, ori Bei  
 avrov TraOeív, Kal avròs jpootroiptrei, ov Bó^ovcriv  
 aTToXcoXeKevai, èν appetto TrrrrTOVTOS tov 'lapapX,  
 Num. 21, 6ff. (eTrotpaev yàp Kvtos Ttávra otpiv BaKveiv avrovç,  
 Kai àirédvpaKOV èrretBp p rrapàfiaais Bia tov  
 o^etoc èν Eva èyévero), "va èXéy^p avTOvç, oti Bia  
 Tpv rrapá/Saaiv avTtov els dXÍ-^riv Oavárov Trapa-  
 Deut 27, is BoOpaovrai. 6. Trépas yé toi àuroç M<oi;a-^ç  
 èvTetXâpevoç- Ovk ecrTai vpív ovvç ^rovevTov  
 ovTe yXviTTov els Oeov vpív, avTos irotei, iva tvttov  
 tov 'Ipaov èet'p. Troieï ovv Mcover^ç ^aXKONv  
 ocptv Kai TiOpcriv èvBô^tos Kal KppvpaTt KaXeî tov  
 Xaov. 7. èXffôvTes ovv èTrl to avrò èêeovTO Mwü-  
 aéa>s, iva Trepl avTvw ànevéyKp Bépaiv Trepl Tps  
 làaetos aiiTtòv. eiTrev ðè irpos aiiTovç Xicovtrps'  
 Num. 21, s. 9 "OTav, tppaiv, Bp^ffÿ tis vpâ>v, eXôeTto erri tov  
 ocfitv tov ètri tov ^vXov ètriKeip-evov Kai eXTricraTco  
 TTiaTevaas, on avTos &v veKpos BvvaTai ^aoTroip-  
 aai, Kai Trapaxppa arodpaèTai. Kai ovnoç  
 èirolovv. e^eis TráXiv Kal èν tovtois Tpv Bo^av  
 tov 'iptrov, oti èν airtp irávTa Kal eis avTov.  
 Num. 13, 17 8. Tí Xéyei TráXiv 'M.wvaps 'iptrov, vlà), Naurj,  
 èrridels ainâ) tovto to ovopa, ðvti TrpotñpTp, iva  
 pónov uKovap ttûç ¿ Xaós; oti irávTa o iraTpp

1 àireiSi) X, aireiioOvTa Cg (LXX),

## THE EPISTLE OF BARNABAS, xn. 2-xn. 8

out his hands, and so Israel again began to be victorious : then, whenever he let them drop they began to perish. 3. Why? That they may know that they cannot be saved if they do not hope on him. 4. And again he says in another Prophet, " I stretched out my hands the whole day to a disobedient people and one that refuses my righteous way." 5. Again Moses makes a representation of Jesus, showing that he must suffer, and shall himself give life, though they will believe that he has been put to death, by the sign given when Israel was falling (for the Lord made every serpent bite them, and they were perishing, for the fall 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,<sup>2</sup> when he gives him, prophet as he is, this name, that the whole

<sup>1</sup> Literally the " transgression."    <sup>2</sup> *i.e.* Joshua the son of Nun, of which names Jesus and Naue are the Greek forms.

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

- cfiavepol irepī tov vlov 'Ipcrov. 9. Xéyei ovv*  
**Mûw**ijç 'ipaov, vlw Nau??, çTri^eiç tovto to ovopa,  
 Exod. 17,14 oTTore èirep^ev avrov KarâaKOiroy tt)ç yrp' Aal/?e  
*jiifiXlov* 6iç rà? ^eípág crov Kai ypctyov, à Xéyet  
*Kvpio'i, ori* ÎKKo-ty-ei èie piÇüv tov oIkoy iràvra tov  
*'KpaXr;K* o ui'ôç tov deov èir ècr-^artüv twv ppepwv.  
 10. i'8e iràXcv 'Iiproûç, ou%ï uiôç àvdpcinrov, àXXà  
 Mt 22,42-44 vtòs tov ffeov, rvircp 8è èv aapKI <j>avepcùlei<; èirei  
 ovv peXXovaiv Xéyeiv, oti Xpicrros vloç Aaveiè  
 èariv,1 avTOf irpocfrprevei Aavelè, <po/3ovp,evo<; Kai  
 Pb. no,i crvvlcvv tt)v irXàvvy tcùv ápaprcoXcáv .Ecirev  
*Kvpios* rçj> Kvpüp pov Kàffov èie èe^tcov pov, eoi?  
 àv Oâi rov? e%&pov<; crov viroiroètov TÔ>v Troèâiv crov.  
 1x45,1 U, KaX qraXiv Xéyei ovtovi 'Haaiac' EZtt pp Kvpios  
 tç> XpiaTÛ p.ov Kvpicp, ov è/cpaTricra ri)? çe^tâç  
 avTov, èiraKovcrat èfirpocrûev avrov êOvij, Kai  
 ia'Xvv ^aaiXécov èiappifêco. Î8e, Trcôç AavecS Xéyei  
 avrov KvpT-ov, Kai vtov ov Xéyei.  
 Jf.kMt2,22^  
 45; Luke,20,  
 44

## XIII

1. "ISw/iev 8è el ovro<; ó Xaò<; KX^povofieî rj  
 è irpwTos, Kai el p diadrjKrj etç rç/iâç rj etç  
 eKelvovs. 2. cucovcrare ovv irepī rov Xaov n Xeyei  
 Gen. 25,21 V ypa<f>p' 'ESEîro çè 'IcraciK irepī 'Pe/3eKKa<; rijç  
 yvvaiKos avrov, oti areipa Tjv Kai avvéXafiev.  
 Gen. 25, «Ta è^rjXÔev 'PefteKKa irvdéaffat irapà Kvplov,  
 cf Rom 9 Kal, e\*7rev KVptO'i 77/90? aVTTjV AvO èdvp èv Tp  
 10-12 ' yaerrpi crov Kai Suo Xaoï èv rj koiXm crov, Kat,

1 Xpi<ZTÎ>, vls àuaeis K, ó Xpttrrbt vlis lariv AaveiS  
 CG.

## THE EPISTLE OF BARNABAS, xn. 8-xni. 2

people should listen to him alone? Because the Father was revealing everything concerning his Son Jesus. 9. Moses therefore says to Jesus the son of Naue, after giving him this name, when he sent him to spy out the land, "Take a book in thy hands and write what the Lord saith, that the Son of God shall in the last day tear up by the roots the whole house of Amalek." 10. See again Jesus, not as son of man, but as Son of God, but manifested in a type in the flesh. Since therefore they are going to say that the Christ is David's son, David himself prophesies, fearing and understanding the error of the sinners, "The Lord said to my Lord sit thou on my right hand until I make thy enemies thy footstool." 11. And again Isaiah speaks thus, "The Lord said to Christ my Lord, whose right hand I held, that the nations should obey him 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 Jews and 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

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VTrepéÇei Xaòs Xaov /cal ó peiÇtov SovXcvaiei tç>  
 ζΧάααοvi. 3. aladáveaOai òtpelXere, riç ó 'laaà/c  
 Kai t iç ¶ 'Pe/Bé/c/ca, Kai èrrl rlytov SéSei^ev, on  
 peítpov ó Xaòs ovros rj eKeîvos. 4. Kai èv aWr/  
 irpotypreia Xeyei ÿavepâ/repov ò 'laKoiñi irpòs  
 Gen. 48,11 Twc?)^ tov viov avrov, Xéycov Tçóú, ovk earé-  
 pr^aév pe Kvpios tov Trpoaánrov aov rrhoaáyayé  
 poi to Ûç w'ovç aov, iva evXoytfato avrovç. 5. Kai  
 Gen. 48, g irpoarjyayev 'Ecj/palp Kai Mavaaaíj, tov Mavaaaíj  
 0éXa>v iva evXoyrj&rj, oti TtpeafivTepos rjv ó yáp  
 'la>aip}> Trpoayyayev eiç rjv Se^iav %elpa tov  
 irarpos 'laK0>ß. eiSev Sè 'Ia<&)/? tvttov t ú rrv-  
 pan tov Xaov tov pera%v' Kai ri Xéyei; Kai  
 èrrolyaev 'IaKio/ß èvaXXà^ ras yeipas avrov Kai  
 èirèòriKev rrjv Se^iàv èrti rryv Kecj/aXyv 'Erfipalp,  
 rov Sevrérov Kai vecorérov, Kai evXoypaev avrov.  
 Kai elrrev 'Icoarpj) rrpòs 'iaKcò/S' Merâ^eç aov t jv  
 Se^iàv èrti rrjv Ke<f>aXrjv Mavaaaíj}, on rrpw-  
 t ótokos pov víos èanv. Kai elrrev 'Ia<<ù/9 irpás  
 'icoarpfr OLSa, tskvov, dlSa' çXX' o peiÇa/v Sov-  
 Xeíiaei rá> éXáaaovt, Kai ovtoç Sé evXoyrjd-qaerai.  
 6. ftXéireTe, éirl rívo/v rédeiKev, tov Xaov tovtov  
 eivai Trpâ/Tov Kai t >ç SiadrjKTjç KXrj)rovópov. 7. el  
 ovv en Kai Sia tov 'Nfipaap épvrja9p, àrré^opev  
 Gen. 15, a t ó réXeiov Trjç yvcoaecos ppâ>v. n ovv Xeyei rá>  
 'Aftpaáp, ore pòvos Triarevaas erédy els SiKaio-  
 Gen.n,4.5, avv)/v; 'ISov, réQeiKa ae, 'AjBpaáp, rrarépa  
 12-13 ' èOvSiv t úv TTiarevóvru/v Si empolváriás r^> Oecp.



THE EPISTLE OF BARNABAS, xm. 2-xiii. 7

overcome a people, and the greater shall serve the less." 3. You ought to understand who is Isaac and who is Rebecca, and of whom he has shown that this people is greater than that people. 4. And in another prophecy Jacob speaks more plainly to Joseph his son, saying, "Behold the Lord hath not deprived me of thy presence ; bring me thy sons, that I may bless them." 5. And he brought Ephraim and Manasses, and wished that Manasses should be blessed, because he was the elder ; for Joseph brought him to the right hand of his father Jacob. But Jacob saw in the spirit a type of the people of the future. And what does he say ? " And Jacob crossed his hands, and placed his right hand on the head of Ephraim, the second and younger son, and blessed him ; and Joseph said to Jacob, Change thy right hand on to the head of Manasses, for he is my first-born son. And Jacob said to Joseph, I know it, my child, I know it ; but the greater shall serve the less, and this one shall indeed be blessed." 6. See who it is of whom he ordained that this people is the first and heir of the covenant. 7. If then besides this he remembered it also in the case of Abraham, we reach the perfection of our knowledge. What then does he say to Abraham, when he alone was faithful, and it was counted him for righteousness? "Behold' I have made thee, Abraham, the father of the Gentiles who believe in God in uncircumcision."

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

XIV

1. Nat. àXXà 'IBwpev, el BiadrjKT], t]V wpoaev  
*tos Trarpáiv Bovvat tw ~Xaw, et BéBwKev.* |  
*BéBwKev' avroï Bè ovk éyévonTO a^iot Xa/3eîv Bià*  
*ràç ápaprias avrwv. 2. Xéyet yàp ó TrpotbpTiis'*  
 Exod. 24, is Kai mp> Mcüüaiyc vrjarevwn èv opet ^ivá, tov Xaftelv  
 tt]v BiaOrjKt]v Kvpiov irpós tov Xaón, rjépás rea-  
 Exod. si, 18 aepaKovra Kai vvKras reaaepaKovra. Kai eXafiev  
 Mtouaí)? Trapa Kvpiov ràç Bvo 7rXáKa<; ràç  
 yeypappevas rw BaKrvXtp tî]ç yeipos Kvpiov èv  
 Trvevparv Kai Xaftwv Karèçfiepev tt/w  
 tov Xaov Bovvat. 3. Kai elrrev Kvpios vrpoç  
 Exod. 32, 'M.awafjv. Mowcri) Mwuaí), Karáfiridi, to rá^os,  
 Deut'. 9, oti ò Xaós aov, ov èipjyayes ère yrp Alyvirrov,  
 12-17 é)vóprjffev. Kai avvrjKev Maü<Tz)ç, orí éTroí/qa-av  
 èavToïis TToXiv yotovepaTa, Kai èppi^rev èK twv  
 yetpwv,2 Kai avverpl^riaav al 7rXdlieç Bia-  
 di^KTi^ Kvpiov. 4. AIwv<T]ç pèv eXafiev, avToï  
 Bè ovk éyévonTO â^ioi. TTW<; Bè ppels èlà-  
 fiop.ev, paOere. Xiwwarjt depaTrwv wv eXafiev,  
 avTOS ùè Kvpios -pplv èBwKev eiç Xaov KXi^po-  
 vopias, Bi Tipas vTropÆ.lva<;. 5. ètpavepdij Bé,  
 ìva KaKeîvoi TeXetwdwatv toi? àpMprripaaiv, Kai  
 fjpes Bià tov KXrjpopovovTOS BtaOrjKpvn Kvrvov  
 Tit 2,14 Tt]ctoÛ Xàfiwpev, ôç eiç tovto rjTOipàa-fhi, 'iva  
 avTOS (fiaves, Ta\$ rjBri BeBairavrjpeva^ rjpwv Kap-

1 e; B<sub>i</sub>bu>Kiv X, e; SéSuiKfy C(GL); the grammar of  
 the sentence is emended by G to àAAà SiaStj!Tii',  
 Aay, el BlOmkçv ÇriT&^ev.

2 xetpúv XC, xflP@v ràs TrÁxas GL.

## XIV

1. So it is. But let us see whether the covenant <sup>The</sup> which he swore to the fathers to give to the <sup>0</sup>“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

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

- êtaç rç> 0avára> Kaï Tra/oaêeûo/teraç rÿ rrj<;  
 TrXávrj<; ávopáa XvTpa>aáp,evo<; çk tov aKorovç,  
*BidBryrat èv T)πÁ,v Btad^KTjv Xóytp. 6. yeypamat.*  
 yáp, ttwç avrai ó trarr;p évréXXerat,, Xvrpwaap.  
 evov rjπ,ás èie rov aKorovs éroyiáaac èavrâ Xabv  
 is. 42,6. 7 ayiov. 7. Xéyet ovv ó TrpotfjyTW 'Eyó) Kvpios,  
 ó 0eós<; aov, éKÚXeaá ae èv èiKatoavvp Kaï Kparyaai  
 rrj<; Xeípós: <Tov Kaï èviayyaw ae, Kaï eóatKa ae  
 etç êtadyicyv yéovs, etç </>úç è0vww avoî^ai  
 ôÿ0aXp.ovs rv(j>Xâ>v Kaï è^ayayeîv èK beap-ûv  
 TreTreèr/p.évovt; Kaï è£ oĭkov ipvXaKÍjç Ka07]fiéovs  
 èv aKorei, ytva>aKop.ev ovv, iro0ev èvvrpco0r)p,ev.  
 ts. 49, 6. 7 8. iraXiv ó TTpotjyrys Xéyer 'ISov, rè0eiKa ae etç  
 è0vâ>v, tov eîvac ae etç aanypiav eaiç èa^arov  
 tt|ç yj)ç, outcūç Xéyet Kvpios ò Xvrpa>aáp,evó<; ae #eôç.  
 is. ei, i. 2, 9. Kaï iráXiv à Trpo<f>yTT]^^ Xéyet- Tlvevp-a Kvpiov  
 17.19 ' ' èir èp.é, ov eiveKev e^piaév p,e evayyeXíaaa0ai,  
 raTreivoût xàpiv,l àiréaraXKév p,e láaaa0av rov<;  
 avvTeTptp,p.évov<j Trjv Kapòlav, Kypîi^ai, aNpdX.á>-  
 TOtç ci<j>eaiiv Kaï TvÿXoîs àvâ/3Xeÿiv, KaXeaai  
 èvtavTov Kvpiov èeKTov Kaï ypiépav àvTairoèðaea>s,  
 irapaKaXeaai Ttavras rov f irev0ovvTa'i.

## XV

1. vEt i ovv Kaï rrepī rov aa/Bfiarov yeypamai  
 èv TOtç Sé/ca Xóyois, èv ois; eKaXrjæev èv rep opei  
 Ei.od. 20,8; 'ç.tvâ 7T|>ðç McovcttJp Kara Trpoaanrov Kai àyia-  
 pVàs,2\* <raTe T“ a<l(3(3arov Kvpiov ^epaîv Ka0apaî<; Kaï  
 KapSia Ka0apâ. 2. Kaï èv èréptp Xéyer 'Eàv  
 l Tairftvoîs xçpiv G, raireivois L, f1twxoîs N (LXX) om. 0.

THE EPISTLE OF BARNABAS, xiv. 5-xv. 2

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

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I<sup>24</sup> 25 <[>vXáfwCrIV Vi0^ /J'OV T° tráfiftaTOV, TOTS èTri9p(T<£>  
 cf. Ex. si, 10 eλεος pov èir avrovs. 3. 10 αά^arov Xéyei  
 G<sup>u</sup> 2 a eP “PXÍ T7Ç «Tia-ew?’ Kai èrroipa-ev ò *debs* èv  
*ef ppépais* rà *épya* rà>v *xeipéðv avrov*, Kai *avveré-*  
*Xeaev èv ry ýpépa ry efiSópy Kai Karerravaev èv*  
 Gen. 2, 2 *aiiry Kai pyiaaev avTpv*. 4. rrpoea<sup>ere</sup>, reKva, **n**  
*Xéyei ro* <TvveréXeaev èv *ppépais*. 10v10 Xéyei,  
*ori èv è^aKia^iXiois ereaiv crvvreXécrei Kvpios*  
*rà avprrava-* p yàp *ppépa Trap’ avTtà appaivel*  
 n Pet, s, 8 %iXia erp. *avròs Sé poi paprvpeî Xéyatv ‘ISov,*  
*ppépa Kvpiov éarai* ¿>s yàXta erp. ovkovv, reKva,  
 èv èç *ppépais*, èv rois è^aKier^iXiois *ereiaiv trvvre-*  
 Gen. 2,2 *Xeadpaerai rà trvpravaTa*. 5. Kai *Karérravaev*  
*ry ýpépa ry è/SSopy*. 10v10 Xéyei- *orav êXðwv*  
*ò vtòç avrov Karapyäaei rov Kaipov rov avopov*  
*Kai Kpiveî roùç äaeftéis Kai àWà^ei rov yXiov*  
*Kai rpv aeXpvpv Kai 10Ûç àcrpeaç, rare KaX.â>ç*  
 Ex. 20, s *Karairavaerai èv ry ppépa ry èfièópy*. 6. *Trepas*  
*yé roi Xéyei’ ‘A.yiàcreis avrvv yepaiv Kaðapaís*  
*Kai KapSla KaOapâ. el ovv yv ¿ Oeòs ypepav*  
*pyiaaev viiv ris Svvarai áyiáaal Kaðapos <ov ry*  
*KapSia, èv Trâaiv TreTrXavýpeOa*. 7. *ièe bn apa*  
*róre KaXois Kararravópevoi áytáaopev avrvv, ore*  
*Svvaópeda avrai SiKaiaiffévres Kai àrhoXa^ovres*  
*rvv èirayyeXiav, ppKeri ovtrps rps àvopias, Kaivibv*  
*Sèyeyovórcov Tràvrvv virò Kvpiov rare bvvpao-*  
 is. i, is *p,e0a avrvv áyiáaai, avrai àyiaadevres Trpàirov*.  
 8. *rrépas yé roi Xéyei avroïs’ Tàç veoppvias vptòv*  
*Kai rà rrà/Bftara ovk àvé^opai. opare. Triàs Xeyei ;*  
*ov rà vvv aàfiftaTa èpoi SeKrà, àXXa b rerroipKa,*  
*èv ¿y Kararravaas rà rrava àp^pv ppépas òybops*

sons keep the Sabbath, then will I bestow my mercy upon them." 3. He speaks of the Sabbath at the beginning of the Creation, "And God made in six days the works of his hands and on the seventh day he made an end, and rested in it and sanctified it." 4. Notice, children, what is the meaning of "He made an end in six days"? He means this: that the Lord will make an end of everything in six thousand years, for a day with him means a thousand years. And he himself is my witness when he says, "Lo, the day of the Lord shall be as a thousand years." So then, children, in six days, that is in six thousand years, everything will be completed. 5. "And he rested on the seventh day." This means, when his Son comes he will destroy the time of the wicked one, and will judge the godless, and will change the sun and the moon and the stars, and then he will truly rest on the seventh day. 6. Furthermore he says, "Thou shalt sanctify it with clean hands and a pure heart." If, then, anyone has at present the power to keep holy the day which God made holy, by being pure in heart, we are altogether deceived. 7. See that we shall indeed keep it holy at that time, when we enjoy true rest, when we shall be able to do so because we have been made righteous ourselves and have received the promise, when there is no more sin, but all things have been made new by the Lord: then we shall be able to keep it holy because we ourselves have first been made holy. 8. Furthermore he says to them, "Your new moons and the sabbaths I cannot away with." Do you see what he means? The present sabbaths are not acceptable to me, but that which I have made, in which I will give rest to all things and make the beginning of an

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ttoit/ct», 6 èariv aXXov Kocrpov ap^pv. 9. Sto Kai dyopev rpv ppéav rpv oyBopv eic ev<j>po- (TVVpV, €V p Kai 0 'I1/CToÛç aVCCFTp CK VSKpOÏV Kai ^tavepoidel? àvéftp ci? ovpavov?.

### XVI

1. “Et i 8è Kai rrepl rov vaov èpw vply, ¿>¿ irXavápevob oi raXalirtopob el? rpv obKoZoppv pX-rttaav, Kai ovk erri tov 6eov avTÛv rov Trobp-cravra avrov?, a>? ovra oĭkov 0eov. 2. a^eà'ov yàp ¿>? rà eòvp à^>iépwaaav avrov èv T&â vaâ>. àXXà ttôiq Xéyeb KvpbO? Karapyûv avrov, padere' r». 40,12 Tíç èpérppaev rbvovpavov amdapp p rpvypvbpaKb; is. 66, i ovk èyd> ; Xéyei KvpbO? O ovpavo? pob dpovo?, p Sè yp introTToZiov t ô>v ttoScov pov ttoÍov oIkov oIko- èoppaeTe pot, rj tI? tottto? Tíj? KaTairavaeà? pov ; èyvtoKaTe, oti paTala p eXiri? avTôiv. 3. irépa? is. 49, ir yé toi TráXiv Xéyer 'lôov, ol KadéXôvTe? tov va'ov TOVTOV avToi avTov olKoSopyaovai. 4. ylveTai. èià yàp to TroXepeîv avTov? KaOppédp virò t Ûv è%Opwv vvv Kai avToi ol tmv èy\_6pâ>v vTrppeTai ávoikoé>oprj<Tov<riv avrov. 5. TrdXiv ôç epeXXev f) ttoXiç Kai ó vaâ? Kai o Xaoç ItrapX rrapaBIBo- a-Oat, é(f>avepá>0rj. Xéyei yàp p ypa<f>ij- Ka¿ earat èir èa^àriov t &v ppepww, Kai rrapaBcoaei Kvpio? rà TTrpóftara rp? vopp? Kai rpv pàvBpav Kai tov rrvpyov avTcôv eic KaTa<j>0opav. Kai èyévero Ka0' à èXàXpaev Kvpio?. 6. ÇpTpa-aipev eaTlv ""ôç ôeov. èariv, orrov avrò? Xéyei rrotelv Kai KarapriÇetv. yeypamai yáp- Kat



## 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 w'as 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

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

èarai, τῆς ἐ^δοπάδο<; crvvTeXovpèvrp; ' olKoiop(f)Ori-  
 crerai vaà<; Oeov èv8ó^a><; èirl τw avocari Kvpíov.  
 7. evpiffKio ovv, oti èaTiv vaos. τtwç ovv oIko8o-  
 ppdíjaeTai ètri t & òvopaTi, Kvpíov, pàðere. Ttpò  
 rov ppàs TTiaTevaot t & 3eâ> fp> r; p & v τo KaToiKp-  
 Tr; piv jcapolas; <j>0apTÓN Kai àaûevés, tói  
 áXr; 0S><; olKodoprjTOS vaòs Sia %eipó<s, oti r; v TrXrip  
 pèv eiSa)XoXaTpeia<; Kai fp> oIkos Saipovltov Sia τo  
 TToiev, oaa r; v ènavTia τS> 6eS>. 8. Oì, Ko8opT)( )ri-  
 aeTai Sè èirl τδ> òvopaTi Kvpíov. TrpouèyeTe Sé,  
 'Iva ò vaòs τov Kvpíov ez/èð^&jç oiKoSopriðrj. irS><;,  
 pádeTe. XaftovTes Tr; v aÿecriv Toiv ápapTiwn Kai  
 éXTríaavTes èirl τo ovopa èyevópeda Kaivoí, iráXiv  
 áp)ñi<; KTr^opevof 8io èv τδ> KaToiK^Tjplw 'ppàv  
 aXpOSis o 6eo<i KaToiKeî èv T; piv. 9. ττcoç; ; ó X070Ç  
 avTov TÎjç 7ri(TTea)ç, r; K^ijais avTov ττ)ç èTrayye-  
 Xias, T) crolla τδ>v 8iKai(opaT(ov, al èvToXal TÎjs  
 8iða^rj<i, ai/TOS èv r; piv Trpo^tjTevwv, avrð? èv f; plv  
 KaToiKwv, Tovf τδ> OavaTtp SeBovXwpévov; l avoiyrov  
 ppîv TTjv dvpav τov vaov, o ècrriv aTopa, peravotav  
 8i8oví pplv, elaàyeL eiç τov afydapTov vaov. 10. ç  
 yap TToffâv aa>6r; vai fiXeirei ovk eiç τov avdpwrrov,  
 çXX' eîç τov èv avTÔ> KaTOtKovvTa Kai XaXovvTa, èir  
 avT<p èK7rXr; jaôpevo<;, èirl τçð priZéiroTe prpre τov  
 Xe-/ovTO<f Ta pr; paTa à.KTjKoévai, èK τov cTTopaTOS  
 prjTe avTtv; ttots èivvreOvpreval aKoveiv. τovto  
 èaTtv TTvevpaTiKòs vaòg olKo8opovpevo<j Tçð Kvpíco.

24-27?

l tous . . . SeSovXo'juAovs CGL, tois 5e8ovAcuueirois K (probably  
 a correction of the unexpected accusative).

THE EPISTLE OF BARNABAS, xvt. 6-xvi. io

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. 'E<£' ocrov TjV èv òvvarcp /cal airXoTrjTl δrfX<!>-<rat vpLiv, èXjriÇei fzov rj ^Irv^r} ry €7ri0vfJ,ia p.ov p,rj TapaXeXoiTrévail ti rûv àvp/cóvTcov eiq crcùTiiptav.  
2. èàv yàp irepl twv èvecrTcoTcov ij peXXovTwv ypàcjico vp.lv, où p,rj vopirpre Sià to èv irapaftoXals /celada/,.. ravra p,èv outwç.2

### XVIII

1. Mera/Bûfiev Bè /cal èirl èrèpav yvâxrtv /cal BiBc/yr/v. 'OBol Bvo elalv BcBa^/js /cal èÇovcrias, y re tov /jicotos /cal y tov ct/cotovs. Stact>opà Bè ttoXXi] tcov Bvo çBcôv. é<¡' ■ϣϣ p,èv yáp elcriv Terapp.évo/ cj/MTaywyol àyyeXoi tov deov, è<ð' iyç 3è àyyeXoL tov aaTavâ. 2. /cal ó p,év èanv /cypLo<; ç,tto alù/vtûv /cal eiq tous alwvas, o Bè ap^o/v /catpov tov vvv ríjs àvopLcas.

### XIX

1. 'H onv ç80s tov (jicotos èa-TLV avT7)' èàv Tts déXcov óBòn oBeveiv èirl tov çopLapcevon tottov, crirevay tocs epyoLS avTov. ècrriv onv fj èodeíaa rjpáv yvûais tov irepLiraTeLv èv avTrj ToiavTTj. 2. ayairtf-aeis tov TOiTjcravTa ae, (jjo^pOrja-ri tov ere irXâ-

1 T7] çTriGv/j.la jjou p.7) TrapctKtKoiTr^vai ri tûv àvTiKÔvTW fis ffwrrripiav KCG, <sup>47</sup> irapaKiKoiurévai ri N\*C.

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. Summary

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. The two Way“

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:— The Way of Light  
2. Thou shalt love thy maker, thou shalt fear

<sup>1</sup> Here begins the section taken from the “Two Ways,” cf. p. 309.

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

*aavTa, Soláceos* τὸν *ce* *Xvcποῖαapevov* ἐἰε *dava/rov*  
*eay* ζῆτιXovs ιι) *Kapolq Kai irXovaoos* τὸδ ΤTvevpaao-  
*ov KoXXyQyay peca* τωv *iropenovévoiv* ἐν *oδ<p*  
*davárov, poayaets* ιιúv, *b ovk* ἔaTov ἀπεcrὸν τϕ)  
*0eâ>, poäyaeis vrâaav inroKpoaov ov py* ἐyKa-  
*TaXoTrys* ἐvcoXàs *Kvpiov*. 3. *ovy vi/rtécrei? creavróí'*,  
*ëay bè raTreivô^pcov Kara crávca-* *ovk apeos ecto*  
*aeavrov δό^av. ov Xyp^y ftovXyv Trovypàv Kara*  
*τὸν crXyaiov aov, ov òàaeos Ty 'fcv^p aov ffpàaos.*  
 4. *ov cropvevaeos, ov pooyevaeos, ov Tpaòe(f>0opy-*  
*aeos. ov py aov ó Xoyos τὸν Θεov ἐξέX0y* ἐν *cuca-*  
*Oapala τὸν&v. ov Xyp-^ry crpiaanrov* ἐXέy^ao *tivco*  
*ècri TrapaiTTcόpaTO. ëay irpavs, ëay yavyios, eay*  
*rpéptov Tovs Xóyovs ovs yKOvaas. ov pvrjaoKaKpjaeos*  
*Tñ> àbeX<f>â> aov.* 5. *ov py Soy/rv^yays, TroTepov ëacao*  
*y ov. ov py Xa^ys èm pacala) τὸ ovopa Kvpoo.*  
*àyaTryaeos τὸν TrXyclov aov vTrep Tyv tlrν^yv aov.*  
*ov tpovevaets TeKvov* ἐν ' *ÿdopâ, ovSè* ττoXov  
*yevvyOèν àiroKreveos. ov py apys cyv %eîpa aov*  
*cotto τὸν vlov aov y àirò Tys Ovyacpos aov, aXXa*  
*ùtto veoTycos Sobájeos <|>ó/3ov ffeov.* 6. *ov py*  
*yévy èmOvpwv τco τoÿ TrXyalov aov, ov py yévy*  
*irXeoveKTys. ovbè KÔXXydÿay èK aov peca*  
*v-ty-yXùv, àXXà pecco cacreovobv Kao 'çOKalwv àva-*  
*aTpaÿyay. rà avpfiaovovcà aoo èvepyypaca <ÿç*  
*àyaffâ irpoaSé^y, eibd>s, oio ànev ðeoñ ovèev*  
*yovecao.* 7. *ovk eay Soyvâpwv ovSè yXaiaaàèys,l*

Deut. 5, 11

1 γXaxrinúStis X, SiyAtjxnros CG ; G also adds *irayís yàp eavárov èanv* *ii SiyKutra-la* (from *Apost. Comst.*) “for to be double-tongued is the snare of death.”

THE EPISTLE OF BARNABAS, xix. 2-xix. 7

thy Creator, thou shalt glorify Him who redeemed thee from death, thou shalt be simple in heart, and rich in spirit ; thou shalt not join thyself to those who walk in the way of death, thou shalt hate all that is not pleasing to God, thou shalt hate all hypocrisy ; thou shalt not desert the commandments of the Lord. 3. Thou shalt not exalt thyself, but shall be humble-minded in all things ; thou shalt not take glory to thyself. Thou shalt form no evil plan against thy neighbour, thou shalt not let thy soul be froward. 4. Thou shalt not commit fornication, thou shalt not commit adultery, thou shalt not commit sodomy. Thou shalt not let the word of God depart from thee among the impurity of any men. Thou shalt not respect persons in the 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

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

vtcoraypar) KvpLOis <âç tutto) Oeov èv alayyvp Kai <f>ó/3qr ov pij ζττίτíÎ^ε 80ÚX&) aov rj nratoiaKp èv yrixpia, τοίς έττι τον avrov θεov eXyri^ovaiv, prj TT0Te ov pij ^to/B^iiaovTat τον èir àpÿoTépots Oeov oti ovk r/Xdev KaTa irpóaanrov KaXéaat, ζXX' è'κ' ovç το Trvevpa ijToίπααev. 8. Koiva>v>iaeis èv yrâaiv τὸ TrXrjatov aov Kai ovk èπεί-í l'8ia elvaf et yap èv τὸ ἀ<f;0ápTa> kolvwvoI èaTe, iròatp pàXèXov èv τοίς ^>0apToίς ; ovk eap TrpóyXcoaao;' iraylè yap το aTopa 0avaTov. oaov 8vvaasai, inrèp τj/ç ylrνXV^ aov àyvevaei<;. 9. pi) ylvov Trpò<; pèv το Xafielv èKTeivrov τοç ^eίπαç, irpo<; èe το 8ovvat, avairary. ayaTrijaet^ τὸç KÓprjv τον ζ<p0aXpov aov Prov. 7,2 nravra rov KaKovra aoL rov \oyov τçvpLov. 10. pv7)a0riap è)épav Kpiaetoç vvkto'í Kai rj pépa<;, Kai elççT/TTja'eíç Ka0' èKaarriv fjépav Ta irpoatoira τδ>v àytùv, Tj 8ià Xóyov kottiwv Kai iropevepevos el<; το irapaKaXéaai Kai peXeTwn eí'ç το aèàaai "Jrv^rjv το> Xóyqi, rj 8ca τS)V yeipSiv aov epyaap eíç XvTpwatv àpapTiwn aov. 11. ov 8iaTaaei<; Deut, 12,32 ^onvai ovδè StSouç yoyyvaei' yvâ>ay 8é, τίç ο τον pia0ov /caXoç avTaTroSorrji. </>uXà^eíç â nrape-Xaftes, prjTe yrpoaTi,0el<i prpre à<j>atpâv. eíç TeXoç Deut i, io ; piarjaett; το Trovrjpón. Kpiveis SiKaicoç. 12. ov rOV^SI 9 TT0trjaei<; a^iapa, eiprjvevaei; δè pàppévov<; avvayaymv. é^opóXoyrjap etti apapTíai<s aov. ov Trpoaifêeis έττι 7rpoaev%r)V èv avveibtfaei irovrjpa. avTT) èaalv rj Ó8o<j rov ^>ù>τοç.



THE EPISTLE OF BARNABAS, xix. 7-xix. 12

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. 'H èè τὸν πεέΧαυος 0809 èar/v a/coXià /cal /carapa.9 peeary. ζι>ος γὰρ èarev davárov alciüvéov peerá Tipeapéas, èν γ èarev rà ζerroXXvbra ryv ■^rv-^yv avTMV el8a)XoXarpeéa, dpacrvrys, vj]ro<; δvvápeea><; viró/cpecréi; , 8etrXo/cap8ía, peoe^ééa, <f>óno<; , áptrayy, vtrepytbavea, trapá/3aae9, σοxος, /ca/cia, avdáSeea, fyappea/ceea, pettyeta, trXeovegea, àtfco/Bia deov- 2. 8iá>/CTae râiv àyadâv, peecrovTes àXydeev, àyairGivrer 'i/revSos, ov yiva/cr/covres peeverdov 8i/caio-crvvys, ov /coXXùpeevoe àyadcp, ov /cpeae 8t/caea,')(ripa /cae opÿavcp ov trpoae^ovret; , àpvrirrovvre'i ovk eiç <f>o[3ov deov, àXX' stI τὸ rrovypón, a>v pea/cpav /cal tròppa) trpavTy<; /cal viropiovy, ayatrâ/vres peáraca, Sicô/copTeç civratroZopia, ov/c eXeüvTes tctco^ov, ov trovovvTeg ètri /caratrovovpbéva, ev%hepeí<; èν /cara-XaXiâ, ov yivcáa-/covre<; ròv trotyaavra avrov, cjjovéi<i ré/eva/v, <\_>6ope2í TXacrpearos Θεov, àtroTTpe-<l>ólievoi τὸν èν&eópievov, /caTatrovovvreì ròv &Xi^ó-pceov, trXovcriajv trapa/cXyrot, trevyTo/v àvopeot KpLTaí, TravdapeapryTot.

Rom. 12, 9

Ps. 4.2

is. i, 23

### XXI

1. KaXòp ovv èarlv pt.adóvTa rà ^./cabcápeaTa rov Kypéov, oaa yépatrrai, èν τούτοις trepitraTeív-ζι γὰρ ravra troiâ/v èν ry /SaatXeia rov deov So^aadyaeTat' ó è/ceíva è/cXeyop,evo<; peerá r&v èpyarv avrov awatroXeérae, èè τὸντο àvâaraaiç,

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**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-

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

8ca TOVTO aVTCLIToSofia. 2. èpayràtòu? VTrepé-  
*Xpvtas, el Tcvá pov yvcópyc àyaôys Xap^ávère*  
*<rvp/3ovXiav' e^ere pe6' éavTwn «? ou? épyáayaOe*  
 Ib. 40,10 *to Kaλov' py éWeiiryre.* 3. èyyiis y ypépa èv y  
*avvarroXeiTai rrvra rç> Trovypái' èyyvs o Kvpios*  
*Kai o piados avrov.* 4. eri Kai **m** èpanSt vpàs'  
*éavTÛv yiveade vopodérai àyadol, éavTÛv pévere*  
*avp[3ovλoi TTicTol, apare è% vp&v rrâcrav vrrô-*  
*Kpiaiv.* 5. ς 8è deós, ó tov Trarrò? Koapov  
*Kvpiewov, èδóγ vpîv <ro<j>íav, avveaiv, èiriaryp/yv,*  
*yvSuriv rwr éiKaia>pÛTO>v avrov, inropovyv.*  
 6. yiveaðe 8è OeoèiùakTOi, èk Çt|t ouvres t l Çt)TÉf  
*Kvpios à^> vpâv, Kai rroiéTe 'iva evpeôîjTe èv*  
*ypépa Kpbaea>s.* 7. ci 8è t is ècrriv àyadov pveua,  
*pvypoveveTe pov pélerwvres raûra, iva Kat, y*  
*eiriðvpla Kai y àypvirvla els rç àyaGòv 'xa>py<jTj.*  
*èpa>TÓ) vpâs, ^ápiv aiTovpevos.* 8. eco? èri to  
*KaXòv aKevós ètrriv peff vpûv, py eWeiiryre*  
*pybevl éavTòv,l àXXà avve^ùs eK^yreire ravra Kai*  
*àvarrXypovTe rraaav èvroXyv ecrriv yàp à^ia.*  
 9. diò pàXXov earrovSaaa ypà^rai à<§> 5>v y^vvy-  
*byv, els to ev<f>pàvai vpcts- aà^eade, àyarrys*  
*TeKva Kai elpyvys. ç Kvpios vys èó^ys Kai rracys*  
*papiros pera tov rrvvparos vpStv.*

'EtfccettoX^ Ba/waySa.

1 avruv GL, éavTÛv KG.

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 vessel 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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