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The Apostolic Fathers: The Shepherd of Hermas. The Martyrdom ...

Clement I (Pope.), Saint Ignatius (Bishop of ...
THE
WEBSTER COLLECTION
OF
SOCIAL
ANTHROPOLOGY

Homo sum, humani nihil a me alienum puto

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HUTTON WEBSTER
CLASS OF 1878

WINIFRED FRY WEBSTER
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THE
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Homo sum, humani nihil a me alienum puto

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CLASS OF 1878
THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
KIRSOPP LAKE

IN TWO VOLUMES

II

THE SHEPHERD OF HERMAS
THE MARTYRDOM OF POLYCARP
THE EPISTLE TO DIDIONETUS

LONDON: WILLIAM HEINEMANN
NEW YORK: G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS
MCMXVII
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THE SHEPHERD OF HERMAS
THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

THE SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

The Shepherd of Hermas is in form an apocalypse. It consists of a series of revelations made to Hermas by the Church, who appears in the form of a woman, first old, and afterwards younger; by the shepherd, or angel of repentance; and by the great angel, who is in charge of Christians. Each revelation is accompanied by an explanation, and from these it can be seen that though the form of the book is apocalyptic and visionary, its object is practical and ethical. The main problem, which constantly recurs, is that of sin after baptism. In the circle to which Hermas belonged the belief obtained that Christians after baptism were capable of leading sinless lives, and that if they fell they could not again obtain forgiveness. Experience, however, had shown that in this case few indeed would be saved, and the message of Hermas was that for sin after baptism there was still the possibility of forgiveness for those who repented, though this repentance would not avail more than once. A great part of the book is taken up in developing the details of this doctrine of repentance, which is entrusted to an angel called the Shepherd, who gives his name to the book, and it is obvious that
THE SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

we have here the beginning of the Catholic doctrine of penance.

The Shepherd is divided into Visions (in the last of which the Shepherd appears), Commandments or Mandates, as they are more usually called, and Parables or Similitudes. It may roughly be said that in the Visions the necessity for repentance is enforced, in the Mandates the life required from the penitent is explained, and in the Similitudes the working and theological doctrine of repentance is developed.

The date and provenance of the Shepherd is fixed by the list of canonical books in the Muratorian canon, which rejects the Shepherd of Hermas, though some accepted it as a canonical apocalypse, on the ground that it was written "quite recently, in our own time in the city of Rome, by Hermas, while his brother Pius was sitting on the throne of the church of the city of Rome." Pius was Pope about 148 A.D., so that the Shepherd must have been written in Rome at about that time. Many critics, however, think that it may have been written at intervals during the twenty or thirty years preceding this date, and that traces can be seen of varying dates in the three divisions of the book. This question, which can probably never be decided satisfactorily, and in any case depends on the consideration of a mass of details which cannot be discussed shortly, may best be studied in Harnack's Chronologie and in Zahn's Der Hirt des Hermas.

The authorities for the text of the Shepherd are as follows:—

ณ, Codex Sinaiticus, containing Vis. I. i. 1. to Mandate IV. iii. 6. written in the fourth century, probably in Alexandria or the neighbourhood.
THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

A, Codex Athous, a MS of the fifteenth century, originally containing ten leaves, of which six are still in the convent of S. Gregory on Mt. Athos, three are at Leipsic, and one, the last, has been lost.

The text of this MS was copied on Mt. Athos by the celebrated forger Simonides, who brought back with him the three leaves now at Leipsic, and later on was collated rather hastily by Georgandas, but it is very difficult to read, and both the copy of Simonides and the collation of Georgandas are very inaccurate. A photographic reproduction and transcript of the Athos fragment have recently been published at the Clarendon Press.


Fragments of the text have also been found in the following papyri quoted as Pᵃᵐ, Pˣ, etc.:

Amherst papyri, CXC. containing Vis. I. 1, 2–3, 1; III. 12, 3 and 13, 3–4. Mand. XII. 1, 1 and 1, 3. Sim. IX. 2, 1–2 and 4–5. IX. 12, 2–3 and 5; IX. 17, 1 and 3; IX. 30, 1–2 and 3–4. Published by Grenfell and Hunt in Amherst Papyri, ii.

Oxyrh. No. 404, containing Sim. X. 3, 2–5. Published by Grenfell and Hunt in Oxyryncus Papyri, iii.

Oxyrh. Pap. 1172, containing Sim. II. 4–10. Published by Hunt in Oxyryncus Papyri, ix.

Berlin Pap. 5513, containing Sim. II. 7–10 and Sim. IV. 2–5. Published in Berliner Klassiker Texte, vi.
THE SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

Berlin Pap. 6789, containing Sim. VIII. 1, 1–12. Published in Berliner Klassiker Texte, vi.
Besides these Greek MSS and fragments, there are three extant versions.

$L_1$, the Vulgate version found in many MSS., published in the Editio Princeps of Faber, Paris, 1513.

$L_2$, the Palatine version found in Cod. Vat. Palatin. 150, and published in the Patrum Apostolici- corum Opera of von Gebhardt, Harnack and Zahn.

$L$, without qualification, is used for the consensus of $L_1$ and $L_2$.


$C$, a few fragments of a Sahidic Coptic version have also been found in Papyri now in the Bib. Nat. at Paris and in the library of the Louvre, and have been published in the Sitzungsberichten d. Berlin Akad., 1903, pp. 261 ff., in the Revue de l’Orient Chrétien, 1905, pp. 424 ff., and in the Z. f. Aeg. Spr. und Altertumskunde 1910, pp. 137 ff. Some evidence is also given by the numerous citations in Clement of Alexandria, pseudo-Athanasius, and Antiochus of Palestine, quoted as Clem., Athan., and Ant.

The text of Hermas is probably far from good: the evidence of the papyri shows that neither $\Psi$ nor $A$ is completely trustworthy, and it is unfortunate that for so large a part of the book $A$ is the only continuous Greek text. The evidence of $LE$ and the Patristic quotations, though often valuable, is too free to be used with confidence.
ΠΟΙΜΗΝ

I

1. 'Ο θρέψας με πέπρακεν με 'Ῥόδη τινι τινα 1 εἰς 'Ῥώμην. μετὰ πολλὰ ἔτη ταύτην ἀνεγνωσάμην καὶ ἡρξάμην αὐτὴν ἁγαπὰν ὡς ἄδελφήν. 2. μετὰ χρόνον τινὰ λουομένην εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Τίβεριν εἴδον καὶ ἐπέδωκα αὐτῇ τὴν χείρα καὶ ἐξήγαγον αὐτὴν ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ. ταύτης οὖν ἴδων τὸ κάλλος διελογιζόμην ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ μου λέγων. Μακάριος ἦμην, εἰ τοιαύτην γυναῖκα εἶχον καὶ τῷ κάλλει καὶ τῷ τρόπῳ. μόνον τοῦτο ἐβουλευσάμην, ἔτερον δὲ οὐδὲ ἐν. 3. μετὰ χρόνον τινὰ πορευομένου μου εἰς Κώμας 2 καὶ δοξάζοντος τὰς κτίσεις του θεοῦ, ὡς μεγάλαι καὶ ἐκπρεπεῖς καὶ δυναταὶ εἰςιν, περιπατῶν ἀφύπνωσα. καὶ πνεύμα με ἔλαβεν καὶ ἀπήγεγκε με δι' ἀνοδίας τιμῶς, δι' ἡς ἀνθρωπος οὐκ ἐδύνατο ὀδύσσαι· ἦν δὲ ὁ τόπος κρημνώδης καὶ ἄπερρηγῶς ἀπὸ τῶν

1 πρὸς γυναῖκα τινα AL1, omitting the mention of her name
2 κώμας ἡ AE, civitatem Ostitorum L, the editors emend to Κώμας (Cumae). It is probable that Cumae is the meaning of the text, but it is not impossible the spelling κώμας is original. The alternative is that πορευομένου εἰς κώμας means the same as the modern Italian "Villeggiatura" (summer holiday in the country).
THE SHEPHERD

VISION 1

1. He who brought me up sold me to a certain Rhoda at Rome. After many years I made her acquaintance again, and began to love her as a sister.  

2. After some time I saw her bathing in the river Tiber, and gave her my hand and helped her out of the river. When I saw her beauty I reflected in my heart and said: "I should be happy if I had a wife of such beauty and character." This was my only thought, and no other, no, not one.  

3. After some time, while I was going to Cumae, and glorifying the creation of God, for its greatness and splendour and might, as I walked along I became sleepy. And a spirit seized me and took me away through a certain pathless district, through which a man could not walk, but the ground was precipitous and broken up by the

---

1 As it stands this is hardly intelligible: presumably the meaning is that Hermas was born a slave, and that his owner sold him to Rhoda. It is implied that he then passed out of her possession, and later on made her acquaintance again. The alternative is that ἀνεγνώρισάμην merely means "came to know her properly."
THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

υδάτων. διαβάσας οὖν τὸν ποταμὸν ἐκείνου ἦλθον εἰς τὰ ὅμαλὰ καὶ τίθω τὰ γάνατα καὶ ἡρῴμην προσεύχεσθαι τῷ κυρίῳ καὶ ἐξομολογεῖσθαι μοι τὰς ἅμαρτίας. 4. προσευχομένου δὲ μου ἤνυγη ὁ οὐρανός, καὶ βλέπω τὴν γυναῖκα ἐκείνην, ἣν ἐπεθύμησα, ἀσταξομένην με ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, λέγουσαν· Ἑρμᾶ καίρε. 5. βλέψας δὲ εἰς αὐτὴν λέγω αὐτῇ· Κυρία, τί σὺ ὁδε ποιεῖς; ἡ δὲ ἀπεκρίθη μοι· Ἀνελήμφθην, ἵνα σοῦ τὰς ἅμαρτίας ἐλέγξω πρὸς τὸν κύριον. 6. λέγω αὐτῇ· Νῦν σὺ μου ἐλέγχος εἰ; Οὐ, φησίν, ἀλλὰ ἄκουσον τὰ ἁμαρτα, ἀ σοῦ μέλλω λέγειν. ὁ θεὸς ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς κατοικῶν καὶ κτίσας ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος τὰ ὄντα καὶ πληθύνας καὶ αὐξήσας ἐνεκεν τῆς ἁγίας ἐκκλησίας αὐτοῦ ὄργιζεται σοι, ὅτι ἡμαρτες εἰς ἐμὲ. 7. ἀποκρίθης αὐτῇ λέγω· Εἰς σὲ ἡμαρτον; ποίῳ τόπῳ ἢ πότε σοι αἰσχρόν ῥῆμα ἐλάλησα; οὐ πάντοτε σε ὡς θεαν 2 ἡγησάμην; οὐ πάντοτε σε ἐνετράπην ὡς ἀδελφὴν; τί μου καταψεύδη, ὦ γυναί, τὰ πονηρὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἀκάθαρτα; 8. γελάσασά μοι λέγεις· Ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν σου ἀνέβη ἡ ἐπιθυμία τῆς πονηρίας. ἢ οὐ δοκεῖ σοι ἀνδρὶ δικαίῳ πονηρὸν πράγμα εἶναι, εἰνάν ἀναβηθησαν αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν ἡ πονηρὰ ἐπιθυμία; ἅμαρτία γε ἐστίν, καὶ μεγάλη, φησίν. ὅ γὰρ δίκαιος ἄνηρ δίκαια βουλεύεται. ἐν τῷ οὖν δίκαιαι βουλεύεσθαι αὐτοῦ καταρθοῦται ἡ δόξα αὐτοῦ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς καὶ εὐκαταλλακτὸν ἔχει τὸν κύριον ἐν παντὶ πράγματι αὐτοῦ· οἱ δὲ πονηρὰ βουλευόμενοι ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις αὐτῶν θάνατον καὶ αἰχμαλωτισμὸν ἐαυτοῖς ἐπιστῶνται, μάλιστα οἱ τὸν αἰώνα τοῦτον
THE SHEPHERD, v. ii. 3-8

streams of water. So I crossed that river, and came to the level ground and knelt down and began to pray to the Lord and to confess my sins. 4. Now while I was praying the Heaven was opened, and I saw that woman whom I had desired greeting me out of the Heaven and saying: "Hail, Hermas." 5. And I looked at her, and said to her: "Lady, what are you doing here?" and she answered me: "I was taken up to accuse you of your sins before the Lord." 6. I said to her: "Are you now accusing me?" "No," she said, "but listen to the words which I am going to say to you. 'God who dwells in Heaven' and created that which is out of that which is not, and 'increased and multiplied it' for the sake of his Holy Church, is angry with you because you sinned against me." 7. I answered and said to her: "Did I sin against you? In what place, or when did I speak an evil word to you? Did I not always look on you as a goddess? Did I not always respect you as a sister? Why do you charge me falsely, Lady, with these wicked and impure things?" 8. She laughed and said to me: "The desire of wickedness came up in your heart. Or do you not think that it is an evil deed for a righteous man if an evil desire come up in his heart? Yes, it is a sin," said she, "and a great one. For the righteous man has righteous designs. So long then as his designs are righteous his repute stands fast in Heaven, and he finds the Lord ready to assist him in all his doings. But they who have evil designs in their hearts bring upon themselves death and captivity, especially those who obtain this world for
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Homo sum, humani nihil a me alienum puto

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The Vision
of Rhoda
speaking
from
Heaven

Did I not charge you with you
impure and
me: "The
heart. Or do
for a righteous
heart? Yes,
one. For the
So long then
he stands fast in
ready to assist him
evil designs in
death and cap-
in this world for
THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

περιποιούμενοι καὶ γαυρώντες ἐν τῷ πλοῖτι αὐτῶν καὶ μὴ ἀντεχόμενοι τῶν ἀγαθῶν τῶν μελλόντων. 9. μετανοήσουσιν αἱ ψυχαὶ αὐτῶν, οὕτως οὐκ ἔχουσιν ἐλπίδα, ἀλλὰ ἔαυτοὺς ἀπεγνώ-κασιν καὶ τὴν ἥξην αὐτῶν. ἀλλὰ σὺ προσεύχου πρὸς τὸν Θεόν, καὶ ἴάσεται τὰ ἀμαρτήματά σου καὶ ὅλον τοῦ οἴκου σου καὶ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων.

II

1. Μετὰ τὸ λαλῆσαι αὐτὴν τὰ ῥήματα ταῦτα ἐκλεισθῆσαν οἱ υἱοὶ θεοῦ, καὶ γαρ όλος ἦμην πεφυκὼς καὶ λυπούμενος. ἔλεγον δὲ ἐν ἐμαυτῷ· Εἰ αὕτη μοι ἢ ἁμαρτία ἀναγράφεται, πῶς δυνήσομαι σωθῆναι; ἢ πῶς ἐξιλάσομαι τὸν Θεόν περὶ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν μου τῶν τελείων; ἢ ποῖος ῥῆμασιν ἐρωτήσω τῶν κύριων, ἵνα ἰλατεύσηται μοι; 2. ταῦτα μου συμβουλευομένου καὶ διακρίνοντος ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ μου, βλέπω κατενάντι μου καθέδραν λευκήν ἐξ ἑρίων χιονίνων γεγονυίαν μεγάλην· καὶ ἦλθεν γυνὴ πρεσβύτης ἐν ἰματισμῷ λαμπροτάτῳ, ἔχουσα βιβλίον εἰς τὰς χεῖρας, καὶ ἐκάθισεν μόνη καὶ ἀσπάζεται με. Ἔρμα, χαίρε. κἀγὼ λυπούμενος καὶ κλαίων εἰπὼν Κυρία, χαίρε. 3. καὶ εἶπέν μοι· Τί στυγνός, Ἔρμα; ὁ μακρόθυμος καὶ ἀστομάχητος, ὁ πάντοτε γελῶν, τί οὕτω κατηφῆς τῇ ἱδέᾳ καὶ οὕχ ἵλαρος; κἀγὼ εἰπὼν αὐτῇ· Ὅποι γυναικὸς ἀγαθωτάτης λεγούσης, οὔτε ἡμαρτὼν εἰς αὐτὴν. 4. ἢ δὲ ἔφη· Μηδαμίδος ἐπὶ τὸν δούλον τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸ πρᾶγμα τούτο. ἀλλὰ πάντως ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν σου ἀνέβη περὶ αὐτῆς.
THE SHEPHERD, vis. i. i. 8–ii. 4

themselves, and glory in their wealth, and do not lay hold of the good things which are to come. 9. Their hearts will repent; yet have they no hope, but they have abandoned themselves and their life. But do you pray to God, and 'He shall heal the sins of yourself' and of all your house and of all the saints.'

II

1. After she had spoken these words the Heavens were shut, and I was all shuddering and in grief. And I began to say in myself: "If this sin is recorded against me, how shall I be saved? Or how shall I propitiate God for my completed sins? Or with what words shall I beseech the Lord to be forgiving unto me?" 2. While I was considering and doubting these things in my heart I saw before me a white chair of great size made of snow-white wool; and there came a woman, old and clothed in shining garments with a book in her hand, and she sat down alone and greeted me: "Hail, Hermas!" And I, in my grief and weeping, said: "Hail, Lady!" 3. And she said to me: "Why are you gloomy, Hermas? You who are patient and good-tempered, who are always laughing, why are you so downcast in appearance and not merry?" And I said to her: "Because of a most excellent lady, who says that I sinned against her." 4. And she said: "By no means let this thing happen to the servant of God; but for all that the thought did enter your
THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

ἔστιν μὲν τοὺς δούλους τοῦ θεοῦ ἡ τοιαύτη βουλὴ ἀμαρτίαν ἐπιφέρονσα· πονηρὰ γὰρ βουλὴ καὶ ἐκπληκτός εἰς πάνσεμον πνεῦμα καὶ ἡδὴ δεδοκιμασμένου, ἐὰν ἐπιθυμήσῃ πονηρὸν ἔργον, καὶ μάλιστα Ἐρμᾶς ὁ ἐγκρατὴς, ὁ ἀπεχώμενος πάσης ἐπιθυμίας πονηρᾶς καὶ πλήρης πάσης ἀπλότητος καὶ ἀκακίας μεγάλης.

III

1. Ἀλλ' οὐχ ἔνεκα τοῦτον ὀργίζεται σοι ὁ θεὸς, ἀλλ' ἵνα τὸν οἴκον σου τὸν ἀνομήσαντα εἰς τὸν κύριον καὶ εἰς υἱὸν τοῦ γονεῖς αὐτῶν ἐπιστρέψῃς. ἀλλὰ φιλότεκνος ὅν οὐκ ἔνοικεσες σοι τὸν οἶκον, ἀλλὰ ἀφῆκες αὐτῶν καταφθαρῆναι,1 διὰ τούτο σοι ὀργίζεται ὁ κύριος: ἀλλὰ ἵστηται σου πάντα τὰ προγεγονότα πονηρὰ ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ σου διὰ γὰρ τὰς ἐκείνων ἀμαρτίας καὶ ἀνομήματα σὺ κατεφθάρῃς ἀπὸ τῶν βιωτικῶν πράξεων. 2. ἀλλ' ἡ πολυσπλαγχνία τοῦ κυρίου ἤλεξεν σε καὶ τὸν οἴκον σου καὶ ἰσχυροποίησε σε καὶ θεμελίωσε σε ἐν τῇ δόξῃ αὐτοῦ. σὺ μόνον μὴ ραθυμῆσῃς, ἀλλὰ εὐφύχει καὶ ἰσχυροτείς σου τὸν οἶκον. ὦς γὰρ ὁ χαλκεὺς σφυροκόπτων τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῦ περιγίνεται τοῦ πράγματος οὐ θέλει, οὕτω καὶ ὁ λόγος ὁ καθημερινὸς ὁ δίκαιος περιγίνεται πάσης πονηρίας. μὴ διαλύπῃς οὖν νουθετῶν σου τὰ τέκνα. οἶδα γὰρ, ὅτι, ἐὰν μετανοήσουσιν2 ἐξ ὅλης καρδίας αὐτῶν, ἐνγραφήσονται εἰς τὰς βίβλους τῆς ζωῆς

1 καταφθαρῆναι Ν* Ραμ, καταφθαρῆναι δεινῶς ΑΛΕ.
2 μετανοῆσουσιν Ν, μετανοήσωσιν Δ.
THE SHEPHERD, vis. i. ii. 4–iii. 2

heart concerning her. It is such a design as this which brings sin on the servants of God. For it is an evil and mad purpose against a revered spirit and one already approved, if a man desire an evil deed, and especially if it be Hermas the temperate, who abstains from every evil desire and is full of all simplicity and great innocence.

III

1. "But it is not for this that God is angry with you, but in order that you should convert your family, which has sinned against the Lord, and against you, their parents. But you are indulgent, and do not correct your family, but have allowed them to become corrupt. For this reason the Lord is angry with you, but he will heal all the past evils in your family, for because of their sins and wickednesses have you been corrupted by the things of daily life. 2. But the great mercy of the Lord has had pity on you and on your family, and will make you strong and will establish you in his glory; only do not be slothful, but have courage and strengthen your family. For as the smith, by hammering his work, overcomes the task which he desires, so also the daily righteous word overcomes all wickedness. Do not cease, then, correcting your children, for I know that if they repent with all their heart, they will be inscribed in the books of
THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

3. metà tà póion autês tà rêmata tauta légêi mou. Theleis akouíasai mou anagnwskousis; légo kaiy: Thelw, kuriâ. légêi mou. Genou ákroafthê kai ákoue tàs doxas tou theou. Hkousa megalw kai thumastwos, dé ouk icshousa mnhmoneiwsa: pánta gar tà rêmata êkfríkta, ou diá dunatai ánthrwpos basstásai. tà ouv èskhata rêmata èmnenonvsâ: hì gar hîmîn súmpfora kai hìmera: 4. Ídou, ou theos twn dynámewn, ou ágapiw,1 dynâmei krataiâ kai tê megalh suneiwsai autou ktiwsas tôn kósmoun kai tê êvndôxiô boulh perithês têên evprépeiain tê ktiwsê autou kai tê icshrôî rêmata píxas tôn ou rávnon kai ðemelwosas têên gêin épì ðdâtwn kai tê idia sofía kai pronoia ktiwsas têên ágian ekklhshían autou, õn kai ðulôghsen, Ídou, ðedistánei tônês ou rávnon, kai tê ðrj kai tôn bounou kai tês thalássas, kai pánta omalâ gînetai tônês ðeklektôiês autou, õn kai ðpodôw autôs têên ðpanaghshn, õn ðpangheîlw metabol pòllhês doxhês kai chrâs, ðan ðerhswsin têv nómima tôn theou, õ parèlaßov en megalh pîstei.

IV

1. "Óte ouv ètelêsen anagnwskousa kai ñgêrthâ apó tês kathédras, ñlavan têsarne neaníai kai ñran têin kathédran kai ðpêlthôn prôs têin ðanatôlên. 2. proskaleîtai dé ou kai ñpato tôn

1 õn ágapiw, X, qui invisibili (=[ðorâty]) L1, qui omnia virtute sustentabili L2, "in his pity and in his love" B. The text is clearly corrupt, and cannot be restored with certainty.
life with the saints." 3. After she had ceased these words she said to me: "Would you like to hear me read aloud?" and I said: "I should like it, Lady." She said to me: "Listen then, and hear the glory of God." I heard great and wonderful things which I cannot remember; for all the words were frightful, such as a man cannot bear. So I remembered the last words, for they were profitable for us and gentle: 4. "Lo, 'the God of the powers,' whom I love, by his mighty power, and by his great wisdom 'created the world,' and by his glorious counsel surrounded his creation with beauty, and by his mighty word 'fixed the Heaven and founded the earth upon the waters,' and by his own wisdom and forethought created his holy Church, which he also blessed—Lo, he changes the heavens, and the mountains and the hills and the seas, and all things are becoming smooth for his chosen ones, to give them the promise which he made with great glory and joy, if they keep the ordinances of God, which they received with great faith."

IV

1. So, when she had finished reading, and rose from the chair, there came four young men, and took up the chair and went away towards the East. 2. And she called me and touched my breast and said
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στήθους μου καὶ λέγει μοι: Ἡρεσέν σοι ἡ ἀνάγνωσίς μου; καὶ λέγω αὐτῇ: Κύρια, ταῦτά μου τὰ ἐσχάτα ἀρέσκει, τὰ δὲ πρῶτα1 χαλεπὰ καὶ σκληρὰ. ἢ δὲ ἐφὶ μοι λέγουσα· Ταῦτα τὰ ἐσχάτα τοῖς δικαίοις, τὰ δὲ πρῶτα τοῖς ἐθνεσίν καὶ τοῖς ἀποστάταις. 3. Ἀλαλοῦσης αὐτῆς μετ᾽ ἐμοῦ δύο τινὲς ἀνδρὲς ἐφάνησαν καὶ ἦραν αὐτὴν τῶν ἁγκώνων καὶ ἀπήλθαν, ὅπου ἦν καθέδρα, πρὸς τὴν ἀνατολὴν. ἦλαρα δὲ ἀπήλθεν καὶ ὑπάγουσα λέγει μοι: Ἄνδριξου, Ἐρμᾶ.

"Ο ῥασίς β.

I

1. Πορευομένου μου εἰς Κώμας2 κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν, δυν καὶ πέρυσι, περιπατῶν ἀνεμνήσθην τῆς περισσινής ὀράσεως, καὶ πάλιν με αὖρει πνεῦμα καὶ ἀποφέρει εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν τόπον, ὅτι καὶ πέρυσι. 2. ἔλθον οὖν εἰς τὸν τόπον τιθῶ τὰ γόνατα καὶ ἱρξάμην προσεύχεσθαι τῷ κυρίῳ καὶ δοξάζειν αὐτοῦ τὸ όνομα, ὅτι μὲ ἄξιον ἤγησατο καὶ ἐγνώρισέν μοι τὰς ἀμαρτίας μου τὰς πρῶτες. 3. μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἐγερθῆναι με ἀπὸ τῆς προσευχῆς βλέπω ἀπέναντί μου τὴν πρεσβυτέραν, ὥς καὶ πέρυσιν3 ἐφάρακεν, περιπατοῦσαν καὶ ἀναγινώ- σκοντας βιβλαρίδιον, καὶ λέγει μοι· Δύνῃ ταῦτα

1 πρῶτερα Να A (L priora). Να omits, but the next line (where A also reads πρῶτερα) suggests that its archetype read πρῶτα.
2 κώμας ΝΑ, regionem Cumanorum L, but see the note on Vis. I, 1. 3. 3 πέρυσιν AL, πρῶτον Ν, om. EL.

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THE SHEPHERD, vis. i. iv. 2–ii. i. 3

to me; "Did my reading please you?" and I said to her: "Lady, this last part pleases me, but the first part was hard and difficult." And she said to me: "This last part is for the righteous, but the first part was for the heathen and the apostates."

3. While she was speaking with me two men appeared, and took her by the arm and they went away towards the East, whither the chair had gone. But she went away cheerfully, and as she went said to me, "Play the man, Hermas."

VISION 2

I

1. While I was going to Cumae, at about the same time as the year before, as I walked along I remembered the vision of the previous year, and the spirit again seized me and took me away to the same place, where I had been the previous year.

2. So when I came to the place, I knelt down and began to pray to the Lord and 'to glorify his name,' because he had thought me worthy, and had made known to me my former sins. 3. But after I rose from prayer I saw before me the ancient lady, whom I had seen the year before, walking and reading out from a little book. And she said to
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toîς ἐκλεκτοῖς τοῦ θεοῦ ἀναγγείλαι; λέγω αὐτῆ. Κυρία, τοσαίτα μημονεύσαι οὐ δύναμαι: δος δέ μοι τὸ βιβλίδιον, ήνα μεταγράψωμαι αὐτό. Δάβε, φησίν, καὶ ἀποδώσεις μοι. 4. ἔλαβον ἑγώ, καὶ εἰς τινα τόπον τοῦ ἀγροῦ ἀναχωρῆσας μετεγράψας ἁμὴν πάντα πρὸς γράμμα· οὐχ ἡμίσκον γὰρ τάς συλλαβὰς. τελέσαντος οὖν ἑτοι τὰ γράμµατα τοῦ βιβλίδιον ἡξαῖφης ἐστώντος ἢπτάγη μου ἐκ τῆς χειρὸς τὸ βιβλίδιον, ὑπὸ τίνος δὲ οὔκ εἶδον.

II

1. Ἔτε ἔδεκα καὶ πέντε ἡμέρας νηστεύσαντος μου καὶ πολλὰ ἐρωτήσαντος τοῦ κύριου ἀπεκαλύφθη μοι ὡς γνώσις τῆς γραφῆς. ἤν δὲ γεγραμμένα ταῦτα. 2. Τὸ στέρμα σου, Ἑρμᾶ, ἠθέτησας εἰς τὸν θεὸν καὶ ἐβλασφήμησας εἰς τὸν κύριον καὶ προέδωκαν τοὺς γονεῖς αὐτῶν ἐν πονηρίᾳ μεγάλῃ καὶ ἠκουσάν προδόται γονέων καὶ προδότες οὐκ ἄφεληθησαν, ἀλλὰ ἔτι προσέθηκαν ταῖς άμαρτίαις αὐτῶν τὰς ἀσελγείας καὶ συμφυρμοὺς πονηρίας, καὶ οὕτως ἐπλήθησαν αἱ ἀνομίαι αὐτῶν. 3. Ἀλλὰ γνώρισον ταῦτα τὰ ῥήματα τοὺς τέκνοις σου πᾶσι καὶ τῇ συμβίῳ σου τῇ μελλούσῃ ἀδελφῆ καὶ γὰρ αὕτη οὐκ ἀπέχεται τῆς ἡλίωσης, ἐν ᾗ ποιηρεύεται ἀλλὰ ἀκοῦσάσα τὰ ῥήματα ταῦτα ἀφέξεται καὶ ἔξει ἐλεοῦς. 4. μετὰ τὸ γνωρίσαι σε ταῦτα τὰ ῥήματα αὕτοις, ἀ ἐνετείλατο μοι ὁ δεσπότης ἵνα σοι

1 οὖν Ν, οὖν μου Δ.
2 μελλούσῃ Ν, μελλούσῃ σου Α(L).
3 ἔξεις Ν.
THE SHEPHERD, vis. II. i. 3–ii. 4

me: "Can you take this message to God's elect ones?" I said to her: "Lady, I cannot remember so much; but give me the little book to copy." "Take it," she said, "and give it me back." 4. I took it and went away to a certain place in the country, and copied it all, letter by letter, for I could not distinguish the syllables.\(^1\) So when I had finished the letters of the little book it was suddenly taken out of my hand; but I did not see by whom.

II

1. But after fifteen days, when I had fasted and prayed greatly to the Lord, the knowledge of the writing was revealed to me. And these things were written: 2. Your seed, Hermas, have set God at naught, and have blasphemed the Lord, and have betrayed their parents in great wickedness, and they are called the betrayers of parents, and their betrayal has not profited them, but they have added to their sins wanton deeds and piled up wickedness, and so their crimes have been made complete. 3. But make these words known to all your children and to your wife, who shall in future be to you as a sister. For she also does not refrain her tongue, with which she sins; but when she has heard these words she will refrain it, and will obtain mercy. 4. After you have made known these words to them, which the

\(^1\) Hermas no doubt means that it was written, like most early MSS., in a continuous script with no divisions between the words.
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ἀποκαλυφθῆ, τότε ἡμέρας αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν
πάσαι, ἃς πρῶτον ἡμαρτον, καὶ πᾶσιν τοῖς
ἀγίοις τοῖς ἁμαρτήσασιν μέχρι ταύτης τῆς ἡμέρας,
ἐὰν εἴς ὅλης τῆς καρδίας μετανοήσωσιν καὶ ἀρωσιν
ἀπὸ τῆς καρδίας αὐτῶν τὰς διψυχίας. 5. ὁμοσεσ
γὰρ ὁ δεσπότης κατὰ τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τοῖς
ἐκλέκτοις αὐτοῦ· ἐὰν ὄρισμένης τῆς ἡμέρας
tαύτης ἐτὶ ἀμώρισθης γένηται, μὴ ἤχειν αὐτοὺς
σωτηρίαν· ἢ γὰρ μετάνοια τοῖς δικαίοις ἔχει
tέλος· πεπληρωνται αἱ ἡμέραι μενανοίας πᾶσιν
tοῖς ἁγίοις· καὶ τοῖς δὲ ἔθνεσιν μετάνοια ἐστιν
ἔως ἐσχάτης ἡμέρας. 6. ἔρεις οὖν τοῖς προηγούμενοις τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἦν κατορθώσωνται
tὰς ὀδοὺς αὐτῶν ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ, ἦν ἀπολάβωσιν
ἐκ πληροὺς τὰς ἐπαγγελίας μετὰ πολλῆς δόξης.
7. ἐμμείνατε οὖν οἱ ἐργαζόμενοι τὴν δικαιοσύνην
καὶ μὴ διψυχῆσθε, ἦν γένηται ὑμῶν ἡ πάροδος
μετὰ τῶν ἀνγέλων τῶν ἁγίων. μακάριοι ὑμεῖς,
ὅσοι ὑπομένετε τὴν θλίψιν τὴν ἐρχομένην τὴν
μεγάλην καὶ ὅσοι οὐκ ἁρνήσονται τὴν ζωὴν αὐτῶν.
8. ὁμοσεσ γὰρ κύριος κατὰ τοῦ νεότον αὐτοῦ, τούς
ἀρνησαμένους τὸν Χριστὸν αὐτῶν ἀπεγνωρίσθαι
ἀπὸ τῆς ζωῆς αὐτῶν, τούς οὖν μέλλοντας ἁρνεῖ
σθαι ταῖς ἐρχομέναις ἡμέραις· τοῖς δὲ πρῶτον

1 τότε AL1E, πότε Ν L2.
2 τῆς καρδίας Ν, τῶν καρδιῶν A(L).
3 Χριστοῦ Ν, κύριοι Ν AL2, filium L1.
THE SHEPHERD, vis. ii. ii. 4–8

Master commanded me to reveal to you, all the sins which they have formerly committed shall be forgiven them, and they shall be forgiven to all the saints who have sinned up to this day, if they repent with their whole heart, and put aside double-mindedness from their heart. 5. For the Master has sworn to his elect by his glory that if there be still sin after this day has been fixed, they shall find no salvation; for repentance for the just has an end; the days of repentance have been fulfilled for all the saints, but for the heathen repentance is open until the last day. 6. You shall say, then, to the leaders of the Church, that they reform their ways in righteousness, to receive in full the promises with great glory. 7. You, therefore, 'who work righteousness,' must remain steadfast and be not double-minded, that your passing may be with the holy angels. Blessed are you, as many as endure the great persecution which is coming, and as many as shall not deny their life. 8. For the Lord has sworn by his Son that those who have denied their Christ have been rejected from their life, that is, those who shall now deny him in the days to come.

1 This is the main point of the "Shepherd." The primitive teaching was that for sin after baptism no repentance is possible (cf. Heb. vi.). Hermas now states that it has been revealed to him that "up to this day," i.e. the time of his revelation, sin will be forgiven to the repentant. But this offer of forgiveness will not be made a second time.

2 Cf. Herm. Sim. ix, 25. and Martyr. Polycarp. ii 3 with the note on the latter passage as to the doctrine of a transformation of the just into angels after their death.
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ἀρνησαμένοις, διὰ τὴν πολυσπλαγχνίαν Ἰλέως ἐγένετο αὐτοῖς.

III

1. Ὡσ' δὲ, Ἕρμᾶ, μηκέτι μνησικακήσης τοῖς τέκνοις σου μηδὲ τὴν ἀδελφήν σου ἔδας, ἵνα καθαρισθῶσιν ἀπὸ τῶν προτέρων ἀμαρτιῶν αὐτῶν. παιδευθήσονται γὰρ παιδεία δικαία, ἕως σὺ μὴ μνησικακήσῃς αὐτοῖς. μνησικακία θάνατον κατεργάζεται. σοὶ δὲ, Ἕρμᾶ, μεγάλας θλίψεις ἔσχες ἰδιωτικὰς διὰ τὰς παραβάσεις τοῦ οἴκου σου, ὅτι οὐκ ἔμελησέν σοι περὶ αὐτῶν ἀλλὰ παρενεθυμήθης καὶ ταῖς πραγματείαις σου συνανεφύρης ταῖς πονηραῖς. 2. ἀλλὰ σώζει σὲ τὸ μὴ ἀποστήναι σὲ ἀπὸ θεοῦ ξύντος καὶ ἡ ἀπλότης σου καὶ ἡ πολλὴ ἐγκράτεια· ταῦτα σέσωκέν σε, ἐὰν ἐμείνης, καὶ πάντας σώζει τοὺς τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐργαζόμενους καὶ πορευομένους ἐν ἀκακίᾳ καὶ ἀπλότητι. οὕτω κατισχύσουσιν 1 πάσης πονηρίας καὶ παραμενοῦσιν εἰς ξύνῃς αἰώνιοι. 3. μακάριοι πάντες οἱ ἐργαζόμενοι τὴν δικαιοσύνην. οὐ διάθερήσονται ἕως αἰώνιοι. 4. ἐρεῖς δὲ Μαξίμῳ Ἰδοὺ, θλῖψις ἔρχεται· εάν σοι φανῇ, πάλιν ἄρνησαι. Ἐγγὺς κύριος τοῖς ἐπιστρεφομένοις, ὡς γέγραπται ἐν τῷ 'Ελδὰδ καὶ Μωδάτ, 2 τοῖς προφητεύσασιν ἐν τῇ ἔρημῳ τῷ λαῷ.

1 κατισχύσουσιν ἡ.
2 Ἐλδὰδ καὶ Μωδάτ ἡ, Ἐλδὰδ καὶ Μωδάθ A, Heldam et Modal L1, Heidat et Modat L2, Eldad et Mudath A.

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THE SHEPHERD, v.11. ii. 8–iii. 4

But those who denied him formerly have obtained forgiveness through his great mercy.

III

1. "But, Hermas, no longer bear a grudge against your children, nor neglect your sister, that they may be cleansed from their former sins. For they will be corrected with righteous correction, if you bear no grudge against them. The bearing of grudges works death. But you, Hermas, had great troubles of your own because of the transgressions of your family, because you did not pay attention to them. But you neglected them and became entangled in their evil deeds. 2. But you are saved by not 'having broken away from the living God,' and by your simplicity and great temperance. These things have saved you, if you remain in them, and they save all whose deeds are such, and who walk in innocence and simplicity. These shall overcome all wickedness and remain steadfast to eternal life. 3. 'Blessed' are all they 'who do righteousness'; they shall not perish for ever. 4. But you shall say to Maximus: 'Behold, persecution is coming, if it seems good to you deny the faith again.' 'The Lord is near those that turn to him,' as it is written in the Book of Eldad and Modat, who prophesied to the people in the wilderness."

1 This book is mentioned among the Apocrypha of the N.T. in the Athanasian Synopsis and in the Stichometry of Nicephorus, but is not extant. It is thought to be quoted in II Clem. xi. 2. Eldad and Modat are mentioned in Numbers xi. 26.
1. Ἀπεκαλύφθη δὲ μοι, ἀδελφοί, κοιμωμένω ὕπο νεανίσκου εὐειδεστάτου λέγοντός μου. Τὴν πρεσβυτέραν, παρ’ ἥς ἔλαβες τὸ βιβλίδιον, τίνα δοκεῖς εἶναι; ἐγὼ φημὶ. Τὴν Σίβυλλαν. Πλα- νᾶσαι, φησίν, οὐκ ἔστιν. Τίς οὖν ἔστιν; φημὶ. Ἡ Ἐκκλησία, φησίν. εἶπον αὐτῷ. Διατὶ οὖν πρεσβυτέρα; Ὡτι, φησίν, πάντων πρώτη ἐκτί- σθη. διὰ τούτο πρεσβυτέρα· καὶ διὰ ταῦτην ὁ κόσμος κατηρτίσθη. 2. μετέπειτα δὲ ὅρασιν εἶδον ἐν τῷ οίκῳ μου. ἤλθεν ἡ πρεσβυτέρα καὶ ἠρώτησέν με, εἰ ἦδη τὸ βιβλίον δέδωκα τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις. ἡρμησάμην δεδωκέναι. Καλῶς, φησίν, πεποίηκας· ἔχω γὰρ ρῆμα προσθεῖναι. ὅταν οὖν ἄποτελέσω τὰ ρήματα πάντα, διὰ σοῦ γνωρίσθησαι τοῖς ἐκλεκτοῖς πᾶσιν. 3. γράψεις οὖν1 δύο βιβλαρίδια καὶ πέμψεις ἐν Κλήμεντι καὶ ἐν Γραπτῇ. πέμψει οὖν Κλήμης εἰς τὰς ἐξω πόλεις, ἐκείνῳ γὰρ ἐπιτέρπαται. Γραπτῇ δὲ νουθητέσθη τὰς χήρας καὶ τοὺς ὀρφανοὺς. σὺ δὲ ἀναγνώσῃ εἰς ταῦτην τὴν πόλιν μετὰ τῶν πρεσ- βυτέρων τῶν προϊσταμένων τῆς ἐκκλησίας.

"Ὀρασίς γ.’.

I

1. "Ὁν εἶδον, ἀδελφοί, τοιαύτη. 2. νηστεύσας πολλάκις καὶ δεήθεις τοῦ κυρίου, ἵνα μοι φανε-

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1 γράψεις οὖν Νο AL, γράψεις Ν*, καὶ γράψεις L9F.
1. And a revelation was made to me, brethren, while I slept, by a very beautiful young man who said to me, "Who do you think that the ancient lady was from whom you received the little book?" I said, "The Sibyl." "You are wrong," he said, "she is not." "Who is she, then?" I said. "The Church," he said. I said to him, "Why then is she old?" "Because," he said, "she was created the first of all things. For this reason is she old; and for her sake was the world established." 2. And afterwards I saw a vision in my house. The ancient lady came and asked me if I had already given the book to the elders. I said that I had not given it. "You have done well," she said, "for I have words to add. When, therefore, I have finished all the words they shall be made known by you to all the elect. 3. You shall therefore write two little books and send one to Clement and one to Grapte. Clement then shall send it to the cities abroad, for that is his duty; and Grapte shall exhort the widows and orphans; but in this city you shall read it yourself with the elders who are in charge of the church."

VISION 3.

I

1. The third vision which I saw, brethren, was as follows: 2. I had fasted for a long time, and prayed again...
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ρώση τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν, ἢν μοι ἐπηγγείλατο δείξαι διὰ τῆς πρεσβυτέρας ἐκείνης, ἀυτῇ τῇ νυκτὶ μοι ὅπται ἡ πρεσβυτέρα καὶ εἰπέν μοι: 'Εστεί οὖτως ἐνδεχὴ εἰ καὶ σπουδαῖος εἰς τὸ γνώναι πάντα, ἐλθὲ εἰς τὸν ἁγρόν, ὅπου χουνδίζεις, καὶ περὶ ὁραν πέμπτην ἐμφανισθῆσομαι σοι καὶ δείξω σοι, δ ἰδεῖ σε ἰδεῖν. 3. ἡ ῥώμησα αὐτῆς λέγων: Κυρία, εἰς ποῖον τόπον τοῦ ἁγροῦ; Ὅτουν, φησίν, θέλεις. ἐξελεξάμην τόπον καλὸν ἀνα-κεχωρηκότα. πρὶν δὲ λαλῆσαι αὐτῇ καὶ εἰπεῖν τὸν τόπον, λέγει μοι: Ὅξω ἐκεῖ, ὅπου θέλεις. 4. ἐγενόμην οὖν, ἄδελφοι, εἰς τὸν ἁγρόν καὶ συνεψήφισα τὰς ὁρὰς καὶ ἤλθον εἰς τὸν τόπον, ὅπου διεταξάμην αὐτῇ ἔλθειν, καὶ βλέπω συμ-ψέλιον κείμενον ἑλεφάντινον, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ συμ-ψελίου ἐκεῖτο κερβικάριον λινοῦ καὶ ἐπάνω λεντιον ἐξηπλωμένον λινοῦ καρπάσιον. 5. ἤδων ταῦτα κείμενα καὶ μηδένα ὄντα ἐν τῷ τόπῳ ἐκθαμβοῦσι δεξαμενή, καὶ ὅσει τρόμος με ἔλαβεν καὶ αἱ τρίχες μοι ὅρθαι: καὶ ὅσει φρίκη μοι προσήλθεν μόνον μου ὄντος. ἐν ἐμαυτῷ οὖν γενόμενος καὶ μησθεὶς τῆς δόξης τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ λαβὼν θάρσος, θεῖς τὰ γόνατα ἐξωμολογούμην τῷ κυρίῳ πάλιν τὰς ἀμαρτίας μου 3 ὡς καὶ πρότερον. 6. ἡ δὲ ἤλθεν μετὰ νεανίσκων ἢ, ὅσ καὶ πρότερον ἐωράκειν, καὶ ἐστάθη 4 μοι καὶ κατηκροάτο προσευχομένου καὶ ἐξομολογουμένου τῷ κυρίῳ τὰς ἀμαρτίας μου. καὶ ἀφαίμην μου λέγει.

1 ἐκείνης om. Ν. 2 Ὅμ. Ν*. 3 ἀμαρτίας μου—ἀμαρτίας μου om. per homoioit. ΝΛ₁. 4 ἐστάθη Α, stetit post me Λ₁€, ἐπιστάθη is accepted by most editors as an emendation.
THE SHEPHERD, vis. iii. i. 2-6

the Lord to explain to me the revelation which he had promised to show me through that ancient lady; and in the same night the ancient lady appeared to me and said to me: "Since you are so importunate and zealous to know everything, come into the country, where you are farming, and at the fifth hour I will appear to you, and show you what you must see." 3. I asked her, saying, "Lady, to what part of the field?" "Where you like," she said. I chose a beautiful secluded spot; but before I spoke to her and mentioned the place she said to me, "I will be there, where you wish." 4. I went, therefore, brethren, to the country, and I counted the hours, and I came to the spot where I had arranged for her to come, and I saw a couch of ivory placed there, and on the couch there lay a linen pillow, and over it a covering of fine linen was spread out. 5. When I saw these things lying there, and no one in the place I was greatly amazed, and, as it were, trembling seized me and my hair stood on end. And, as it were, panic came to me because I was alone. When therefore I came to myself, and remembered the glory of God and took courage, I knelt down and confessed my sins again to the Lord, as I had also done before. 6. And she came with six young men, whom I had also seen on the former occasion, and stood by me, and listened to me praying and confessing my sins to the Lord. And
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Ἐρμᾶ, παῦσαι περὶ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν σου πάντα ἔρωτάν· ἔρωτα καὶ περὶ δικαιοσύνης, ἵνα λάβῃς μέρος τι ἐξ αὐτῆς εἰς τῶν οἰκῶν σου. 7. καὶ ἐξεγείρει με τῆς χειρὸς καὶ ἀγει με πρὸς τὸ συμφέλειον καὶ λέγει τοῖς νεανίσκοις: Ἧπτάγετε καὶ οἰκοδομεῖτε. 8. καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἀναχωρῆσαι τῶν νεανίσκοις καὶ μόνων ἡμῶν γεγονότων λέγει μοι. Κάθισον ὅδε. λέγω αὐτῇ: Κυρίῳ, ἄφες τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους πρῶτον καθίσαι. Ὁ σοι λέγω, φησίν, κάθισον. 9. θέλοντος οὖν μου καθίσαι εἰς τὰ δεξιὰ μέρη οὐκ εἰσάσθε με, ἀλλ' ἐννευεί μοι τῇ χειρί, ἵνα εἰς τὰ ἀριστερὰ μέρη καθίσω. διαλογιζομένου 1 μου οὖν καὶ λυπομένου, ὁτι οὐκ εἰσάσθε με εἰς τὰ δεξιὰ μέρη καθίσαι, λέγει μοι. Δυτὶ, Ἐρμᾶ; ο εἰς τὰ δεξιὰ μέρη τόπος ἄλλων ἑστὶν, τῶν ἢδη εὐαρεστηκότων τῷ θεῷ καὶ παθόντων εἴπεκα τοῦ ὑνόματος. 2 σοὶ δὲ πολλὰ λείπει ἕνα μετ' αὐτῶν καθίσης: ἀλλὰ ὡς μένεις 3 τῇ ἀπλότητί σου, μεῖνον, καὶ καθίσῃ, μετ' αὐτῶν καὶ ὅσοι ἐὰν ἐργάσωνται τὰ ἐκείνων ἔργα καὶ ὑπενέγκασιν, ὅ καὶ ἐκεῖνοι ὑπήνεγκαν.

II

1. Τί, φησίν, ὑπήνεγκαν; "Ἀκούε, φησίν, μάστιγας, φυλακάς, θλίψεις μεγάλας, σταυροὺς, θηρία εἴνεκεν τοῦ ὑνόματος. διὰ τοῦτο ἐκείνων ἑστὶν τὰ

1 διαλογιζ. Ν*; λογιζομ. Α (Ν* om. per homoiot. ἀλλ' ἐννευεὶ—εἰσάσθε με).
2 μου τοῦ ὑνόματος Ν*, τοῦ ὑνόματός μου Νο, τοῦ ὑνόματος αὐτοῦ ΑΛΕ, τοῦ ὑνόματος Λη. 3 μένεις Ν*, ἐμβέλεις ΝοΑ.
she touched me and said: "Hermas! stop asking all these questions about your sins, ask also concerning righteousness, that you may take presently some part of it to your family." 7. And she raised me up by the hand and took me to the couch and said to the young men: "Go and build." 8. And after the young men had gone away and we were alone, she said to me: "Sit here." I said to her: "Lady, let the elders sit first." She said: "Do what I tell you, and sit down." 9. Yet when I wished to sit on the right hand she would not let me, but signed to me with her hand to sit on the left. When therefore I thought about this, and was grieved because she did not let me sit on the right hand, she said to me: "Are you sorry, Hermas? The seat on the right is for others, who have already been found well-pleasing to God and have suffered for the Name. But you fall far short of sitting with them. But remain in your simplicity as you are doing, and you shall sit with them, and so shall all who do their deeds and bear what they also bore."

II

1. "What," I said, "did they bear?" "Listen," she said: "Stripes, imprisonments, great afflictions, crucifixions, wild beasts, for the sake of the Name.

1 The meaning is obscure: 'the elders' is often explained as 'the Elders of the Church,' but it is more probably a mere formula of politeness 'seniores priores.'
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dεξιά μέρη τοῦ ἀγιάσματος καὶ δς ἐὰν πάθη διὰ τὸ ὄνομα· τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν τὰ ἁριστερὰ μέρη ἐστίν. ἀλλὰ ἀμφοτέρων, καὶ τῶν ἐκ δεξιῶν καὶ τῶν ἁριστερῶν καθημένων, τὰ αὐτὰ δόρα καὶ αὶ αὐταὶ ἐπαγγελλαί· μόνον ἐκεῖνοι ἐκ δεξιῶν καθημαί καὶ ἐχοὺσιν δόξαν τινά. 2. σὺ δὲ καταπειθοῦμεις καθισά τικων μετ’ αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ τὰ ὑστερήματα σου πολλα. καθαρισθήσῃ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ὑστερήματων σου καὶ πάντες οἱ μὴ διψυχοῦντες καθαρισθήσονται ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων εἰς ταῦτην τὴν ἡμέραν. 3. ταῦτα εἴπασα ἦθελεν ἀπελθεῖν πεσὼν δὲ αὐτῆς πρὸς τοὺς πόδας ἡρώτησα αὐτὴν κατὰ τοῦ κυρίου, ἵνα μοι ἐπιδείξῃ δ ἐπηργεῖλατο ὁ δράμα. 4. ὥ δὲ πάλιν ἐπελάβετο μου τῆς χειρὸς καὶ ἐγείρει με καὶ καθέξος ἐπὶ τὸ συμμέλειον ἐξ εὐωνύμων ἐκαθέξοτο δὲ καὶ αὐτὴ ἐκ δεξιῶν. καὶ ἐπάρασα Ῥάβδου τινὰ λαμπρὰν λέγει μου· Βλέπεις μέγα πρόγμα; λέγω αὐτῇ· Κυρία, οὐδὲν βλέπω. λέγει μοι· Σὺ, ἰδοὺ, σὺν ὁρὰς κατέναντί σου πύργῳ μέγαν οἰκοδομούμενον ἐπὶ υδάτων λίθοις τετραγώνωσις λαμπροῖς; 5. εἰς τετραγώνῳ δὲ ὁκοδομεῖτο ὁ πύργος ὑπὸ τῶν ἐξ νεάνισκων τῶν ἐληλυθότων μετ’ αὐτῆς· ἀλλαὶ δὲ μυριάδες ἀνδρῶν παρέφερσι λίθους, οἱ μὲν ἐκ τοῦ βυθοῦ, οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῆς γῆς, καὶ ἐπεδίδουν τοὺς ἐξ νεάνισκοις· ἐκεῖνοι δὲ ἐλάμβανον καὶ ὁκοδομοῦν. 6. τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τοῦ βυθοῦ λίθους ἐλκομένους πάντας οὕτως ἐτίθεσαν εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν ἡμος-μένοι γὰρ ἦσαν καὶ συνεφώνουν τῇ ἁρμογῇ μετὰ τῶν ἐτέρων· καὶ οὕτως ἐκολλάντο ἀλλήλοις, ὡστε τὴν ἁρμογὴν αὐτῶν μὴ φαίνεσθαι. ἐφαίνετο

1 πάντες Να, πάντες δὲ Νο Α. 2 εἰς Νο ΑΛΕ, ἐξηκοντα Να.
THE SHEPHERD, VIS. III. ii. 1–6

Therefore is it given to them to be on the right hand of the Holiness, and to everyone who shall suffer for the Name; but for the rest there is the left side. But both, whether they sit on the right or the left, have the same gifts, and the same promises, only the former sit on the right and have somewhat of glory. 2. And you are desirous of sitting on the right hand with them, but your failings are many. But you shall be cleansed from your failings, and all who are not double-minded shall be cleansed from all sins, up to this day.”

3. When she had said this she wished to go away, but I fell at her feet and besought her by the Lord, to show me the vision which she had promised.

4. And she again took me by the hand and lifted me up, and made me sit on the couch on the left and she herself sat on the right. And she lifted up a certain glittering rod, and she said to me: “Do you see a great thing?” I said to her: “Lady, I see nothing.” She said to me: “Behold, do you not see before you a great tower being built on the water with shining square stones?”

5. Now the tower was being built four-square by the six young men who had come with her; but tens of thousands of other men were bringing stones, some from the deep sea, and some from the land, and were giving them to the six young men, and these kept taking them and building. 6. The stones which had been dragged from the deep sea, they placed without exception as they were into the building, for they had all been shaped and fitted into the joins with the other stones. And they so fastened one to the other that their joins could not be seen. But the
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de ἡ οἰκοδομὴ τοῦ πύργου ὡς ἔξ ἐνὸς λίθου φικοδομημένη. 7. τοὺς δὲ ἑτέρους λίθους τοὺς φερομένους ἀπὸ τῆς ξηρᾶς τοὺς μὲν ἀπέβαλλον, τοὺς δὲ ἐτίθειν αἰς τὴν οἰκοδομῆν ἄλλους δὲ κατέκοπτον καὶ ἔρριπτον μακρὰν ἀπὸ τοῦ πύργου. 8. ἄλλου δὲ λίθου πολλοὶ κύκλω τοῦ πύργου ἐκείνω, καὶ οὐκ ἔχρωντο αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκοδομῆν. ἦσαν γὰρ τινες ἔξ αὐτῶν ἔψωρικότες, ἑτέροι δὲ σχισμάς ἔχοντες, ἄλλοι δὲ κεκολοβωμένοι, ἄλλοι δὲ λευκοὶ καὶ στρογγύλοι, μὴ ἀρμόζοντες αἰς τὴν οἰκοδομῆν. 9. ἐβλεπον δὲ ἑτέρους λίθους ῥυποτομεχνοῦμεν δὲ λίθους μακρὰν ἀπὸ τοῦ πύργου καὶ ἐρχομένους εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομῆν. ἐβλεπον δὲ ἑτέρους λίθους ῥυποτομεχνοῦμεν μακρὰν ἀπὸ τοῦ πύργου καὶ ἐρχομένους εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομῆν. 11. ἐβλεπον δὲ ἑτέρους λίθους ῥυποτομεχνοῦ μεν δὲ λίθους μακρὰν ἀπὸ τοῦ πύργου καὶ ἐρχομένους εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομῆν. 12. ἐβλεπον δὲ ἑτέρους λίθους ῥυποτομεχνοῦ μεν δὲ λίθους μακρὰν ἀπὸ τοῦ πύργου καὶ ἐρχομένους εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομῆν.

III

1. Δείξασά μοι ταῦτα ήθελεν ἀποτρέχειν. λέγω αὐτή. Κυρία, τί μοι ὁφελος ταῦτα ἐφορακότι καὶ μὴ γινώσκοντι, τί ἐστίν τὰ πράγματα; ἀποκριθεὶσά μοι λέγει. Πανοῦργος εἰ ἀνθρώπως, θέλων γινώσκειν τὰ περὶ τὸν πύργον. Ναι, φημί, κυρία, οὐ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ἀναγγείλω καὶ ἰλαρώτεροι γένωται καὶ ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες γινώσκοσιν τὸν

1 ἔρριπτον ἈΛΕ, ἐτίθεουν Ν. 2 τοῦ πύργου—τοῦ πύργου om. per homoiot. Ν. 3 ἐπὶ Νο, εἰς ΝοΔ. 4 ἰλαρώτεροι γένωται, καὶ ταῦτα Λ, om. ΝΕ which also alter the next sentence to ἐν πολλῇ δάξῃ, ἐφη, ἀκούσονται κ.τ.λ.
THE SHEPHERD, vis. iii. ii. 6-iii. 1

building of the tower appeared as if it had been built of a single stone. 7. Of the other stones, which were being brought from the dry ground, they cast some away, and some they put into the building and others they broke up and cast far from the tower. 8. And many other stones were lying round the tower, and they did not use them for the building, for some of them were rotten, and others had cracks, and others were too short, and others were white and round and did not fit into the building. 9. And I saw other stones being cast far from the tower, and coming on to the road, and not staying on the road, but rolling from the road into the rough ground. And others were falling into the fire, and were being burnt, and others were falling near the water, and could not be rolled into the water, although men wished them to be rolled on and to come into the water.

III

1. When she had showed me these things she wished to hasten away. I said to her: "Lady, what does it benefit me to have seen these things, if I do not know what they mean?" She answered me and said: "You are a persistent man, wanting to know about the tower." "Yes," I said, "Lady, in order that I may report to my brethren, and that they may be made more joyful, and when they hear these
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IV

1. Ἀποκριθεὶς λέγω αὕτη: Κυρία, μεγάλως καὶ θαυμαστῶς ἔχει τὸ πρᾶγμα τοῦτο: οἱ δὲ
THE SHEPHERD, viii. iii. iii. 1–iv. i

things may know the Lord in great glory.”
2. And she said: “Many indeed shall hear, but some of them shall rejoice when they hear, and some shall mourn. But these also, if they hear and repent, even they shall rejoice. Hear then, the parables of the tower, for I will reveal everything to you. And no longer trouble me about revelation, for these revelations are finished, for they have been fulfilled. Yet you will not cease asking for revelations, for you are shameless. 3. The tower which you see being built is myself, the Church, who have appeared to you both now and formerly. Ask, therefore, what you will about the tower, and I will reveal it to you, that you may rejoice with the saints.” 4. I said to her: “Lady, since you have once thought me worthy to reveal everything to me, proceed with the revelation.” And she said to me: “What is permitted to be revealed to you shall be revealed; only let your heart be turned towards God and do not be double-minded as to what you see.”
5. I asked her: “Why has the tower been built on the water, Lady?” “As I told you before, you are seeking diligently,” said she, “and so by seeking you are finding out the truth. Hear, then, why the tower has been built upon the water: because your life was saved and shall be saved through water, and the tower has been founded by the utterance of the almighty and glorious Name, and is maintained by the unseen power of the Master.”

IV

1. I answered and said to her: “Lady, great and wonderful is this thing. But, Lady, who are the six young men?
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νεανίσκοι οἱ ἔξιοι οἱ οἰκοδομοῦντες, τίνες εἰσίν, κυρία; Οὗτοι εἰσίν οἱ ἄγιοι ἀγγελοὶ τοῦ θεοῦ οἱ πρώτοι κτισθέντες, οἳς παρέδωκεν ὁ κύριος πάσαν τὴν κτίσιν αὐτοῦ αὐξεῖν καὶ οἰκοδομεῖν καὶ δεσπόζειν τῆς κτίσεως πάσης; διὰ τούτων οὖν τελεσθῆσαι ἡ οἰκοδομὴ τοῦ πύργου. 2. Οἱ δὲ ἐτεροὶ οἱ παραφέρουσιν τοὺς λίθους, τίνες εἰσίν; Καὶ αὐτοὶ ἄγιοι ἀγγελοὶ τοῦ θεοῦ οὗτοι δὲ οἱ ἔξι ὑπερέχουσιν αὐτοὺς εἰσίν: συντελεσθῆσαι οὖν ἡ οἰκοδομὴ τοῦ πύργου, καὶ πάντες ὁμοί εὐφρανθήσουνται κύκλῳ τοῦ πύργου καὶ δοξάσουσιν τῶν θεῶν, ὅτι ἐτελέσθη ἡ οἰκοδομὴ τοῦ πύργου. 3. ἐπηρώτησα αὐτὴν λέγων· Κυρία, ἤθελον γνώναι τῶν λίθων τὴν ἔξοδον καὶ τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῶν, ποταμῷ ἐστίν. ἀποκριθεὶσά μοι λέγει· Οὐχ ὅτι σὺ ἐκ πάντων ἀξιώτερος εἰ, ἢν σοι ἀποκαλυφθῇ. ἄλλοι γὰρ σοι πρότεροι εἰσίν καὶ βελτίωνές σου, οἷς ἔδει ἀποκαλυφθῆναι τὰ ὀράματα ταῦτα· ἀλλ’ ἢν δοξασθῇ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ, σοι ἀπεκαλύφθη καὶ ἀποκαλυφθῆσεται διὰ τῶν δυσφύχους, τῶν διαλογιζομένων ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις αὐτῶν, εἰ ἄρα ἐστίν ταῦτα ἡ ὑπὶ ἐστίν. ἂν γε αὐτοῖς, ὅτι αὐτὰ πάντα ἐστὶν ἀληθῆ καὶ οὐθὲν ἐξωθέν ἐστίν τῆς ἀληθείας, ἄλλα πάντα ἵσχυρὰ καὶ βέβαια καὶ τεθεμελιωμένα ἐστίν.

V

1. Ἄκουε νῦν περὶ τῶν λίθων τῶν ὑπαγόντων εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομήν. οἱ μὲν οὖν λίθοι οἱ τετράγωνοι

1 ἔξι Ν. Α. Λ. ἐξήκοντα Ν. τοιούτα Ντον, om. E. (but in the next verse Ν also reads ἔξι). 2 εἰ ἄρα . . . ὑπὶ ἐστίν ομ. Ν. 

36
young men who are building?" "These are the holy angels of God, who were first created, to whom the Lord delivered all his creation to make it increase, and to build it up, and to rule the whole creation. Through them, therefore, the building of the tower shall be completed." 2. "But who are the others, who are bringing the stones?" "They also are holy angels of God, but these six are greater than they. Therefore the building of the tower shall be completed, and all shall rejoice together around the tower, and shall glorify God because the building of the tower has been completed." 3. I asked her saying: "Lady, I would like to know the end of the stones, and what kind of force they have." She answered me and said: "It is not because you are more worthy than all others that a revelation should be made to you, for there were others before you and better than you, to whom these visions ought to have been revealed. But in order that 'the name of God might be glorified' they have been, and shall be, revealed to you because of the double-minded who dispute in their heart whether these things are so or not. Tell them, that all these things are true, and that there is nothing beyond the truth, but that all things are strong and certain and well-founded.

V

1. "LISTEN then concerning the stones which go The stones into the building. The stones which are square and

1 Here almost the equivalent of 'meaning.'—'What is their meaning in the vision?'}
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καὶ λευκοὶ καὶ συμφωνοῦντες ταῖς ἄρμογαῖς αΥΤῶν, οὕτως εἰσίν οἱ ἀπόστολοι καὶ ἐπίσκοποι καὶ διδάσκαλοι καὶ διάκονοι οἱ πορευόμενοι κατὰ τὴν σεμνότητα τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἐπισκοπῆσαντες καὶ διδάσαντες καὶ διακονησαντες ἄγνως καὶ σεμνῶς τοῖς ἐκλεκτοῖς τοῦ θεοῦ, οἱ μὲν κεκοιμημένοι, οἱ δὲ ἔτι οὐκέντο, καὶ πάντοτε ἐαυτοὶς συνεφώνησαν καὶ ἐν ἑαυτοῖς εἰρήνην ἔσχον καὶ ἀλλήλων ἥκουσαν. διὰ τούτων ἐν τῇ οἰκοδομῇ τοῦ πύργου συμφωνοῦσιν αἱ ἄρμογαὶ αὐτῶν. 2. Οἱ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ βυθοῦ ἐλκόμενοι καὶ ἐπιτιθέμενοι εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομήν καὶ συμφωνοῦντες ταῖς ἄρμογαῖς αὐτῶν μετὰ τῶν ἑτέρων λίθων τῶν ἡδονοδομημένων, τίνες εἰσίν; Οὕτως εἰσίν οἱ παθόντες ἐνεκεν τοῦ ἀνόματος τοῦ κυρίου. 3. Τοὺς δὲ ἑτέρους λίθους τοὺς φερομένους ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας θέλω γνῶναι, τίνες εἰσίν, κυρία. ἐφιάλησον μὲν εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομήν ὑπάγοντας καὶ μὴ λατομομένους, τοῦτοις ὁ κύριος ἐδοκίμασεν, διὸ κατορθώσαν τοὺς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ. 4. Οἱ δὲ ἄγομενοι καὶ τιθέμενοι εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομήν, τίνες εἰσίν; Νέοι εἰσίν ἐν τῇ πίστει καὶ πιστοὶ. γνωθι τούτοις δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀγγέλων εἰς τὸ ἀγαθὸ ποιεῖν, διὸτι εὑρέθη ἐν αὐτοῖς πονηρία. 5. Οὗς δὲ ἀπέβαλλον καὶ ἔριπτον, τίνες εἰσίν; Οὕτως εἰσίν ήμαρτηκότες καὶ θέλοντες μετανοήσασιν: διὰ τοῦτο μακρὰν οὐκ ἀπερίφησαν ἕξω τοῦ πύργου, διὸ κατ᾽ ἡχρηστοί ἔσωνται εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομήν, εὰν μετανοήσωσιν. οἱ οὗν μέλλοντες μετανοεῖν, εὰν μετανοήσωσιν, ἵσχυροι ἔσωνται ἐν τῇ πίστει, εὰν νῦν μετανοήσωσιν, ἐν δὲ οἰκοδομεῖται ὁ πύργος. εὰν

1 κυρίου ΔL, θεοῦ Ρ. 2 εὑρέθη Νήθι, οὐχ εὑρέθη ΔΛΕ.
THE SHEPHERD, vis. III. v. 1-5

white and which fit into their joins are the Apostles and bishops and teachers and deacons who walked according to the majesty of God, and served the elect of God in holiness and reverence as bishops and teachers and deacons; some of them are fallen asleep and some are still alive. And they always agreed among themselves, and had peace among themselves, and listened to one another; for which cause their joins fit in the building of the tower.

2. “But who are they who have been brought out of the deep sea, and added on to the building, and agree in their joins with the other stones which have already been built?” “These are they who have suffered for the name of the Lord.” 3. “But I should like to know, Lady, who are the other stones which are being brought from the dry land?” She said: “Those which go into the building without being hewed are they whom the Lord approved because they walked in the uprightness of the Lord and preserved his commandments.” 4. “But who are they who are being brought and placed in the building?” “They are young in the faith and faithful; but they are being exhorted by the angels to good deeds, because wickedness has been found in them.” 5. “But who are they whom they were rejecting and throwing away?” “These are they who have sinned and wish to repent; for this reason they have not been cast far away from the tower, because they will be valuable for the building if they repent. Those, then, who are going to repent, if they do so, will be strong in the faith if they repent now, while the tower is being built;
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δε τελεσθη η οικοδομη, ουκετι εχουσιν τοπον, άλλη εσονται εκβολοι μονον δε τοτο εχουσιν, παρα τω πυργη χεισθαι.

VI

1. Τοις δε κατακοπτομενοι καλ μακραν ριπτομενοι1 απο του πυργου θελεις γνωναι; ουτοι εισιν οι νιοι της άνομας επιστευσαν δε εν υποκρισει, καλ πασα πονηρια ουκ απεστη απ' αυτων δια τοτο ουκ εχουσιν σωτηριαν, οτι ουκ εισιν εχρηστοι εις οικοδομην δια τας πονηριας αυτων. δια τοτο συνεκοπησαν και πορρω απεριφησαν δια την οργην του κυριου, οτι παρωργισαν αυτων.

2. τοις δε έτερους, οθς εωρακας πολλον καιμενον, μη υπαγοντας εις την οικοδομην, ουτοι οι μεν εψωριακοτες εισιν, οι εγνωκοτες την αληθειαν, μη επιμενοντας2 δε εν αυτη.3 3. Οι δε τας σχισμας εχουσες, τινες εισιν; Ουτοι εισιν οι κατ' αλληλων εν ταις καρδιαις εχουσες και μη ειρηνευσες εν εαυτοις, άλλα προσωπων ευρηνης εχουτες, οταν δε απ' αλληλων υποχωρησωσιν, αι πονηριαι αυτων εν ταις καρδιαις εμενουσιν αυται ουν αι σχισμαι εισιν, ας εχουσιν οι λιθοι.

4. οι δε κεκολοβωμενοι, ουτοι εισιν πεπιστευκοτες μεν και το πλειον μερος εχουσιν4 εν τη δικαιοσυνη, τινα δε μερη εχουσιν της άνομας, δια τοτο κολοβοι και ουχ ολοτελεις εισιν. 5.

I Thess. 5, 13, cf. Mk. 9, 50

1 καλ μακραν ριπτομενοι ομ. Ν.
2 επιμενοντας Ν., επιμελεντας Α.
3 αυτη NL=E, αυτη, μηδε κολλομενοι τοις άγλοις. δια τοτο εχρηστοι εισιν ΑΛ1.
4 έχουσιν Ν., έχουτες Α.
THE SHEPHERD, v. ii. v. 5—vi. 5

but if the building be finished, they no longer have a place, but will be cast away. But they have only this,—that they lie beside the tower.”

VI

1. “Do you wish to know who are those which are being broken up and cast far from the tower? These are the sons of wickedness; and their faith was hypocrisy, and no wickedness departed from them. For this cause they had no salvation, for because of their wickedness they are not useful for the building. Therefore they were broken up and cast far away, because of the anger of the Lord, for they had provoked his anger. 2. But the others of whom you saw many left lying and not going into the building, of these those which are rotten are they who have known the truth, but are not remaining in it.” 3. “And who are they which have the cracks?” “These are they who bear malice in their hearts against one another, and are not ‘at peace among themselves,’ but maintain the appearance of peace, yet when they depart from one another their wickednesses remain in their hearts. These are the cracks which the stones have. 4. And those which are too short are they which have believed, and they live for the greater part in righteousness, but have some measure of wickedness. Therefore they are short and not perfect.” 5. “But who, Lady, are the white
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Οἱ δὲ λευκοὶ καὶ στρογγύλοι καὶ μὴ ἀρμόζοντες εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν, τίνες εἰσίν, κυρία; ἀποκριθείσα μου λέγει: "Εἴσοδός μου καὶ ἀσύνετος, καὶ πάντα ἐπερωτᾶς καὶ οὐδὲν νοεῖς; οὗτοί εἰσιν ἑχοντες μὲν πίστιν, ἑχοντες δὲ καὶ πλοῦτον τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου· ὅταν γένηται θλίψις, διὰ τὸν πλοῦτον¹ αὐτῶν καὶ διὰ τὰς πραγματείας ἀπαρνοῦνται τὸν κύριον αὐτῶν. 6. καὶ ἀποκριθεῖς αὐτῇ λέγω: Κυρία, πότε ὦν εὐχρηστοὶ ἑσονται εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν; "Οταν, φησίν, περικοπὴ αὐτῶν ὁ πλοῦτος ὁ ψυχαγωγῶν αὐτούς, τότε εὐχρηστοὶ ἑσονται τῷ θεῷ. ὃστερ γὰρ ὁ λίθος ὁ στρογγύλος, εὰν μὴ περικοπὴ καὶ ἀποβάλη εξ αὐτοῦ τι, οὐ δύναται τετράγωνος γενέσθαι, οὕτω καὶ οἱ πλοῦτοιντες ἐν τούτῳ τῷ αἰῶνι, εὰν μὴ περικοπὴ αὐτῶν ὁ πλοῦτος, οὐ δύνανται τῷ κυρίῳ εὐχρηστοὶ γενέσθαι. 7. ἀπὸ σεαυτοῦ πρῶτον γνῶθι· ὅτε ἐπλοῦτεσι, ἄχρηστος ἐστι, νῦν δὲ εὐχρηστοὶ εἰ καὶ ὄφελος τῇ ζωῇ. εὐχρηστοὶ γίνεσθε τῷ θεῷ· καὶ γὰρ σὺ αὐτὸς χρᾶσαι ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν λίθων.²

VII

1. Τοὺς δὲ ἐτέρους λίθους, οὓς εἰδὲς μακρὰν ἀπὸ τοῦ πύργου μιστομένους καὶ πέπτοντας εἰς τὴν ὁδὸν καὶ κυλομένους ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ εἰς τὰς ἀνοδίας· οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ πεπιστευκότες μέν, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς διψυχίας αὐτῶν ἀφίσουσιν τὴν ὁδὸν αὐτῶν τὴν ἀληθινὴν· δοκοῦντες οὖν βελτίων ὁδὸν δύ-

¹ τοῦ αἰῶνος . . . πλοῦτον om. Χ.
² καὶ γὰρ . . . λίθων om. Χ.

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and round ones which do not fit into the building?" She answered and said to me, "How long will you be stupid and foolish, and ask everything and understand nothing? These are they which have faith, but have also the riches of this world. When persecution comes, because of their wealth and because of business they deny their Lord." 6. And I answered and said to her, "Lady, but then when will they be useful for the building?" "When," she said, "their wealth, which leads their souls astray, shall be cut off from them, then they will be useful to God. For just as the round stone cannot become square, unless something be cut off and taken away from it, so too they who have riches in this world cannot be useful to the Lord unless their wealth be cut away from them. 7. Understand it first from your own case; when you were rich, you were useless, but now you are useful and helpful for the Life. Be useful to God, for you yourself are taken from the same stones. 1

VII

1. "But as for the other stones which you saw being cast far from the tower, and falling on to the road, and rolling from the road on to the rough ground; these are they who have believed, but because of their double-mindedness leave their true road. They think that it is possible to find a better

1 This appears to be the meaning; but the Greek is obscure and the early translations all paraphrase it so freely that they cannot be used to suggest any emendation.
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νασθαί εὑρεῖν, πλανώνται καὶ ταλαιπωροῦσιν περιπατοῦντες ἐν ταῖς ἀνοδίαις. 2. οἱ δὲ πίπτουν ἐς τὸ πῦρ καὶ κακόνευοι, οὕτωι εἰς εἰς τέλος ἀποστάντες τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἔχοντος, καὶ οὐκέτι ἀντίς ἀνέβη ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν τοῦ μετανοοῦσαι διὰ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας τῆς ἀσελγείας αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν πονηρῶν ἀν εἰργάσαντο. 3. τοὺς δὲ έτέρους τοὺς πίπτοντας έγνως τῶν ὑδάτων καὶ μὴ δυναμένους κυλισθῆναι εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ θέλεις γνώναι, τίνες εἰσίν; οὕτωι εἰς εἰς τὸν λόγον ἀκούσαντες καὶ θέλοντες βαπτισθῆναι εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ κυρίου εἶτα δὴν αὐτοῖς ἔλθῃ εἰς μνείαν ἢ ἀγνότης τῆς ἀληθείας, μετανοοῦσιν καὶ πορεύονται πάλιν ὡπίσω τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν αὐτῶν τῶν πονηρῶν. 4. ἔτελεσαν οὖν τὴν ἐξήγησιν τοῦ πῦργου. 5. ἀναιδευσάμενος ἐτι αὐτὴν ἐπηρώτησα, εἰ ἀρα πάντες οἱ λίθοι οὗτοι οἱ ἀποθεμένοι καὶ μὴ ἁρμόζοντες εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν τοῦ πῦργου, εἰ ἔστιν αὐτοῖς μετάνοια καὶ ἔχουσιν τόπον εἰς τὸν πῦργον τούτον. Ἐχονσιν, φησίν, μετάνοιαν, ἄλλα εἰς τούτον τὸν πῦργον οὐ δύνανται ἁρμόζαι. 6. ἔτερῳ δὲ τῶν ἁρμόζων πολὺ ἐλάττων, καὶ τούτῳ ὡτ_salvator καὶ ἐκπληρώσων τὰς ἡμέρας τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν αὐτῶν καὶ διὰ τούτῳ μετατεθήσονται, ὦτι μετέλαβον τοῦ ῥήματος τοῦ δικαίου, καὶ τὸτε αὐτοῖς συμβήσεται μετατεθῆναι ἐκ τῶν βασάνων αὐτῶν, διὰ τὰ ἔργα ἀ εἰργάσαντο πονηρά. ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἀναβῇ ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν αὐτῶν, οὐ σώζονται διὰ τὴν σκληροκαρδίαν αὐτῶν.

1 διὰ NL₂, ἐὰν ἀναβῇ ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν αὐτῶν AL₁E. The text of NL₂ can scarcely be quite correct, but the other is clearly an emendation.

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road, and err and wander miserably in the rough ground. 2. And they who are falling into the fire and are being burnt, these are they who finally 'apostatise from the living God' and it no longer enters into their hearts to repent because of their licentious lusts, and the crimes which they have committed. 3. But do you wish to know who are the others which are falling near the water and cannot be rolled into the water? 'These are they who have heard the Word' and wish to be baptised 'in the name of the Lord.' Then, when the purity of the Truth comes into their recollection they repent and go again 'after their evil lusts.' 4. So she ended the explanation of the tower. 5. I was still unabashed and asked her whether really all these stones which have been cast away, and do not fit into the building of the tower,—whether repentance is open to them, and they have a place in this tower. "Repentance," she said, "they have, but they cannot fit into this tower. 6. But they will fit into another place much less honourable, and even this only after they have been tormented and fulfilled the days of their sins, and for this reason they will be removed,1 because they shared in the righteous Word. And then2 it shall befall them to be removed from their torments, because of the wickedness of the deeds which they committed. But if it come not into their hearts they have no salvation, because of the hardness of their hearts.'"

1 I.e. from their punishment.
2 Apparently the meaning is 'Then, i.e. if they repent,' but the text is obscure, and probably some words have been lost.
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VIII

1. "Ότε οὖν ἐπαυσάμην ἐρωτῶν αὐτὴν περὶ πάντων τούτων, λέγει μοι: Θέλεις ἄλλο ἰδεῖν; κατεπίθυμος δὲν τοῦ θεάσασθαι περιχαρῆς ἐγενόμην τοῦ ἱδείν. 2. ἐμβλέψασά μοι ὑπεμειδίασεν καὶ λέγει μοι: Βλέπεις ἐπτὰ γυναῖκας κύκλῳ τοῦ πύργου; Βλέπω, φημὶ, κυρία. Ὁ πύργος οὗτος ὑπὸ τούτων βαστάζεται κατ᾽ ἐπιταγήν τοῦ κυρίου. 3. ἀκούει νῦν τὰς ἐνεργείας αὐτῶν. ἣ μὲν πρώτη αὐτῶν, ἡ κρατοῦσα τὰς χεῖρας, Πίστις καλεῖται; διὰ ταύτης σώζονται οἱ ἐκλεκτοί τοῦ θεοῦ. 4. ἡ δὲ ἐτέρα, ἡ περιεξωσμένη καὶ ἀνδριζωμένη, Ἐγκράτεια καλεῖται αὐτὴ θυγάτηρ ἐστὶν τῆς Πίστεως. δεὰν οὖν ἀκολουθήσῃ αὐτῇ, μακάριος γίνεται ἐν τῇ ζωῇ αὐτοῦ, ὅτι πάντων τῶν ποιημάτων ἐργῶν ἀφεξεται, πιστεύων ὅτι, εἰς ἀφεξήται πάσης ἐπιθυμίας ποιημάτων, κληρονομήσει ζωὴν αἰώνιον. 5. Αἱ δὲ ἐτεραί, κυρία, τινὲς εἰσίν; Ἐναγατέρες ἀλλήλων εἰσίν. καλούνται δὲ ἡ μὲν Ἀπλότης, ἡ δὲ Ἐπιστήμη, ἡ δὲ Ἀκακία, ἡ δὲ Σεμνότης, ἡ δὲ Ἀγάπη. όταν οὖν τὰ ἐργα τῆς μητρὸς αὐτῶν πάντα ποιήσῃς, δύνασαι ἐξῆσαι. 6. Ἡθελον, φημὶ, γνῶναι, κυρία, τὸς τίνα δύναμιν ἔχει αὐτῶν. Ἀκούει, φησί, τὰς δυνάμεις, ἃς ἔχουσιν. 7. κρατοῦνται δὲ ὑπὸ ἀλλήλων αἱ δυνάμεις αὐτῶν καὶ ἀκολουθοῦσιν ἀλλήλαις, καθὼς καὶ γεγεννήμεναι εἰσίν. ἐκ τῆς Πίστεως γεννᾶται Ἐγκράτεια, ἐκ τῆς Ἐγκρατείας Ἀπλότης, ἐκ τῆς Ἀπλότητος Ἀκακία, ἐκ τῆς Ἀκακίας

1 πιστεῶν ὃτι ἐὰν ἀφεξήται ΑΛΕ, καὶ Ν.
2 καὶ κληρονομήσει Ν.
VIII

1. When, therefore, I ceased asking her all these things, she said to me: “Would you like to see something else?” I was anxious to see it, and rejoiced greatly at the prospect. 2. She looked at me and smiled and said to me: “Do you see seven women round the tower?” “Yes,” I said; “I see them.” “This tower is being supported by them according to the commandment of the Lord. 3. Hear now their qualities. The first of them who is clasping her hands is called Faith. Through her the chosen of God are saved. 4. The second, who is girded and looks like a man, is called Continence; she is the daughter of Faith. Whosoever then shall follow her becomes blessed in his life, because he will abstain from all evil deeds, believing that if he refrains from every evil lust he will inherit eternal life.” 5. “But who are the others, Lady?” “They are daughters one of the other, and their names are Simplicity, Knowledge, Innocence, Reverence, and Love. When therefore you perform all the deeds of their mother, you can live.” 6. “I would like, Lady,” said I, “to know what are their several powers.” 1 “Listen,” she said, “to the powers which they have. 7. Their powers are supported one by the other, and they follow one another according to their birth. From Faith is born Continence, from Continence Simplicity, from Simplicity Innocence,

1 Here also (cf. Vision III. iv. 3) ‘powers’ probably is almost equivalent to ‘meaning’ or ‘signification.’

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Σεμνότης, ἐκ τῆς Σεμνότητος Ἐπιστήμη, ἐκ τῆς Ἐπιστήμης Ἀγάπη. τοῦτων οὖν τὰ ἔργα ἄγνα καὶ σεμνα καὶ θειᾶ ἔστιν. 8. δὲ ἂν οὖν δουλεύῃ ταύταις καὶ ἵσχυς κρατήσαι τῶν ἐργῶν αὐτῶν, ἐν τῷ πύργῳ ἔξει τὴν κατοίκησιν μετὰ τῶν ἁγίων τοῦ θεοῦ. 9. ἐπηρώτων δὲ αὐτὴν περὶ τῶν καιρῶν, εἴ ἡ δὲ συντελειά ἐστιν. ἤ δὲ ἀνέκραγε φωνὴ μεγάλη λέγουσα· Ἀσύνετε ἀνθρώπε, ὦ χρῶτα τὸν πύργον ἔτι οἰκοδομούμενον; όσα ἐὰν οὖν συντελεσθῇ ὁ πύργος οἰκοδομούμενος, ἔχει τέλος. ἀλλὰ ταχύ ἐποικοδομηθῆσται. μηκέτι με ἐπερῶτα μηδὲν ἀρκετῇ σοι ἡ υπόμνησις αὐτῆ καὶ τοῖς ἁγίοις καὶ τῇ ἀνακαίνωσις τῶν πνευμάτων ὑμῶν. 10. ἄλλ' οὐ σοι μόνῳ ταῦτα ἀπεκαλύφθη, ἄλλ' ἵνα πᾶσιν δηλώσῃ αὐτὰ, 11. μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας, νοῆσαι σε γὰρ δεῖ πρῶτον. ἐντέλλομαι δὲ σοι πρῶτον, Ἑρμᾶ, τὰ ρήματα ταῦτα, αὐτὰ μέλλω λέγειν, λαλῆσαι αὐτὰ πάντα εἰς τὰ ὅτα τῶν ἁγίων, ἵνα ἀκούσαντες αὐτὰ καὶ ποιήσαντες καθαρισθῶσιν ἀπὸ τῶν πονηρῶν αὐτῶν καὶ σὺ δὲ μετ' αὐτῶν.

IX

1. Ἀκούσατε μου, τέκνα: ἑγὼ ὑμᾶς ἐξέθρεψα ἐν πόλη ἀπλότητι καὶ ἀκαίρια καὶ σεμνότητι διὰ τὸ ἔλεος τοῦ κυρίου τοῦ ἔφ' ὑμᾶς στάζαντος τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ, ἵνα δικαιωθῆτε καὶ ἀγνοιαζῆτε ἀπὸ πάσης πονηρίας καὶ ἀπὸ πάσης σκόλιοτητος· ὑμεῖς δὲ οὐ θέλετε παῆναι ἢτο τῆς πονηρίας ὑμῶν.

1 ἐντέλλομαι δὲ σοι πρῶτον om N L.
THE SHEPHERD, viis. iiii. viii. 7–ix. 2

from Innocence Reverence, from Reverence Knowledge, from Knowledge Love. Their works therefore are pure and reverent and godly. 8. Whosoever then serves them, and has the strength to lay hold of their works, shall have his dwelling in the tower with the saints of God.” 9. And I began to ask her about the times, if the end were yet. But she cried out with a loud voice saying, “Foolish man, do you not see the tower still being built? Whenever therefore the building of the tower has been finished, the end comes. But it will quickly be built up; ask me nothing more. This reminder and the renewal of your spirits is sufficient for you and for the saints. 10. But the revelation was not for you alone, but for you to explain it to them all, 11. after three days, for you must understand it first. But I charge you first, Hermas, with these words, which I am going to say to you, to speak them all into the ears of the saints, that they may hear them and do them and be cleansed from their wickedness, and you with them.

IX

1. "Listen to me, children; I brought you up in great simplicity and innocence and reverence by the mercy of God, who instilled righteousness into you that you should be justified and sanctified from all wickedness and all crookedness. But you do not wish to cease from your wickedness. 2. Now, there-

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2. ὑνὶ οὖν ἀκούσατε μου καὶ ἐφημεῖτε ἐν ἑαυτοῖς καὶ ἐπισκέπτεσθε ἀλλήλους καὶ ἀντιλαμβάνεσθε ἀλλήλους, καὶ μὴ μόνοι τὰ κτίσματα τοῦ θεοῦ μεταλαμβάνετε ἐκ καταχύματος, ἀλλὰ μεταδίδοτε καὶ τοῖς ὑστερουμένοις. 3. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν πολλῶν ἑδεσμάτων ἀσθένειαν τῇ σαμκὶ αὐτῶν ἐπιστῶνται καὶ λυμαίνονται τὴν σάρκα αὐτῶν τῶν δὲ μὴ ἐχόντων ἑδεσμάτα λυμαίνεται ἡ σάρξ αὐτῶν διὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν τὸ ἁρκετὸν τῆς τροφῆς, καὶ διαφθείρεται τὸ σῶμα αὐτῶν. 4. αὕτη οὖν ἡ ἀσυνκρασία βλαβερὰ ὑμῶν τοῖς ἔχουσι καὶ μὴ μεταδίδουσιν τοῖς ὑστερουμένοις. 5. βλέπετε τὴν κρίσιν τὴν ἐπερχομένην. οἱ ὑπερέχουσες οὖν ἐκζητεῖν τοὺς πεισόντας, ἐξω οὕτω ὁ πῦργος ἑτελέσθης μετὰ γὰρ τὸ τελεσθῆναι τὸν πῦργον θελήσετε ἀγαθοποιεῖν, καὶ οὐχ ἔξετε τόπον. 6. βλέπετε οὖν ὑμεῖς οἱ γαυριόμενοι ἐν τῷ πλούτῳ ὑμῶν, μὴ ποτὲ στενάξουσιν οἱ ὑστεροῦμενοι καὶ ὁ στεναγμὸς αὐτῶν ἀναβήσεται πρὸς τὸν κύριον καὶ ἐκκλεισθῆσε μετὰ τῶν ἁγαθῶν ὑμῶν ἐξο τῆς θύρας τοῦ πῦργου. 7. ὑνὶ οὖν ὑμῖν λέγω τοῖς προηγομένοις τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ τοῖς πρωτοκαθεδρίταις. μὴ γίνεσθε ὁμοίοι τοῖς φαρμακοῖς. οἱ φαρμακοὶ μὲν οὖν τὰ φάρμακα ἐαυτῶν εἰς τὰς πυξίδας βαστάζουσιν, ὑμεῖς δὲ τὸ φάρμακον ὑμῶν καὶ τὸν ἵδον εἰς τὴν καρδίαν. 8. ἐνσκεπρομένοι ἐστε καὶ οὐ θέλετε καθαρίσαι τὰς καρδίας ὑμῶν, τῶν ὑμῶν τὴν φρόνησιν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ καθαρὰ καρδία, ἵνα σχίσῃ ἐλεος παρὰ τὸν θεὸν μεγάλου. 9. βλέπετε οὖν, τέκνα,

1 γαυριόμενοι Ν*., γαυροῦμενοι Νο, γαυρὶώτετε Δ.
2 τὸ ἐνσκεπράσαι ὑμῶν οτ. Ν*.
fore, listen to me and 'be at peace among yourselves' and regard one another and 'help one another' and do not take a superabundant share of the creatures of God for yourselves, but give also a part to those who lack. 3. For some are contracting illness in the flesh by too much eating, and are injuring their flesh, and the flesh of the others who have nothing to eat is being injured by their not having sufficient food and their body is being destroyed. 4. So this lack of sharing is harmful to you who are rich, and do not share with the poor. 5. Consider the judgment which is coming. Let therefore they who have over-abundance seek out those who are hungry, so long as the tower is not yet finished; for when the tower has been finished you will wish to do good, and will have no opportunity. 6. See to it then, you who rejoice in your wealth, that the destitute may not groan, and their groans go up to the Lord, and you with your goods be shut outside the door of the tower. 7. Therefore I speak now to the leaders of the Church and to those 'who take the chief seats.' Be not like the sorcerers, for sorcerers carry their charms in boxes, but you carry your charms and poison in your hearts. 8. You are hardened, and will not cleanse your hearts, and mix your wisdom together in a pure heart that you may find mercy by 'the great King.' 9. See to it,
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μήποτε αὕτως αἱ διχοστασίαι ἡμῶν τὴν ζωὴν ὑμῶν. 10. πῶς ὑμεῖς παιδεύειν θέλετε τοὺς ἐκλεκτοὺς κυρίου, αὐτοὶ μὴ ἐχοντες παι-
δεύει τούτης ἀλλήλους καὶ εἰρηνεύετε ἐν αὐτοῖς ἵνα καγὼ κατέναντι τοῦ πατρὸς Ἰλαρᾶ
σταθείσα λόγον ἀποδώ ύπὲρ ὑμῶν πάντων τῷ
κυρίῳ.2

X

1. "Οτε οὖν ἐπαύσατο μετ’ ἐμοῦ λαλοῦσα,
ἔλθον οἱ δὲ νεανίσκοι οἱ οἰκοδομοῦντες καὶ
ἀπήνεγκαν αὐτὴν πρὸς τὸν πύργον, καὶ ἄλλοι
tέσσαρες ἠραν τὸ συμφέλειν καὶ ἀπήνεγκαν
καὶ αὐτὸ πρὸς τὸν πύργον. τούτων τὸ πρόσ-
ωπον οὐκ εἶδον, ὥστε ἀπεσταρμένοι ἦσαν.
2. ὑπάγουσαν δὲ αὐτὴν ἡρωτών, ἵνα μοι ἀπο-
καλύψῃ περὶ τῶν τριῶν μορφῶν, ἐν αἷς μοι
ἔνεφαντο αὐτὴν. ἀποκριθεὶσά μοι λέγει. Περὶ τούτων
ἐτερον δεῖ σε ἐπερωτῆσαι, ἵνα σοι ἀποκαλυφθῇ.
3. ὧθεν δὲ μοι, ἀδελφοί, τῇ μὲν πρώτῃ ὀράσει τῇ
περισσοτέρᾳ ἦν προσβυτέρα καὶ ἐν καθήδρᾳ
καθημένη. 4. δὲ δὲ ἐτέρα ὀράσει τῇ μὲν
ὅψιν νεωτέραν εἰχεν, τῇ δὲ σάρκα καὶ τὰς
τρίχας προσβυτέρας, καὶ ἐστηκαί μοι ἐλαλεί
ἵλαρωτέρα δὲ ἦν ἡ τὸ πρότερον.5 δὲ δὲ τρίτη
ὁράσει ὅλη νεωτέρα καὶ κάλλει ἐκπρεπεστάτη,
μόνας δὲ τὰς τρίχας προσβυτέρας εἶχεν. Ἰλαρᾶ δὲ
eis télos ἡ καὶ ἐπὶ συμφελοῦν καθημένη. 6. περὶ

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1 διχοστασίαι: Ν* Α, διχοστασίαι ὑμῶν Νο LE.
2 τῷ κυρίῳ Λ1Ε, τῷ κυρίῳ ὑμῶν Ν, τῷ κυρίῳ ὑμῶν AL1.
3 δὲ Νο AL1, om. Ν L1.
4 ἡ τὸ πρότερον ΛΕ, τὸ πρόσωπον Ν.
therefore, children, that these disagreements do not rob you of your life. 10. How will you correct the chosen of the Lord if you yourselves suffer no correction? Correct therefore one another and ‘be at peace among yourselves,’ that I also may stand joyfully before the Father, and give an account of you all to the Lord.’

X

1. When therefore she ceased speaking with me, the six young men who were building came and took her away to the tower, and four others took up the couch and bore it away also to the tower. I did not see their faces because they were turned away. 2. But as she was going I asked her to give me a revelation concerning the three forms in which she had appeared to me. She answered me and said, “Concerning these things you must ask some one else to reveal them to you.” 3. Now she had appeared to me, brethren, in the first vision in the former year as very old and sitting on a chair. 4. But in the second vision her face was younger, but her body and hair were old and she spoke with me standing; but she was more joyful than the first time. 5. But in the third vision she was quite young and exceeding beautiful and only her hair was old; and she was quite joyful, and sat on a couch. 6. I was very unhappy about this, and
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tou'tov peri'lpovs ἢμην λίαν τοῦ γρώναί με τὴν ἀποκαλύψειν ταύτην, καὶ βλέπω τὴν πρεσβυ-
téraν ἐν ὄραματι τῆς νυκτὸς λέγουσαν μοι. Πᾶσα ἐρώτησις ταπεινοφροσύνης χρήζει. νήστεσσον ὦν, καὶ λήμψῃ ὧ δ' αίτεις παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου. 7. ἐνήστευσα σοῦ μίαν ἡμέραν, καὶ αὐτῇ τῇ νυκτί μοι ὥθησε νεανίκος καὶ λέγει μοι: Τί σὺ ὑπὸ χεῖρα αἴτεις ἀποκαλύψεις ἐν δεήσει; βλέπε, μήποτε πολλὰ αἰτοῦμενος βλάψῃς σου τὴν σάρκα. 8. ἀρκοῦσίν σοι αἱ ἀποκαλύψεις αὕτη.1 μήτε δύνη ἰσχυροτέρας ἀποκαλύψεις ὃν ἔωρακας ἰδεῖν; 9. ἀποκρίθεις αὐτῷ λέγω: Κύριε, τοῦτο μόνον αἰτοῦμαι, περὶ τῶν τριῶν μορφῶν τῆς πρεσβυτέρας ἢν ἀποκαλύψεις ὀλοτελῆς γένηται. ἀποκρίθεις μοι λέγει: Μέχρι τίνος ἀσύνετοι ἐστε; ἅλλα ἀ διψυχίᾳ ὑμῶν ἀρνητεύσετε ὑμᾶς ποιοῦσιν καὶ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν τὴν καρδίαν ὑμῶν πρὸς τὸν κύριον. 10. ἀποκρίθεις αὐτῷ πάλιν εἴπον Ἦ Άλλη ἀπὸ σοῦ, κύριε, ἀκριβέστερον αὕτη γυνώσομεθα.

XI

1. "Ακονε, φησίν, περὶ τῶν μορφῶν2 ὃν ἐπιζητεῖς. 2. τῇ μὲν πρότη ὄρασε διατέν πρεσ-
βυτέρα ὥθησε σοι καὶ ἐπὶ καθέδραν καθημένη. ὅτι τὸ πνεύμα ὑμῶν πρεσβύτερον καὶ ἤδη μεμαρμ-
μένον καὶ μὴ ἔχουν δύναμιν ἀπὸ τῶν μαλακῶν ὑμῶν καὶ διψυχεῖν. 3. ὡσπερ γὰρ οἱ πρεσβύ-
tεροι, μηκέτι ἔχοντες ἐλπίδα τοῦ ἀνανεῶσαι, οὕτων

1 ἀρκοῦσίν . . . αὕται ομ. Ν.
2 μορφῶν Ν Ε LE, τριῶν μορφῶν Ν Α.
THE SHEPHERD, vss. iii. x. 6–xi. 3

wished to understand this revelation, and in a vision of the night I saw the ancient lady saying to me, "Every request needs humility: fast therefore and you shall receive what you ask from the Lord." 7. So I fasted one day and in the same night a young man appeared to me and said to me, "Why do you ask constantly for revelations in your prayer? Take care lest by your many requests you injure your flesh. 8. These revelations are sufficient for you. Can you see mightier revelations than you have seen?" 9. I answered and said to him, "Sir, I only ask you that there may be a complete revelation concerning the three forms of the ancient lady." He answered and said to me, "How long are you foolish? You are made foolish by your double-mindedness and because your heart is not turned to the Lord." 10. I answered and said again to him, "But from you, sir, we shall know them more accurately."

XI

1. "LISTEN," he said, "concerning the forms which you are asking about. 2. Why did she appear to you in the first vision as old and seated on a chair? Because your 1 spirit is old and already fading away, and has no power through your weakness and double-mindedness. 3. For just as old people, who have no longer any hope of becoming young again,

1 This 'your' is plural, in contrast to the 'you' in the preceding sentence, which is singular.
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法律规定 καὶ οὐκ ἔπερισσατε έαντον τας ἀκηδίας καὶ οὐκ ἔπερισσατε έαντον τας μερίμνας ἐπὶ τον κύριον. ἀλλὰ ἠθραύσθη ὡμῶν ἡ διάνοια καὶ ἑπαλαιώθη τας λύπας ὡμῶν. 4. Ποι τὰς ἁσθενείς ἐις καθέδραν καθέξεται διὰ τῆς ἁσθενείας αὐτοῦ, ἵνα συνκρατηθῇ ἡ ἁσθενεία τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ. ἔχεις τὸν τύπον τῆς πρώτης ὀράσεως.

XII

1. Τῇ δὲ δευτέρᾳ ὀράσει εἰδος αὐτὴν ἔστηκεν καὶ τὴν ψυγ οὐσταραν ἔχουσαν καὶ ἱλαρωτέραν παρὰ τὸ πρώτον, τὴν δὲ σάρκα καὶ τὰς τρίχας πρεσβυτέρας. ἂνοι οῇ, φησίν, καὶ ταύτην τὴν παραβολὴν. 2. ὅταν προσβύτερός τις, ἣ ἡ ἀφήλπυκὼς έαυτοῦ διὰ τὴν ἁσθενείαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν πτωχότητα, οὔδεν ἔτερον προσδέχεται εἰ μὴ τὴν ἔσχατην ἡμέραν τῆς ζωῆς αὐτοῦ. Εἶτα ἡ ἁσθενεία κατελείφθη αὐτῷ κληρονομία, ἀκούσας δὲ ἐξηγήρθη καὶ περιχαρής γενόμενος ἐνεδύσατο τὴν ἵσχυν καὶ οὐκέτι ἀνακεῖται, ἀλλὰ ἐστὴκεν, καὶ ἀνανεοῦται αὐτοῦ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ήθος ἐφθαρμένον ἀπὸ τῶν προτέρων αὐτοῦ πράξεων, καὶ οὐκέτι κάθηται, ἀλλὰ ἀνδρίζεται. οὕτως καὶ ὡμὲς, ἀκούσαντες τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν, ἤν ὡμῶν ὁ κύριος ἀπεκάλυψεν. 3. ὥτε ἐσπλαγχνίσθη ἐφ’ ὡμᾶς, καὶ ἀνενεώσατο τὰ πνεύματα ὡμῶν καὶ ἀπέθεσθε τὰς μαλακιὰς ὡμῶν.

1 ἦν . . . ἀπεκάλυψεν om. R.

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THE SHEPHERD, v1s. iii. xi. 3–xii. 3

look for nothing except their last sleep, so also you, who have been weakened by the occupations of this life, have given yourself up to worry, and have not 'cast your cares upon the Lord.' But your mind was broken, and you grew old in your sorrows.” 4. “Why, then, I should like to know, did she sit in a chair, sir?” “Because every sick person sits in a chair because of his sickness, that the weakness of the body may find support. Here you have the type of the first vision.

XII

1. “But in the second vision you saw her standing, and with a more youthful and more cheerful countenance than the former time, but with the body and hair of old age. Listen,” he said, “also to this parable. 2. When anyone is old, he already despairs of himself by reason of his weakness and poverty, and expects nothing except the last day of his life. Then an inheritance was suddenly left him, and he heard it, and rose up and was very glad and put on his strength; and he no longer lies down but stands up, and his spirit which was already destroyed by his former deeds is renewed, and he no longer sits still, but takes courage. So also did you, when you heard the revelation, which the Lord revealed to you, 3. that he had mercy upon you, and renewed your spirit; and you put aside your weakness, and strength came to you, and you were made

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καὶ προσῆλθεν ὑμῖν ἰσχυρότης καὶ ἐνεδυναμώθητε ἐν τῇ πίστει, καὶ ἰδὼν ὁ κύριος τὴν ἰσχυροποίησιν ὑμῶν ἔχαρη· καὶ διὰ τούτο ἐδήλωσεν ὑμῖν τὴν οἰκοδομήν τοῦ πύργου καὶ άτερα δηλώσει, ἐάν εὖ ὅλης καρδίας εἰρηνεύετε ἐν ἑαυτοῖς.

XIII

1. Τῇ δὲ τρίτῃ ὅρασει εἶδες αὕτην νεωτέραν καὶ καλὴν καὶ ἠλαρὰν καὶ καλὴν τὴν μορφὴν αὐτῆς. 2. ὡς ἐάν γὰρ τινι λυπουμένη ἔλθῃ ἀγγελία ἁγαθή τις, εὐθὺς ἐπελάθετο τῶν προτέρων λυπῶν καὶ οὔδεν ἄλλο προσδέχεται εἰ μὴ τὴν ἀγγελίαν, ἢν ἠκουσεν, καὶ ἰσχυροποιεῖται λοιπῶν εἰς τὸ ἁγαθὸν καὶ ἀνανεοῦται αὐτοῦ τὸ πνεῦμα διὰ τὴν χαράν, ἢν ἔλαβεν· οὕτως καὶ ὑμεῖς ἀνανέωσιν εἰλήφατε τῶν πνευμάτων ὑμῶν ἱδόντες ταῦτα τὰ ἁγαθά. 3. καὶ ὅτι ἐπὶ συμψελίον εἶδες καθημένην, ἰσχυρὰ ἡ θέσις, ὅτι τέσσαρας πόδας ἔχει τὸ συμψέλιον καὶ ἰσχυρῶς ἑστηκεν· καὶ γὰρ ὁ κόσμος διὰ τέσσαρων στοιχείων κρατεῖται. 4. οἳ οὖν μετανοῆσαντες ὀλοτελῶς νέοι ἔσονται καὶ τεθεμελιωμένοι, οἳ ἐξ ὅλης καρδίας μετανοῆσαντες, ἀπέχεις ὀλοτελὴ τὴν ἀποκαλύψιν· μηκέτι μηδὲν αἰτήσῃς περὶ ἀποκαλύψεως, ἐάν τι δὲ δέχῃ, ἀποκαλυφθήσεται σοι.

1 περὶ ἀποκαλύψεως Αλε, om. Ν Λ.

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mighty in faith, and the Lord saw that you had been made strong and he rejoiced. And for this reason he showed you the building of the tower, and he will show you other things if you ‘remain at peace among yourselves’ with all your heart.

XIII

1. "But in the third vision you saw her young and beautiful and joyful and her appearance was beautiful. 2. For just as if some good news come to one who is in grief, he straightway forgets his former sorrow, and thinks of nothing but the news which he has heard, and for the future is strengthened to do good, and his spirit is renewed because of the joy which he has received; so you also have received the renewal of your spirits by seeing these good things. 3. And in that you saw her sitting on a couch, the position is secure, for a couch has four feet and stands securely, for even the world is controlled by four elements. 4. They, therefore, who have repented shall completely recover their youth and be well founded, because they have repented with all their heart. You have the revelation completed; no longer ask anything about the revelation, but if anything be needed it shall be revealed to you."
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"Ορασίς δ'

I

1. Ἡν εἶδον, ἀδελφοί, μετὰ ἡμέρας εἰκοσί τῆς προτέρας ὀράσεως τῆς γενομένης, εἰς τύπον τῆς ἁλύσεως τῆς ἐπερχόμενης. 2. ὑπῆγον εἰς ἀγρὸν τῇ ὁδῷ τῆς καμπανῆς. ἀπὸ τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς δημοσίας ἐστὶν ὑσεὶ στάδια δέκα· ραδίως δὲ ὀδεύεται οὐ τόπος. 3. μόνος οὖν περιπατῶν ἀξίων τῶν κύριον, ἦνα τὰς ἀποκαλύψεις καὶ τὰ ὀράματα, ἀ μοι ἐδείξεν διὰ τῆς ἁγίας Ἐκκλησίας αὐτοῦ, τελείωση, ἦνα με ἱσχυροποιηθῆ καὶ δῷ τήν μεταώνην τοῖς δούλοις αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἐσκανδαλισμένοις, ἦνα δοξαθή τῷ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ τῷ μέγα καὶ ἐνδοξοῦν, δόντι με ἄξιον ἡγήσατο τοῦ δείξαι μοι τὰ θαυμάσια αὐτοῦ. 4. καὶ δοξάζοντος μου καὶ εὐχαριστοῦντος αὐτῷ, ὡς ἥχος φωνῆς μοι ἀπεκρίθη. Μὴ διψυχήσεις, Ἐρμα. ἐν ἔμαυτῷ ἡρξάμην διαλογίζεσθαι καὶ λέγειν. Ἐν γὰρ τῇ ἁχω διψυχήσαι, οὕτω τεθεμελιωμένος ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου καὶ ἰδοὺν ἐνδοξα πράγματα; 5. καὶ προσέβην ὡς εἰς τὸν υἱὸν καὶ ἡρξάμην λέγειν ἐν ἔμαυτῷ. Μῆτοτε κτῆμα ἔρχονται καὶ κοινοτῶν ἐγείρονται; οὕτω δὲ ἦν ἀν' ἐμοῦ ὡς ἀπὸ σταδίου. 6. γενομένου μείζονος καὶ μείζονος κοινοτοῦ ὑπενόησα εἰναὶ τῷ θείῳ· μικρὸν ἐξέλαμψεν ὁ ἡλιος καὶ ἰδοῦ, βλέπω τηρίων μέγιστον ὑσεὶ κητός τι, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ ἀκρίδες πύριναι ἐξεπορεύοντο. ἦν δὲ τῷ τηρίῳ τῷ μήκει

1 εἰς τύπον ... ἐπερχόμενης AL₄,E, om. Κ (L₂).
2 προσέβην Κ L₂, προεβην AL₄,E.
THE SHEPHERD, VIS. IV. I. 1-6

VISION 4

I

1. The fourth vision which I saw, brethren, twenty days after the former vision, was a type of the persecution which is to come. 2. I was going into the country by the Via Campana. The place is about ten furlongs from the public road, and is easily reached. 3. As I walked by myself I besought the Lord to complete the revelations and visions which he had shown me by his holy Church, to make me strong and give repentance to his servants who had been offended, 'to glorify his great and glorious name' because he had thought me worthy to show me his wonders. 4. And while I was glorifying him and giving him thanks an answer came to me as an echo of my voice, "Do not be double-minded, Hermas." I began to reason in myself, and to say, "In what ways can I be double-minded after being given such a foundation by the Lord, and having seen his glorious deeds?" 5. And I approached a little further, brethren, and behold, I saw dust reaching as it were up to heaven, and I began to say to myself, Are cattle coming and raising dust? and it was about a furlong away from me. 6. When the dust grew greater and greater I supposed that it was some portent. The sun shone out a little, and lo! I saw a great beast like some Leviathan, and fiery locusts were going out of his mouth. The beast was in size about a hundred feet...
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ὡσεὶ ποδῶν ρ’, τὴν δὲ κεφαλὴν εἶχεν ὡσεὶ κεράμου. 7. καὶ ἡρξάμην κλαίειν καὶ ἔρωτὰν τὸν κύριον, ἵνα με λυτρώσηται ἐξ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἑπανεμνήσθην τοῦ ἡματος ὑμ ἀκηκόειν. Ἔμη διψυχήσεις, Ἡρμᾶ. 8. εὐνυσάμενος ὦν, ἀδελφοί, τὴν πίστιν τοῦ κυρίου καὶ μνησθεὶς ὅμως ἐδίδαξεν με μεγαλείων, θαρσῆσας εἰς τὸ θηρίων ἐμαυτὸν ἐδώκα. οὕτω δὲ ἢρχετο τὸ θηρίον ῥοῖζω, ἕστε δύνασθαι αὐτὸ πόλιν λυμᾶναι. 9. ἔρχομαι ἐγγὺς αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὸ τηλικόντο κήτος ἐκτείνει ἐαυτῷ χαμαι καὶ οὐδὲν εἰ μὴ τὴν γλώσσαν προέβαλλεν καὶ ὅλως οὐκ ἐκινήθη, μέχρις ὅτε παρῆλθον αὐτῷ. 10. εἶχεν δὲ τὸ θηρίον ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς χρώματα τέσσαρα: μέλαν, εἶτα πυροείδες καὶ αἰματώδες, εἶτα χρυσῶν, εἶτα λευκῶν.

II

1. Μετὰ δὲ τὸ παρελθεῖν με τὸ θηρίον καὶ προελθεῖν ὡσεὶ πόδας λ’, ὑπαντᾷ μοι παρθένος κεκοσμημένη ὡς ἐκ νυμφῶν ἐκπορευομένη, ὅλη ἐν λευκοῖς καὶ ὑποδήμαις λευκοῖς, κατακεκαλυμμένη ἔως τοῦ μετώπου, ἐν μίτρᾳ δὲ ἦν ἡ κατακάλυψις αὐτῆς: εἶχεν δὲ τὰς τρίχας αὐτῆς λευκάς. 2. ἔγνων ἔγω ἐκ τῶν προτέρων ὁρμάτων, ὅτι ἡ Ἐκκλησία ἔστιν, καὶ ἱλαρότερος ἐγενόμην. ἀσπάζεται με λέγουσα: Χαίρε σὺ, ἄνθρωπε. καὶ ἐγὼ αὐτὴν ἀντηπασάμην. Κυρία, χαίρε. 3. ἀποκριθεῖσά μοι λέγει: Ὀυδέν σοι ἀπηγνήσεις; λέγω αὐτῇ: Κυρία, τηλικοῦτο θηρίων, δυνάμενον λαοὺς διαφθείραι: ἀλλὰ τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ κυρίου καὶ τῇ

Ps. 19, 5; Rev. 21, 2
and its head was like a piece of pottery. 7. And I began to weep and to pray the Lord to rescue me from it, and I remembered the word which I had heard, "Do not be double-minded, Hermas." 8. Thus, brethren, being clothed in the faith of the Lord and remembering the great things which he had taught me, I took courage and faced the beast. And as the beast came on with a rush it was as though it could destroy a city. 9. I came near to it, and the Leviathan for all its size stretched itself out on the ground, and put forth nothing except its tongue, and did not move at all until I had passed it by. 10. And the beast had on its head four colours, black, then the colour of flame and blood, then golden, then white.

II

1. After I had passed the beast by and had gone about thirty feet further, lo! a maiden met me, 'adorned as if coming forth from the bridal chamber,' all in white and with white sandals, veiled to the forehead, and a turban for a head-dress, but her hair was white. 2. I recognised from the former visions that it was the Church, and I rejoiced the more. She greeted me saying, "Hail, O man," and I greeted her in return, "Hail, Lady." 3. She answered me and said, "Did nothing meet you?" I said to her, "Yes, Lady, such a beast as could destroy nations, but by the power of the Lord, and by his great
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πολυσπαλαγχυία αυτοῦ ἐξέφυγον αὐτῷ. 4. Καλῶς ἐξέφυγες, φησίν, ὅτι τὴν μέριμναν σου ἐπὶ τὸν θεόν ἐπέριψας καὶ τὴν καρδίαν σου ἦνοιχας πρὸς τὸν κύριον, πιστεύσας, ὧτι δὲ οὐδενὸς δύνη σω-
θήματι εἰ μῆ διὰ τοῦ μεγάλου ¹ καὶ ἐνδόξου ὄνοματος. διὰ τοῦτο ὁ κύριος ἀπέστειλεν τὸν ἀγγελον αὐτοῦ τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν θηρίων ὄντα, οὓ τὸ δυναμά ἐστιν
Θεγρή, καὶ ἐνέφραξεν τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ, ἵνα μὴ σε λυμάνῃ. μεγάλην θλῖψιν ἐκπέφευγας διὰ τὴν πίστιν σου καὶ ὧτι τηλικοῦτο θηρίον ἰδὼν οὐκ ἔδιψηκήσας. 5. ὑπάγε οὖν καὶ ἐξήγησαι τοῖς ἐκλεκτοῖς τοῦ κυρίου τὰ μεγαλεῖα αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰπὲ αὐτοῖς, ὧτι τὸ θηρίον τοῦτο τύπος ἐστὶν θλίψεως τῆς μελλούσης τῆς μεγάλης: εάν οὖν προετο-
μάσησθε καὶ μετανοήσητε ἐξ ὅλης καρδίας ὑμῶν πρὸς τὸν κύριον, δυνήσεσθε ἐκφυγεῖν αὐτήν, ἐὰν ἡ καρδία ὑμῶν γένηται καθαρὰ καὶ ἄμομος καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς τῆς ζωῆς ἡμέρας ὑμῶν δουλεύσῃ τῷ 
κυρίῳ ἀμέμπτως. ἑπόρηψατε τὰς μερίμνας ὑμῶν ἐπὶ τὸν κύριον, καὶ αὐτὸς κατορθώσει αὐτάς.
6. πιστεύσατε τῷ κυρίῳ, οἱ διήνυχοι, ὧτι πάντα δύναται καὶ ἀποστρέφει τὴν ὀργήν αὐτοῦ ἀφ’ ὑμῶν καὶ ἔξαποστέλλει μάστυγας ὑμῶν τοῖς διψύ-
χοις. οὐαι τοῖς ἀκούσασιν τὰ ρήματα ταῦτα καὶ παρακούσασιν αἰρετῶτερον ἢν αὐτοῖς τὸ μῆ 
γεννηθήναι.

¹μεγάλου ἈΛΕ, ἀγίου ἀγγέλου κ.
mercy, I escaped it." 4. "You did well to escape it," she said, "because you cast your care upon God, and opened your heart to the Lord, believing that salvation can be found through nothing save through the great and glorious name. Therefore the Lord sent his angel, whose name is Thegri,¹ who is over the beast, 'and shut his mouth that he should not hurt you.' You have escaped great tribulation through your faith, and because you were not double-minded when you saw so great a beast. 5. Go then and tell the Lord's elect ones of his great deeds, and tell them that this beast is a type of the great persecution which is to come. If then you are prepared beforehand, and repent with all your hearts towards the Lord, you will be able to escape it, if your heart be made pure and blameless, and you serve the Lord blamelessly for the rest of the days of your life. 'Cast your cares upon the Lord' and he will put them straight. 6. Believe on the Lord, you who are double-minded, that he can do all things, and turns his wrath away from you, and sends scourges on you who are double-minded. Woe to those who hear these words and disobey; it were better for them not to have been born."

¹ No other mention of this Angel is found in Jewish or Christian literature, and no suitable meaning has been suggested for Thegri. Dr. Rendel Harris suggests Segri as an emendation, connecting it with the Hebrew word meaning 'to shut' (sagar), found in Dan. 6, 22.
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III

1. Ἡρώτησα αὐτὴν περὶ τῶν τεσσάρων χρωμάτων ὅπως εἴχεν τὸ θηρίον εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν. ἢ δὲ ἀποκριθείσα μοι λέγειν. Πάλιν περίεργος ἐλ περὶ τοιούτων πραγμάτων. Ναι, φημί, κυρία. γνώρισόν μοι, τί ἐστιν ταῦτα. 2. Ἀκούε, φησίν τὸ μὲν μέλαν ὅτι ὁ κόσμος ἐστίν, ἐν ψυ κατοικεῖτε. 3. τὸ δὲ πυροειδῆς καὶ αἰματώδης, ὅτι δεῖ τὸν κόσμον τοῦτον δὶ αἵματος καὶ πυρὸς ἀπὸλλυσθαι. 4. τὸ δὲ χρυσόν μέρος ὡμέις ἔστε οἱ ἐκφυγόντες τοῦ κόσμου τοῦτον. ἀστερ γὰρ τὸ χρυσίον δοκιμάζεται διὰ τοῦ πυρὸς καὶ εὐχρηστοῦν γίνεται, οὕτως καὶ ωμέις δοκιμάζεσθε οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐν αὐτοῖς. 1 οἱ οὖν μείνατε καὶ πυροθέντες υπ᾽ αὐτῶν καθαρισθήσετε. ἀστερ τὸ χρυσίον ἀποβάλλει τὴν σκωρίαν αὐτοῦ, οὕτω καὶ ωμέις ἀποβαλεῖτε πᾶσαν λύπην καὶ στενοχωρίαν, καὶ καθαρισθήσετε καὶ χρήσιμοι ἐσεσθε εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν τοῦ πύργου. 5. τὸ δὲ λευκὸν μέρος ὁ αἰών ὁ ἐπερχόμενος ἐστίν, ἐν ψυ κατοικησοῦν ὁι ἐκλεκτοὶ τοῦ θεοῦ. ὅτι ἀστίλοι καὶ καθαροί ἐστοιτο ἐκλελεγμένοι ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον. 6. σὺ οὖν μὴ διαλέψεις λαλῶν εἰς τὰ ὅτα τῶν ἀγίων. ἔχετε καὶ τὸν τύπον τῆς θλίψεως τῆς ἐρχομένης μεγάλης. ἐὰν δὲ ωμέις θελῆσητε, οὐδὲν ἔσται. μημονεύετε τὰ προγεγραμμένα. 7. ταῦτα εἴπασα ἀπῆλθεν, καὶ οὐκ εἶδον, ποῦ τὸν ἀπῆλθεν. 3 νέφος 4 γὰρ ἐγένετο· κἀγὼ ἐπεστράφην εἰς τὰ ὅπισω φοβηθεῖς, δοκῶν ὅτι τὸ θηρίον ἔρχεται.

1 εν αὐτοῖς Ὁ, εν αὐτῷ Ε. 2 ὅτι ἀστίλοι ... θεοῦ om. Ε. 3 καὶ οὐκ ... ἀπῆλθεν om. Ε. 4 νέφος Ο Ε, ψάφος AL Ε.
III

1. I asked her concerning the four colours which the beast had on its head. She answered and said to me, "Are you again curious about such matters?" "Yes," I said, "Lady, let me know what they are." 2. "Listen," she said, "the black is this world, in which you are living; 3. the colour of fire and blood means that this world must be destroyed by blood and fire. 4. The golden part is you, who have fled from this world, for even as gold is 'tried in the fire' and becomes valuable, so also you who live among them,¹ are being tried. Those then who remain and pass through the flames shall be purified by them. Even as the gold puts away its dross, so also you will put away all sorrow and tribulation, and will be made pure and become useful for the building of the tower. 5. But the white part is the world to come, in which the elect of God shall dwell, for those who have been chosen by God for eternal life will be without spot and pure. 6. Therefore do not cease to speak to the ears of the saints. You have also the type of the great persecution to come, but if you will it shall be nothing. Remember what was written before." 7. When she had said this she went away, and I did not see to what place she departed, for there was a cloud, and I turned backwards in fear, thinking that the beast was coming.

¹ The "them" means "fire and blood"; but the construction of the sentence is awkward.
1. Προσευχαμένου μου ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ καὶ καθισάντως εἰς τὴν κλίνην εἰσῆλθεν ἀνήρ τις ἐνδόξος τῇ ὅψει, σχήματι ποιμενικῷ, περικείμενος δέρμα αἴγεον λευκὸν καὶ πήραν ἐχων ἐπὶ τῶν ὄμων καὶ ῥάβδουν εἰς τὴν χείρα. καὶ ἡσπάσατο με, κἀγὼ ἀντησπασάμην αὐτόν. 2. καὶ εὐθὺς παρεκάθισέν μοι καὶ λέγει μοι: Ἀπεστάλην ὑπὸ τοῦ σεμνοτάτου ἀγγέλου, ἵνα μετὰ σοῦ ὀικήσω τὰς λουπάς ἥμερας τῆς ζωῆς σου. 3. ἔδοξα ἐγώ, ὅτι πάρεστιν ἐκπειράζων με, καὶ λέγω αὐτῷ: Σὺ γὰρ τὸς εἰ; ἑγὼ γὰρ, φημί, γινώσκω, ὃ παρεδόθην. λέγει μοι: Ὁ ὅκ ἐπηγινώσκεις με; Ὑ, φημί. Ἔγώ, φησίν, εἰμι ὁ ποιμήν, ὃ παρεδόθης. 4. ἔτι λαλοῦντος αὐτοῦ ἡλλοιώθη ἡ ἴδεα αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐπέγγυν αὐτόν, ὅτι ἐκεῖνος ἦν, ὃ παρεδόθην, καὶ εὐθὺς συνεχύθην καὶ φόβος με ἔλαβεν καὶ ὅλος συνεκόπην ἀπὸ τῆς λύπης, ὅτι οὕτως αὐτῷ ἀπεκρίθην ποιηρῷ καὶ ἀφρόνως. 5. ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς μοι λέγει: Ἔν ὑπνήμαιν, ἀλλὰ ἰσχυροτευτοῦ ἐν ταῖς ἑυτολαίς μοι αἰς σοι μέλλω ἐντελέχεσθαι. ἀπεστάλην γὰρ, φησίν, ἵνα ἂ εἰδης πρότερον πάντα σοι πάλιν δείξω, αὐτὰ τὰ κεφάλαια τὰ ὄντα υἱῶν σύμφορα. πρῶτον πάντων τὸς ἑυτολᾶς μοι γράψω καὶ τὰς παραβολάς· τα δὲ ἐτερα, καθὼς σοι δείξω, οὕτως γράψεις· διὰ τούτο, φησίν, ἐντελλομαί σοι πρῶτον γράψαι τὰς ἑυτολάς καὶ παραβολάς, ἵνα ὑπὸ χείρα ἀναγινώσκης

1 Ἀποκάλυψις ἐκ Ν, δρασίς ἐκ AE, incipiant Postoris mandata duodecim Lα, visio quinta initium Postoris Lμ.

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THE SHEPHERD, v15. v. 1-5

The Fifth Revelation

1. While I was praying at home and sitting on my bed, there entered a man glorious to look on, in the dress of a shepherd, covered with a white goat-skin, with a bag on his shoulders and a staff in his hand. And he greeted me, and I greeted him back.

2. And at once he sat down by me, and said to me, "I have been sent by the most reverend angel to dwell with you the rest of the days of your life."

3. I thought he was come tempting me, and said to him, "Yes, but who are you? for," I said, "I know to whom I was handed over." He said to me, "Do you not recognise me?" "No," I said. "I," said he, "am the shepherd to whom you were handed over." 2

4. While he was still speaking, his appearance changed, and I recognised him, that it was he to whom I was handed over; and at once I was confounded, and fear seized me, and I was quite overcome with sorrow that I had answered him so basely and foolishly.

5. But he answered me and said, "Be not confounded, but be strong in my commandments which I am going to command you. For I was sent," said he, "to show you again all the things which you saw before, for they are the main points which are helpful to you. First of all write my commandments and the parables; but the rest you shall write as I shall show you. This is the reason," said he, "that I command you to write first the commandments and parables, that you may read

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1 This section is clearly intended as an introduction to the Mandates, but it is always quoted as the Fifth Vision.

2 There is no mention of this in the preceding Visions.
THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

αὐτάς καὶ δυνηθῆς φυλάξαι αὐτάς. 6. ἔγραψα οὖν τὰς ἑντολὰς καὶ παραβολάς, καθὼς ἑνετειλατό μοι. 7. έδαν οὖν ἀκούσαντες αὐτὰς φυλάξητε καὶ ἐν αὐτάις πορευθήτε καὶ ἐργάσθητε αὐτὰς ἐν καθαρᾷ καρδίᾳ, ἀπολήμψεσθε ἀπὸ τοῦ κυρίου, ὡσα ἐπηγγείλατο ὑμῖν· εὰν δὲ ἀκούσαντες μὴ μετανοήσητε, ἀλλ' ἐτί προσθήτε ταῖς ἀμαρτίαις ὑμῶν, ἀπολήμψεσθε παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου τὰ ἑναντία. ταῦτά μοι πάντα οὕτως γράψαι ὁ ποιμὴν ἑνετειλατό, ὁ ἄγγελος τῆς μετανοίας.

'Εντολὴ α'.

1. Πρῶτον πάντων πίστευσον, ὅτι εἰς ἐστιν ὁ θεός, ὁ τὰ πάντα κτίσας καὶ καταρτίσας καὶ ποιήσας ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος εἰς τὸ εἶναι τὰ πάντα καὶ πάντα χωρῶν, μόνος δὲ ἀχώρητος ὄν. 2. πίστευσον οὖν αὐτῷ καὶ φοβήθητι αὐτόν, φοβηθεῖς δὲ ἐγκράτευσαι. ταῦτα φύλασσε, καὶ ἀποβαλέσαι πᾶσαν πονηρίαν ἀπὸ σεαυτοῦ καὶ ἐνδύσῃ πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν δικαιοσύνης καὶ ζήσῃ τῷ θεῷ, εάν φυλάξῃ τὴν ἑντολὴν ταύτην.

'Εντολὴ β'.

1. Δέγει μοι. Ἀπλότητα ἔχε καὶ ἀκακὸς γίνου, καὶ ἔσῃ ὡς τὰ νύπια τὰ μὴ γινώσκοντα τὴν ποιησίαν τῆν ἀπολλύοντας τὴν ζωῆν τῶν ἀνθρώπων. 2. πρῶτον μὲν μηδενὸς καταλάλει μηδὲ ἡδέως ἀκονε καταλαλοῦντος· εἰ δὲ μὴ, καὶ σὺ ὁ ἀκούων ἐνοχος ἐσῃ τῆς ἀμαρτίας τοῦ καταλαλοῦντος, εὰν πιστεύσῃς τῇ καταλαλίᾳ ή ἀν ἀκούσῃς· πιστεύσας γὰρ 1 καὶ 1 γὰρ ΔΕ(L1) Ath. Ant. om. NLα.
them out at once, and be able to keep them." 6. So I wrote the commandments and parables as he commanded me. 7. If then you hear and keep them, and walk in them, and do them with a pure heart, you shall receive from the Lord all that he promised you, but if you hear them and do not repent, but continue to add to your sins, you shall receive the contrary from the Lord. All these things the shepherd commanded me to write thus, for he was the angel of repentance.

**Mandate 1**

1. **First** of all believe that God is one, 'who made all things and perfected them, and made all things to be out of that which was not,' and contains all things, and is himself alone uncontained. 2. Believe then in him, and fear him, and in your fear be continent. Keep these things, and you shall cast away from yourself all wickedness, and shall put on every virtue of righteousness, and shall live to God, if you keep this commandment.

**Mandate 2**

1. He said to me: "Have simplicity and be innocent and you shall be as the children who do not know the wickedness that destroys the life of men. 2. In the first place, speak evil of no one, and do not listen gladly to him who speaks evil. Otherwise you also by listening share in the sin of him who speaks evil, if you believe in the evil-speaking
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σὺ αὐτὸς ἔξεις κατὰ τού ἄδελφον σου· οὕτως οὖν ἔνοχος ἔσθη τῆς ἁμαρτίας τοῦ καταλαλοῦντος. 3. πονηρὰ ἡ καταλαλία· ἀκατάστατον δαμώνιον ἔστιν, μηδέποτε εἰρηνεύον, ἀλλὰ πάντοτε ἐὰν διχοστασίας κατοικοῦν, ἀπέχει οὖν ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ, καὶ εὐθείαν πάντοτε ἔξεις 1 μετὰ πάντων. 4. ἐνδυσαι δὲ τὴν σεμνότητα, ἐν ἥ οὐδὲν πρόσκομμα ἔστιν πονηρόν, ἀλλὰ πάντα ὁμαλὰ καὶ ἰλαρά. ἐργάζου τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἐκ τῶν κόπων σου δῶν ὁ θεὸς διδώσῃ σοι πᾶσιν ὑποτρυμένοις δίδου ἀπλῶς, μὴ διστάζων, τίνι δῶς ἢ τίνι μὴ δῶς. πᾶσιν δίδου πᾶσιν γὰρ ὁ θεὸς δίδωσαι θέλει ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων δωρημάτων. 5. οἱ οὖν λαμβάνοντες ἀποδόσουσιν λόγον τῷ θεῷ, διατί ἔλαβον καὶ εἰς τί· οἱ μὲν γὰρ λαμβάνοντες θλιβόμενοι οὖ δικασθήσονται, οἱ δὲ ἐν ὑποκρίσει λαμβάνοντες τίσοντος δίκην. 6. οἱ οὖν δίδοσι ἄθροίς ἔστιν· δῶς γὰρ ἔλαβεν παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου τὴν διακονίαν τελέσαι, ἀπλῶς αὐτὴν ἐτέλεσεν, μηθέν διακρίνων, τίνι δῶς ἢ μὴ δῶς. ἐγένετο οὖν ἡ διακονία αὐτῆς ἀπλῶς τελεσθείσα ἐνδοξος παρὰ τῷ θεῷ. οἱ οὖν οὕτως ἀπλῶς διακονών τῷ θεῷ 2 ἔστεται. 7. φύλασσε οὖν τὴν ἐντολήν ταύτην, ὅσοι λελάνηκα, ἵνα ἡ μετάνοια σου καὶ τοῦ σου οἴκου σου ἐν ἀπλότητι εὐρεθῇ, καὶ ἀκακία 3 καθαρὰ καὶ ἀμίαντος.

1 ἔξεις ΝοAL₂E Ath., ἔξεις NL₁.
2 From here to the end of this Mandate Ν is missing except the end of the last word (-αντος).
3 ἀκακία A (probably, but the MS is almost illegible), ἡ καρδία edd. the versions are all paraphrastic, but “cor” is found in L₁.
The Shepherd, Mand. ii. 2-7

which you hear. For by believing you yourself also will have somewhat against your brother; thus therefore, you will share the sin of the speaker of evil. 3. Evil-speaking is wicked; it is a restless devil, never making peace, but always living in strife. Refrain from it then, and you shall have well-being at all times with all men. 4. And put on reverence, in which is no evil stumbling-block, but all is smooth and joyful. Do good, and of all your toil which God gives you, give in simplicity to all who need, not doubting to whom you shall give and to whom not: give to all, for to all God wishes gifts to be made of his own bounties. 5. Those then who receive shall render an account to God why they received it and for what. For those who accepted through distress shall not be punished, but those who accepted in hypocrisy shall pay the penalty. 6. He therefore who gives is innocent; for as he received from the Lord the fulfilment of this ministry, he fulfilled it in simplicity, not doubting to whom he should give or not give. Therefore this ministry fulfilled in simplicity was honourable before God. He therefore who serves in simplicity shall live to God. 7. Keep therefore this commandment as I have told you, that your repentance and that of your family may be found to be in simplicity, and that your innocence may be “pure and without stain.”

1 This series of precepts is also found in the Didache (i. 5) and is there quoted as being “according to the commandment” (ἐντολή—the same word as Hermas uses for the commandments or Mandates of the Shepherd).
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Ἐντολὴ ἡ ἡ.

1. Πάλιν μοι λέγει: Ἀλήθειαν ἀγάπα καὶ πάσα ἁλήθεια ἐκ τοῦ στόματός σου ἐκτρεπέσθω, ῥών τὸ πνεῦμα. δ ὁ θεὸς κατὰ κόσμον ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ ταύτῃ, ἁληθῆς εὐρεθῇ παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, καὶ οὗτος δοξασθῆσαι ὁ κύριος ὁ ἐν σοὶ κατοικοῦν, ὥστε ὁ κύριος ἁληθεύει ἐν παντὶ ῥήματι καὶ οὐδὲν παρ’ αὐτῷ πνεύμονα. 2. οἱ οὖν ψευδόμενοι ἀθετοῦσι τὸν κύριον καὶ γινονται ἀποστερηταὶ τοῦ κυρίου, μὴ παραδιδόντες αὐτῷ τὴν παρακαταθήκην, ἢν ἔλαβον. Ἐλάβον γὰρ παρ’ αὐτοῦ πνεῦμα ἁγίουν. τούτῳ ἐὰν ψευδές ἀποδώσωσιν, ἐμίαναν τὴν ἐντολὴν τοῦ κυρίου καὶ ἐγένοντο ἀποστερηταὶ. 3. ταῦτα οὖν ἀκούσας ἐγὼ ἔκλαυσα λίαν. ἤδων δὲ με κλαίοντα λέγει: Τί κλαίεις; Ὁτι, φησί, κύριε, οὐκ οἴδα, εἰ δύναμαι σωθῆναι. Διατί; φησίν. Οὐδὲν ψάρ, φησί, κύριε, ἐν τῇ ἐμῇ ἐκείθες ἐκλάθησα ῥήμα, ἀλλὰ πάντοτε πανούργησα ἐκλάθησα μετὰ πάντων καὶ τῷ ψευδῶς μου ἁληθεύει ἐπεδέξασα παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις καὶ οὐδέποτε μοι οὐδεὶς ἀντεἶπεν, ἀλλ’ ἐπιστεῦθ’ τῷ λόγῳ μου. πῶς οὖν, φησίν, κύριε, δύναμαι ξῆσαι ταῦτα πράξας; 4. Σὺ μὲν, φησὶν, καλῶς καὶ ἁληθῶς φρονεῖς; ἔδει γὰρ σε ὃς θεόν δούλον ἐν ἁληθείᾳ πορεύεσθαι, καὶ πονηρὰν συνείδησιν μετὰ τοῦ πνεύματος τῆς ἁληθείας μὴ κατοικεῖν μηδὲ λύπην ἐπάγειν τῷ πνεύματι τῷ σεμνῷ καὶ ἁλθεῖ. Οὐδέποτε, φησίν, κύριε,

1 From here to the last words of the Mandate (-τότου ψευδο- σματος ξησεται τῷ θεῷ) K is missing.
2 ἐκλάθησα Δ, ξησα ΕL.
THE SHEPHERD, MAND. III. 1–4

MANDATE 3

1. Again he said to me, "Love truth: and let all truth proceed from your mouth, that the spirit which God has made to dwell in this flesh may be found true by all men, and the Lord who dwells in you shall thus be glorified, for the Lord is true in every word and with him there is no lie. 2. They therefore who lie set the Lord at nought, and become defrauders of the Lord, not restoring to him the deposit which they received. For they received from him a spirit free from lies. If they return this as a lying spirit, they have defiled the commandment of the Lord and have robbed him." 3. When therefore I heard this I wept much, and when he saw me weeping he said, "Why do you weep?" "Because, sir," said I, "I do not know if I can be saved." "Why?" said he. "Because, sir," said I, "I have never yet in my life spoken a true word, but have ever spoken deceitfully with all men, and gave out that my lie was true among all, and no one ever contradicted me but believed my word. How then, sir," said I, "can I live after having done this?" 4. "Your thought," said he, "is good and true; for you ought to have walked in truth as God's servant, and an evil conscience ought not to dwell with the spirit of truth, nor ought grief to come on a spirit which is holy and true." "Never, sir," said I, "have I accurately understood \(^1\) such words."

\(^1\) The literal meaning of the Greek is "heard," but the meaning is clearly much more nearly "understood."
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'Evtole ë. 

I

1. Ėvstållomai sou, phsín, fylássouen thn ángelain, kaî ùn ën thà paratìías h ën peri poûrhotáth.2 tiwos h peri toûtwn tìwôn òmooiwmátwn poûrôw. toûto gar poûw ëmgálh ëmarthian ërgáçh. tìth dè sîs ùmmõnestw pântote ãunnakos oumèstote diàmarthèsis. 2. èan gar aútì ën thûmêsis ëpì thà paratìías sou ònàbhsi, diàmarthèsis, kaî èan èterh òûtw poûrth,3 ëmarthian ërgáçh, h ëgar ën òthmêsis aútì theon ëthn ðoûlì ëmarthia ëmgálh ëstív. èan dè tís ërgásthetai ën èrhoû tò poûrôw toûto, ðànatou èautòw katergâzetai. 3. Òlæte òw ñû.

1 ìpëxetai A, but ëû probably read ìpëxetai as ùn can be read at the place where the word ought to be.
2 poûrhotas òLE Ath., poûrthas ënA.
3 kaî èan . . . ëmarthian ëû, kaî èan èterh òswatw poûrôw ën thûmês poûrth A. The versions paraphrase.

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5. "Now then," said he, "you do understand them. Keep them that your former lies in your business may themselves become trustworthy now that these have been found true. For it is possible for those also to become trustworthy.\(^1\) If you keep these things and from henceforth keep the whole truth, you can obtain life for yourself; and whoever shall hear this commandment, and abstain from the sin of lying shall live to God."

**Mandate 4**

**I**

1. "I command you," he said, "to keep purity and let not any thought come into your heart about another man's wife, or about fornication or any such wicked things; for by doing this you do great sin. But if you always remember your own wife you will never sin. 2. For if this desire enter your heart you will sin, and if you do other such-like wicked things you commit sin. For this desire is a great sin for the servant of God. And if any man commit this wicked deed he works death for himself. 3. See to it then, abstain from this desire, for where holiness

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\(^1\) The meaning is obscure, but it appears to be that Hermas having made untrue statements in the course of business must try so to act that his statements will be justified in fact; for instance, if he had made extravagant promises he must fulfil them.
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ἀπέχου ἀπὸ τῆς ἐνθυμήσεως ταύτης· ὅπου γὰρ
σεμώνης κατοικεῖ, ἐκεῖ ἀνομία οὐκ ὤφειλεν ἀνα-
βαίνειν ἐπὶ καρδιάν ἄνδρος δικαίου. 4. λέγω
αὐτῷ· Κύριε, ἐπίτρεψόν μοι ὅλη γα ἐπερωτήσαι σε.
Δέγε, φησίν. Κύριε, φησί, εἰ γυναῖκα ἔχει τις πιστὴν
ἐν κυρίῳ καὶ ταύτην εὔρη ἐν μοιχείᾳ τινί, ἀρα
ἀμαρτάνει ὁ ἄνὴρ συνζητεῖ μετ’ αὐτῆς; 5. Ἀρχι-
tῆς ἄγροιας, φησίν, οὗ ἀμαρτάνει· εἰ ὅ ἄνὴρ τήν
ἀμαρτίαν αὐτῆς καὶ μὴ μετανοήσῃ ἡ γυνὴ,
ἀλλ’ ἐπιμενεῖ τῇ πορνείᾳ αὐτῆς καὶ συνζητεῖ ὁ ἄνὴρ
μετ’ αὐτῆς, ἔνοχος γίνεται τῆς ἀμαρτίας αὐτῆς καὶ
κοινωνὸς τῆς μοιχείας αὐτῆς. 6. Τί οὖν, φησίν,
κύριε, ποιήσῃ ὁ ἄνηρ, ἐὰν ἐπιμενεῖ τῷ πάθει
τούτῳ ἡ γυνὴ; Ἀπολυσάτω, φησίν, αὐτὴν καὶ ὁ
ἄνηρ ἐφ’ ἐαυτῷ μενέτω· ἐὰν δὲ ἀπολύσας τὴν
γυναῖκα ἐτέραν γαμήσῃ, καὶ αὐτὸς μοϊχᾶται. 7.
Εἰ ὅ οὖν, φησί, κύριε, μετὰ τὸ ἀπολυθῆναι τὴν
γυναίκα μετανοήσῃ ἡ γυνὴ καὶ θελήσῃ ἐπὶ τῶν
ἐαυτῆς ἄνδρα ὑποστρέψαι, οὐ παραδεχθῆσαι;
8. Καὶ μὴν, φησίν, εἰ ὁ παραδέχεται αὐτὴν ὁ
ἄνηρ, ἀμαρτάνει καὶ μεγάλην ἀμαρτίαν ἐαυτῷ
ἐπισπάται, ἀλλὰ δὲν παραδεχθῇν τὸν ἡμαρ-
tηκότα καὶ μετανοοῦντα, μὴ ἐπὶ πολὺ δὲ τοῖς γαρ
dουλοις τοῦ θεοῦ μετάνοια ἐστὶν μία. διὰ τὴν
μετάνοιαν οὖν οὐκ ὤφειλεν γαμεῖν ὁ ἄνηρ. αὐτὴ ἡ
THE SHEPHERD, MAND. IV. i. 3-8

lives, lawlessness ought not to enter the heart of a righteous man.” 4. I said to him, “Sir, allow me to ask you a few questions.” “Say on,” said he. “Sir,” said I, “if a man have a wife faithful in the Lord, and he finds her out in some adultery, does the husband sin if he lives with her?” 5. “So long as he is ignorant,” said he, “he does not sin, but if the husband knows her sin, and the wife does not repent, but remains in her fornication, and the husband go on living with her, he becomes a partaker of her sin, and shares in her adultery.” 6. “What then,” said I, “sir, shall the husband do if the wife remain in this disposition?” “Let him put her away,” he said, “and let the husband remain by himself. But ‘if he put his wife away and marry another he also commits adultery himself.’” 7. “If then,” said I, “sir, after the wife be put away she repent, and wish to return to her own husband, shall she not be received?” 8. “Yes,” said he; “if the husband do not receive her he sins and covers himself with great sin; but it is necessary to receive the sinner who repents, but not often, for the servants of God have but one repentance. Therefore, for the sake of repentance the husband ought not to marry.¹

¹ This mandate is really explaining the practical problem which arose from the conflict between the Christian precept against divorce (Mt. 10, 11 f.) and the equally early precept against having intercourse with immoral persons. As the inserted clause “except for the cause of fornication” in the Matthaean version of Mk. 10, 11 f. (Mt. 19, 9; cf. Mt. 5, 32 and Lc. 16, 18) shows, the latter precept was regarded as more important, and immoral wives were put away, but Hermas and other writers always maintained that this was
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πράξεις ἐπὶ γυναικὶ καὶ ἀνδρὶ κεῖται. 9. οὐ μόνον, φησίν, μοιχεία ἐστίν, εάν τις τὴν σάρκα αὐτοῦ μιάνῃ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὃς ἀν τὰ ὁμοίωματα ποιή τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, μοιχᾶται. οὕτω καὶ ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις ἑργοῖς ἐὰν ἐμμένῃ τις καὶ μὴ μετανοή, ἀπέχον ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ μὴ συνζητῇ αὐτῷ· εἰ δὲ μή, καὶ σὺ μέτοχος εἰ τῆς ἀμαρτίας αὐτοῦ. 10. διὰ τούτο προσετάγῃ ὑμῖν ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς μένειν, εἰτε ἕννη εἰτε γυνῇ· δύναται γὰρ ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις μετάνοια εἶναι. 11. ἐγὼ οὖν, φησίν, οὐ δίδωμι ἀφορμήν, ἵνα αὕτη ἡ πράξεις ὦτως συντελήται, ἀλλὰ εἰς τὸ μηκέτι ἀμαρτάνειν τὸν ἡμαρτηκότα. περὶ δὲ τῆς προτέρας ἀμαρτίας αὐτοῦ ἔστιν ὁ δυνάμενος ἰασιν δοῦναι. 2 αὐτὸς γὰρ ἔστιν ὁ ἔχων πάντων τὴν ἕξοσιαν.

II

1. Ἡρώτησα δὲ αὐτῶν πάλιν λέγων: Ἐπεὶ ὁ κύριος ἄξιόν με ἡγήσατο, ἢν μετ' ἐμοῦ πάντοτε κατοικήσῃ, ὁλίγα μου ῥήματα ἐτί ἀνάσχον, ἐπεὶ οὐ συνίσω οὐδὲν καὶ ἥ καρδία μου πεπώρωται ἀπὸ τῶν προτέρων μου πράξεων' συνέτισον με, ὦτι λίαν ἀφρῶν εἰμί καὶ ὅλως οὐδὲν νοῶ. 2. ἀποκριθεὶς μοι λέγει· Ἐγὼ, φησίν, ἐπὶ τῆς μετανοίας εἰμὶ καὶ πᾶσιν τοῖς μετανουσίν σύνεσιν δίδωμι. ἢ οὐ

1 συντελήται Νclassified, συντελέσθηται Ν*.  
2 ὁ δυνάμενος ἰασίν δοῦναι οὐ. Ν*

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This is the course of action for wife and husband. 9. Not only," said he, "is it adultery if a man defile his flesh, but whosoever acts as do the heathen is also guilty of adultery, so that if anyone continue in such practices, and repent not, depart from him and do not live with him, otherwise you are also a sharer in his sin. 10. For this reason it was enjoined on you to live by yourselves, whether husband or wife, for in such cases repentance is possible. I, therefore," said he, "am not giving an opportunity to laxity that this business be thus concluded, but in order that he who has sinned sin no more," and for his former sin there is one who can give healing, for he it is who has the power over all."

II

1. And I asked him again, saying: "If the Lord has thought me worthy for you always to live with me, suffer yet a few words of mine, since I have no understanding and my heart has been hardened by my former deeds; give me understanding, for I am very foolish and have absolutely no understanding."

2. He answered me and said, "I am set over repentance, and I give understanding to all those not strictly divorce, as the innocent party was not free to remarry in order to give the other the opportunity of repenting and of returning.

1 Hermas is guarding against the imputation that he is lowering the standard of morality. This accusation was actually brought against him later by Tertullian.
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Δοκεῖ σοι, φησίν, αὐτῷ τούτῳ τὸ μετανοήσαι σύνεσιν εἶναι; τὸ μετανοήσαι, φησίν, σύνεσις ἐστὶν μεγάλης συνείπε γὰρ ὁ ἁμαρτήσας, ἵνα ἐπεποίηκεν τὸ πονηρὸν ἐμπροσθεν τοῦ κυρίου, καὶ ἀναβαίνει ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν αὐτοῦ ἡ πράξις, ἵνα ἔπραξαι, καὶ μετανοεῖ καὶ οὐκέτι ἐργάζεται τὸ πονηρόν, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἁγαθὸν πολυτελῶς ἐργάζεται καὶ ταπεινοὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ψυχὴν καὶ βασανίζει, ὁτι ἠμαρτεν. Βλέπεις οὖν, ὁτι η μετάνοια σύνεσις ἐστὶν μεγάλη.

3. Διὰ τούτῳ οὖν, φημί, κύριε, ἐξακριβώσαι παρὰ σοῦ πάντα: πρῶτου μὲν, ὅτι ἁμαρτωλὸς εἰμι, ἵνα γνῶ, ποία ἔργα ἐργαζόμενος ζήσομαι, ὅτι πολλαὶ μου εἰσὶν αἱ ἁμαρτίαι καὶ ποικίλαι. 4. Ζήσῃ, φησίν, ἐὰν τὰς ἐντολὰς μου φυλάξῃς καὶ πορευθῆς ἐν αὐταῖς· καὶ δε ἂν ἀκούσας τὰς ἐντολὰς ταύτας φυλάξῃ, ζήσεται τῷ θεῷ.

III

1. Ἑτὶ, φημί, κύριε, προσθήσω τοῦ ἑπερωτήσαι. Δέγε, φησίν. Ἡκουσα, φημί, κύριε, παρά τινων διδασκάλων, ὅτι ἐτέρα μετάνοια οὐκ ἐστὶν εἰ μὴ ἐκεῖνη, ὅτε εἰς ύδωρ κατεβηκαν καὶ ἐλάβομεν ἁφεσιν ἁμαρτίων ἡμῶν τῶν προτέρων. 2. Λέγει μοι: Καλῶς ἠκουσας· οὕτω γὰρ ἔχει. ἢδει γὰρ τὸν εἰληφότα ἁφεσιν ἁμαρτίων μηκέτι ἁμαρτάνειν, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀγνείᾳ κατοικεῖν. 3. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντα ἐξακριβάζῃ, καὶ τούτῳ σοι δηλώσω, μὴ διδοὺς ἀφορμὴν τοῖς μέλλουσι πιστευεῖν ἢ τοῖς νῦν

1 ὁ ἁμαρτήσας ALE, ὁ ἀνὴρ ὁ ἁμαρτήσας Ν.
2 From here to Mand. IV. 3, 4 (καρδιογνώσης) Ν is missing.
3 τὸν Clem., τινα Α.
THE SHEPHERD, MAND. IV. ii. 2–iii. 3

who repent. Or do you not think," said he, "that this very repentance is itself understanding? To repent," said he, "is great understanding. For the sinner understands that he 'has done wickedly before the Lord,' and the deed which he wrought comes into his heart, and he repents and no longer does wickedly, but does good abundantly, and humbles his soul and punishes it because he sinned. You see, therefore, that repentance is great understanding." 3. "For this reason then, sir," said I, "I enquire accurately from you as to all things. First, because I am a sinner, that I may know what I must do to live, because my sins are many and manifold." 4. "You shall live," he said, "if you keep my commandments and walk in them, and whosoever shall hear and keep these commandments shall live to God."

III

1. "I will yet, sir," said I, "continue to ask." "Say on," said he. "I have heard, sir," said I, "from some teachers¹ that there is no second repentance beyond the one given when we went down into the water and received remission of our former sins." 2. He said to me, "You have heard correctly, for that is so. For he who has received remission of sin ought never to sin again, but to live in purity. 3. But since you ask accurately concerning all things, I will explain this also to you without giving an excuse to those who in the future shall believe or to

¹ Possibly a reference to Heb. 6, 4 ff.
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πιστεύοντες εἰς τὸν κύριον. οἳ γὰρ νῦν πιστεύοντες ή μέλλοντες πιστεύοντες μετάνοιαν ἀμαρτίῶν οὐκ ἔχουσιν, ἀφεῖσιν δὲ ἔχουσι τῶν προτέρων ἀμαρτίων αὐτῶν. 4. τοῖς οὕτως κληθεῖσι πρὸ τοῦ τούτων τῶν ἥμερῶν ἔθηκεν ὁ κύριος μετανοιαν· καρδιογνώστης γὰρ ὃν ὁ κύριος καὶ πάντα προηγοῦσκον ἔγνω τὴν ἁσθενείαν τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τὴν πολυπλοκίαν τοῦ διαβόλου, ὧτι ποιήσει τι κακὸν τοῖς δούλοις τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πονηρεύσεται εἰς αὐτούς. 5. πολύσπαλαγχυρος οὕτω δὲν ὁ κύριος ἔσπλαγχνισθεὶς ἐπὶ τὴν ποιήσει αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔθηκεν τὴν μετάνοιαν ταύτην, καὶ ἐμοὶ ἡ ἐξουσία τῆς μετανοίας ταύτης ἔδόθη. 6. ἀλλὰ ἐγὼ σοι λέγω, φησί· μετὰ τὴν κλῆσιν ἐκείνην τὴν μεγάλην καὶ σεμνὴν εάν τις ἐκπειρασθεῖς υπὸ τοῦ διαβόλου ἀμαρτήσῃ, μίαν μετάνοιαν ἔχει· εάν δὲ υπὸ χείρα ἀμαρτάνῃ καὶ μετανοήσῃ, ἀσύμφορον ἐστὶ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τῷ τοιούτῳ δυσκόλως γὰρ ζησεται. 7. λέγω αὐτῷ· ἔξωπονήθη ταύτα παρὰ σοῦ ἀκούσας οὗτος ἀκριβῶς· οἶδα γὰρ ὅτι, εἰ μήκετι προσθήσω ταῖς ἀμαρτίαις μου, σωθήσομαι. Σωθήσῃ, φησίν, καὶ πάντες, ὅσοι εάν ταύτα ποιήσωσιν.

IV

1. Ὑποτεθα αὐτὸν πάλιν λέγων. Κύριε, ἔπει ἄπαξ ἀνέχῃ μου, ῥεταί μοι καὶ τοῦτο δῆλωσον. Δέγε, φησίν. Ἐὰν γνωή, φησί, κύριε, ἢ πάλιν ἀνήρ τις κοιμήθη καὶ γαμήσῃ τις ἐξ αὐτῶν, μήτι

1 With the φη of φησί the extant leaves of Ν come to an end.
2 μετανοήσῃ Ε (L), οὐ μετανοήσῃ Α.
those who have already believed on the Lord. For those who have already believed or shall believe in the future, have no repentance of sins, but have remission of their former sin. 4. For those, then, who were called before these days, did the Lord appoint repentance, for the Lord knows the heart, and knowing all things beforehand he knew the weakness of man and the subtlety of the devil, that he will do some evil to the servants of God, and will do them mischief. 5. The Lord, therefore, being merciful, had mercy on his creation, and established this repentance, and to me was the control of this repentance given. 6. But I tell you,” said he, “after that great and holy calling, if a man be tempted by the devil and sin, he has one repentance, but if he sin and repent repeatedly it is unprofitable for such a man, for scarcely shall he live.” 7. I said to him,” “I attained life when I heard these things thus accurately from you, for I know that if I do not again add to my sins I shall be saved.” “You shall be saved,” said he, “and all who do these things.”

IV

1. I asked him again, saying, “Sir, since you for once endure me explain this also to me.” “Say on,” said he. “If, sir,” said I, “a wife, or on the other hand a husband, die, and the survivor marry, does
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ἀμαρτάνει ὁ γαμῶν; 2. Οὐ χαμαρτάνει, φησίν· εάν δὲ ἐφ’ ἐαυτῷ μείνῃ τις, περισσοτέρων ἐαυτῷ τιμήν καὶ μεγάλην δόξαν περιποιεῖται πρὸς τὸν κύριον· εὰν δὲ καὶ γαμήσῃ, οὐχ ἀμαρτάνει. 3. τήρει οὖν τὴν ἁγνείαν καὶ τὴν σεμνότητα, καὶ ζήσῃ τῷ θεῷ. ταύτα σοι ὅσα λαλῶ καὶ μέλλω λαλεῖν, φύλασσε ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν, ἀφ’ ἃς μοι παρεδόθης ἡμέρας, καὶ εἰς τὸν οἶκόν σου κατοικήσω. 4. τοῖς δὲ προτέροις σου παραπτώμασιν άφεσις ἐσται, εάν τὰς ἐντολὰς μου φυλάξῃς· καὶ πᾶσι δὲ ἁφεσις ἐσται, εάν τὰς ἐντολὰς μου ταύτας φυλάξωσι καὶ πορευθώσιν ἐν τῇ ἁγνότητί ταύτῃ.

Ἐντολὴ ε’.

I

1. Μακρόθυμος, φησί, γίνου καὶ συνετός, καὶ πάντων τῶν ποιητῶν ἔργων κατακυρεύσεις καὶ ἐργάσῃ πᾶσαν δικαιοσύνην. 2. εάν γὰρ μακρόθυμος ἔσῃ, τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον τὸ κατοικοῦν ἐν σοι καθαρὸν ἐσται, μὴ ἐπισκοτούμενον ὑπὸ ἐτέρου ποιητοῦ πνεύματος, ἀλλ’ ἐν εὐρυχῶρῳ κατοικοῦν ἀγαλλιάσεται καὶ εὐφρανθήσεται μετὰ τοῦ σκέυους, ἐν φ’ κατοικεῖ, καὶ1 λειτουργήσει τῷ θεῷ ἐν ἰλαρότητι πολλῇ, ἔχον τὴν εὐθυνίαν ἐν ἑαυτῷ. 3. εάν δὲ ἡμιχολία τις προσέλθῃ, εὑθὺς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, τρυφερὸν ἄν, στενο-

1 καὶ EL Ant., before μετά Α.
the one who marries commit sin?" 2. "He does not sin," said he, "but if he remain single he gains for himself more exceeding honour and great glory with the Lord, but even if he marry he does not sin. 3. Preserve therefore purity and holiness, and you shall live to God. Keep from henceforth, from the day on which you were handed over to me, these things which I tell you and shall tell you, and I will dwell in your house. 4. And for your former transgression there shall be remission if you keep my commandments, and all men shall obtain a remission, if they keep these commandments of mine and walk in this purity."

Mandate 5

1. "Be," said he, "long-suffering\(^1\) and prudent and Long-suffering you shall have power over all evil deeds and shalt do all righteousness. 2. For if you are courageous the Holy Spirit which dwells in you will be pure, not obscured by another evil spirit, but will dwell at large and rejoice and be glad with the body in which it dwells, and will serve God in great cheerfulness, having well-being in itself. 3. But if any ill temper enter, at once the Holy Spirit, which is delicate, is oppressed, finding the place impure, and Against ill temper

\(^1\) The translation of μακροθυμία and ἀμπέλλα is difficult. Μακροθυμία is a little more than "long suffering" and almost equals courage. ἀμπέλλα is a rare word, literally "quickness to wrath," but this phrase does not convey in English the bad sense which Hermas obviously implies.
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χωρεῖται, μὴ ἔχουν τὸν τόπον καθαρῶν, καὶ ζητεῖ ἀποστῆναι ἐκ τοῦ τόπου. πυλεῖται γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ πνεύματος, μὴ ἔχουν τόπον λειτουργῆσαι τῷ κυρίῳ, καθὼς βούλεται, μιανόμενον ὑπὸ τῆς ὄξυχολίας. ἐν γὰρ τῇ μακροθυμίᾳ ὁ κύριος κατοικεῖ, ἐν δὲ τῇ ὄξυχολία τῷ διάβολος. 4. ἀμφότερα οὖν τὰ πνεύματα ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ κατοικοῦντα, ἀσύμφορον ἐστὶν καὶ πονηρὸν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐκείνῳ, ἐν δὲ κατοικοῦσιν. 5. ἔὰν γὰρ λάβῃς ἀψυχθὲν μικρὸν λίαν καὶ εἰς κεραμίων μέλιτος ἑπιχείς, οὐχὶ ὅλον τὸ μέλι ἀφανίζεται, καὶ τοσοῦτον μέλι ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐλαχίστου ἀψυχθόντος ἀπόλλυται καὶ ἀπόλλυται τὴν γλυκύτητα τοῦ μέλιτος, καὶ οὐκέτι τὴν αὐτὴν χάριν ἔχει παρὰ τῷ δεσπότῃ, ὅτι ἐπικράνθη καὶ τὴν χρῆσιν αὐτοῦ ἄπωλεσεν; ἐὰν δὲ εἰς τὸ μέλι μη βληθῇ τὸ ἀψυχθον, γλυκὸ εὐρίσκεται τὸ μέλι καὶ εὐχρηστὸν γίνεται τῷ δεσπότῃ αὐτοῦ. 6. βλέπεις ὅτι ἡ μακροθυμία γλυκυτάτη ἐστὶν ὑπὲρ τὸ μέλι καὶ εὐχρηστός ἐστί τῷ κυρίῳ, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ κατοικεῖ. ἡ δὲ ὄξυχολία πικρά καὶ ἀχρηστός ἐστιν. ἐὰν οὖν μη ἡ ὄξυχολία τῇ μακροθυμίᾳ, μιανότεραι ἡ μακροθυμία καὶ οὐκέτι εὐχρηστός ἐστι τῷ θεῷ ἡ ἐνευξίζεσις αὐτῆς. 7. Ἡθελον, φημὶ, κύριε, γνῶναι τὴν ἐνέργειαν τῆς ὄξυχολίας, ἵνα φυλάξωμαι ἀπ' αὐτῆς. Καὶ μήν,

1 The text of this passage is reconstructed thus by the editors from LE Ant. A reads ἀφανίζεται, καὶ πυλεῖται γίνεται καὶ ἀπολ εῖται τὴν γλυκύτητα τοῦ μέλιτος καὶ οὐκέτι τὴν αὐτὴν χάριν ἔκει παρὰ τῷ δεσπότῃ ὅτι ἐπικράνθη καὶ τὴν χρῆσιν αὐτοῦ ἄπωλεσεν, ἐὰν δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ ἀψυχθον μὴ βληθῇ μέλι, οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τὸ ἀψυχθον μὴ βληθῇ μέλι οὐδὲ εὐχρηστὸν γίνεται τῷ δεσπότῃ αὐτοῦ. This of course is hopelessly corrupt, but it seems to point to a shorter text.
seeks to depart out of the place, for it is choked by the evil spirit, having no room to serve the Lord as it will, but is contaminated by the bitterness. For the Lord dwells in long-suffering and the devil dwells in ill temper. 4. If therefore, both spirits dwell in the same place it is unprofitable and evil for that man in whom they dwell. 5. For if you take a little wormwood, and pour into it a jar of honey, is not the whole honey spoilt? And a great quantity of honey is ruined by a very little wormwood, and it spoils the sweetness of the honey, and it has no longer the same favour with the master, because it has been mixed and he has lost its use. But if no wormwood be put into the honey, the honey is found to be sweet, and becomes valuable to the master. 6. You see that long suffering is very sweet, surpassing honey, and is valuable to the Lord and he dwells in it. But ill temper is bitter and useless. If, therefore, ill temper be mixed with courage, the courage is defiled, and its intercession is no longer valuable before God.” 7. “I would like, sir,” said I, “to know the working of ill temper, that I may be preserved from it.” “Indeed,” said he, “if you do not keep
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φησίν, ἐδώ μὴ φυλάξῃ ἀπ' αὐτῆς σὺ καὶ ὁ ὁικός σου, ἀπώλεσάς σου τήν πᾶσαν ἑλπίδα. ἀλλὰ φῦλαξαι ἀπ' αὐτῆς· εγὼ γὰρ μετὰ σοῦ εἰμί. καὶ πάντες δὲ ἄφεξονται ἀπ' αὐτῆς, ὅσοι ἀν μετανοήσωσιν ἥξι ὅλης τῆς καρδίας αὐτῶν· μετ' αὐτῶν γὰρ ἔσομαι καὶ συντηρήσω αὐτοὺς· ἐδικαίωθησαν γὰρ πάντες ὑπὸ τοῦ σεμνοτάτου ἁγγέλου.

II

1. Ἀκούει νῦν, φησί, τὴν ἐνέργειαν τῆς ὄξυχο-λίας, πῶς ποιηρά ἔστι, καὶ πῶς τοὺς δούλους μου ¹ καταστρέφει τῇ ἑαυτῆς ἐνέργεια καὶ πῶς ἀποπλανᾶ αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς δικαιοσύνης. οὐκ ἀποπλανᾶ δὲ τοὺς πλήρεις δύναται εἰς τῇ πίστει οὐδὲ ἐνεργήσαι δύναται εἰς αὐτοὺς, ὅτι ἡ δύναμις μου ¹ μετ' αὐτῶν ἔστιν ἀποπλανᾶ δὲ τοὺς ἀποκένους καὶ διψύχους δύνατα. 2. ὅταν δὲ ἴδῃ τοὺς τοιούτους ἄνθρωπους εὐσταθοῦντας, παρεμβάλλει ἑαυτὴν εἰς τὴν καρδίαν τοῦ ἄνθρωπον ἔκεινον, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ μηδενὸς ὁ ἀνήρ ἢ ἡ γυνὴ ἐν πικρίᾳ γίνεται ἐνεκεν βιωτικῶν πραγμάτων ἢ περὶ ἐδεσμάτων ἢ μικρολογίας τινὸς ἢ περὶ φίλου τινὸς ἢ περὶ δόσεως ἢ λήψεως ἢ περὶ τοιούτων μορῶν πραγμάτων· τάντα γὰρ πάντα μωρὰ ἐστι καὶ κακά καὶ ἄφρονα καὶ ἄσύμφορα τοῖς δούλοις τοῦ θεοῦ. 3. ἡ δὲ μακροθυμία μεγάλη ἐστὶ καὶ ἵσχυρα καὶ δύναμιν ἔχουσα καὶ στειβαράν καὶ εὐθυνουμένην ἐν πλατυσμῷ μεγάλῳ, ἱλαρά,

¹ μου Δ, τοῦ κυρίου Λ9, (Ε) τοῦ θεοῦ Λ1.
² ἢ περὶ φίλου τινὸς ομ. Δ.

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from it, both you and your house, you have destroyed all your hope. But keep from it, for I am with you. And all shall refrain from it, who repent with all their heart; for I will be with them, and will preserve them, for all have been made righteous by the most revered angel.

II

1. "Hear, then," said he, "the working of ill temper, and how evil it is and how it destroys the servants of God by its working, and how it leads them astray from righteousness. But it does not lead astray those who are filled with faith, nor can it work evil to them, because my power is with them, but it leads astray those who are vain and are double-minded. 2. And when it sees such men in tranquillity, it forces its way into the heart of that man, and the man or woman is made bitter out of nothing, because of daily business or of food or some trifle, or about some friend, or about giving or receiving, or about some such foolish matters. For all these things are foolish and vain and meaningless, and unprofitable to the servants of God. 3. But long-suffering is great and mighty and has steadfast power and prospers in great breadth, is joyful, glad, without care, 'glorifying the Lord at every
Τοβ. 4, 19

ἀγαλλιωμένη, ἁμέριμνος οὖσα, δοξάζουσα τὸν κύριον ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ, μηδὲν ἐν ἐαυτῇ ἐχουσα πικρόν, παραμένουσα διὰ παντὸς πραεία καὶ ἠσύχιος· αὕτη οὖν ἡ μακροθυμία κατοικεῖ μετὰ τῶν τῆς πίστεως ἐχόντων ὀλόκληρων. 4. ἡ δὲ ὀξυχολία πρῶτον μὲν μωρά ἐστιν, ἐλαφρά τε καὶ ἀφρών. εἰτα ἐκ τῆς ἀφροσύνης γίνεται πικρία, ἐκ δὲ τῆς πικρίας θυμός, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ θυμοῦ ὀργή, ἐκ δὲ τῆς ὀργῆς μῆνις· εἰτά ἡ μῆνις αὕτη ἐκ τοσοῦτον κακῶν συνισταμένη γίνεται ἀμαρτία μεγάλη καὶ ἀνίατος. 5. ὅταν γὰρ ταῦτα τὰ πνεύματα ἐν ἑνὶ ἀγγείῳ κατοικῇ, οὐ καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἁγιόν κατοικεῖ, οὐ χωρεῖ τὸ ἁγιόν ἐκείνο, ἀλλ’ ὑπερπλεονάζει. 6. τὸ τρυφερὸν οὐν πνεῦμα, μὴ ἐχον συνήθειαν μετὰ πονηροῦ πνεύματος κατοικείν μηδὲ μετὰ σκληρότητος, ἄποχωρεῖ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄνθρωπον τοῦ τοιοῦτον καὶ κρητεί κατοικεῖν μετὰ πραότητος καὶ ἰσυχίας. 7. εἰτά ὅταν ἀποστῆ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄνθρωπον ἐκείνου, οὐ κατοικεῖ, γίνεται ο ἄνθρωπος εκείνος κενὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ δικαίου καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν πεπληρωμένος τοῖς πνεύμασι τοῖς πονηροῖς ἀκαταστατεί ἐν πάσῃ πράξει αὐτοῦ, περισσῶμενος δὲ κάκεισε ἀπὸ τῶν πνευμάτων τῶν πονηρῶν καὶ ὅλως ἀποτυφλοῦται ἀπὸ τῆς διανοίας τῆς ἁγάθης. οὕτως οὖν συμβαίνει πάσι τοῖς ὀξυχόλοις. 8. ἀπέχου οὖν ἀπὸ τῆς ὀξυχολίας τοῦ πονηροτάτου πνεύματος· ἐνδυσάτε δὲ τὴν μακροθυμίαν καὶ ἀντίστα τῇ ὀξυχολίᾳ καὶ τῇ πικρίᾳ καὶ ἔσθη εὐρυσκόμενος μετὰ τῆς σεμνότητος τῆς ἡγατημένης ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου. Ἐξέπευ οὖν ἰκτίσα τοποθηματίᾳ τῆς ἐντολῆς ταύτην· εὰν γὰρ ταύτης τῆς ἐντολῆς κυριεύσῃ καὶ τὰς
time,' has nothing bitter in itself, but remains ever meek and gentle. Therefore this long-suffering dwells with those who have faith in perfectness. 4. But ill temper is first foolish, frivolous, and silly; then from silliness comes bitterness, from bitterness wrath, from wrath rage, and from rage fury; then fury, being compounded of such great evils, becomes great and inexpiable sin. 5. For when these spirits dwell in one vessel, where also the Holy Spirit dwells, there is no room in that vessel, but it is overcrowded. 6. Therefore the delicate spirit which is unaccustomed to dwell with an evil spirit, or with hardness, departs from such a man, and seeks to dwell with gentleness and quietness. 7. Then, when it departs from that man where it was dwelling, that man becomes empty of the righteous spirit, and for the future is filled with the evil spirits, and is disorderly in all his actions, being dragged here and there by the evil spirits, and is wholly blinded from goodness of thought. Thus, then, it happens with all who are ill tempered. 8. Abstain then from ill temper, that most evil spirit, but put on long suffering and withstand ill temper, and be found with the holiness which is beloved of the Lord. See then that you forget not this commandment, for if you master this commandment you will also be able to

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λοιπὰς ἑντολὰς δυνήσῃ φυλάξαι, ὡς σοι μέλλω ἐντέλεσθαι. Ἰσχυροῦ εἴν αὐτάς καὶ ἐνδυναμοῦ, καὶ πάντες ἐνδυναμοῦσθωσαν, ὃσοι ἐὰν θέλωσιν εἴν αὐτάς πορεύεσθαι.

'Εντολῆς ἡ ἕν

1.

1. Ἐνετευλάμην σοι, φησίν, ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἑντολῇ, ἵνα φυλάξῃς τὴν πίστιν καὶ τὸν φόβον καὶ τὴν ἐγκράτειαν. Ναί, φημί, κύριε. Ἀλλὰ νῦν θέλω σοι, φησίν, δηλῶσαι καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις αὐτῶν, ἵνα νοήσης τῆς αὐτῶν τίνα δύναμιν ἔχει καὶ ἐνέργειαν. διπλαί γὰρ εἰσίν αἱ ἐνέργειαι αὐτῶν. κεῖται οὖν ἐπὶ δικαίῳ καὶ ἄδικω. 2. σὺ οὖν πίστευε τῷ δικαίῳ, τῷ δὲ ἄδικῳ μὴ πιστεύσῃς. τὸ γὰρ δίκαιον ὀρθὴν ὀδὸν ἔχει, τὸ δὲ ἄδικον στρεβλῆν. ἀλλὰ σὺ τῇ ὀρθῇ ὁδῷ πορεύου καὶ ὀμαλῆ, τὴν δὲ στρεβλῆν ἔασον. 3. ἡ γὰρ στρεβλὴ ὁδὸς τρίβουσα οὐκ ἔχει, ἀλλ' ἀνοδίας καὶ προσκόμματα πολλὰ καὶ τραχεία ἐστὶ καὶ ἀκανθώδης. βλαβερὰ οὖν ἐστὶ τοῖς ἐν αὐτῇ πορευομένοις. 4. οἱ δὲ τῇ ὀρθῇ ὁδῷ πορευόμενοι ὁμαλῶς περιπατοῦσι καὶ ἀπροσκόπως, οὕτε γὰρ τραχεῖα ἐστὶν οὕτε ἀκανθώδης. βλέπεις οὖν, ὅτι συμφωνώτερον ἐστὶν ταύτῃ τῇ ὁδῷ πορεύεσθαι. 5. Ἀρέσκει μοι, φημί, κύριε, ταύτῃ τῇ ὁδῷ πορεύεσθαι. Πορεύσῃ, φησί, καὶ δε ἄν ἐξ ὅλης καρδίας ἐπιστρέψῃ πρὸς κύριον, πορεύεσται ἐν αὐτῇ.
THE SHEPHERD, MAND. v. ii. 8–vi i. 5

keep the other commandments which I am going to give you. Be strong in them and strengthen yourself, and let all strengthen themselves who wish to walk in them.

MANDATE 6

I

1. "I commanded you," said he, "in the first commandment to keep faith and fear and continence." "Yes, sir," said I. "But now I wish," said he, "to explain also their qualities that you may understand what is the quality of each and its working, for their working is of two sorts. They relate, then, to the righteous and to the unrighteous: 2. do you therefore believe the righteous, but do not believe the unrighteous. For that which is righteous has a straight path, but that which is unrighteous a crooked path. But do you walk in the straight path, but leave the crooked path alone. 3. For the crooked path has no road, but rough ground and many stumbling-blocks, and is steep and thorny. It is therefore harmful to those who walk in it. 4. But those who go in the straight path walk smoothly and without stumbling, for it is neither rough nor thorny. You see, then, that it is better to walk in this path." 5. "It pleases me, sir," said I, "to walk in this path." "You shall do so," said he, "and whoever 'turns to the Lord with all his heart' shall walk in it.

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II

1. Ἄκουε νῦν, φησί, περὶ τῆς πίστεως. δύο εἶσον ἀγγέλοι μετὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, εἰς τῆς δικαιοσύνης καὶ εἰς τῆς πονηρίας. 2. Πῶς οὖν, φησί, κύριε, γνώσομαι τὰς αὐτῶν ἐνεργείας, ὅτι ἀμφότεροι ἄγγελοι μετ’ ἐμοῦ κατοικοῦσιν; 3. Ἄκουε, φησί, καὶ συνιεῖς αὐτάς. 1 ο μὲν τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἄγγελος τρυφερός ἔστι καὶ αἰσχυντήρος καὶ πραΐς καὶ ἁσύχιος. οτάν οὖν οὐτὸς ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν σου ἀναβῇ, εὐθέως λαλεῖ μετὰ σοῦ περὶ δικαιοσύνης, περὶ ἄγγελιας, περὶ σεμνότητος καὶ περὶ αὐταρκείας καὶ περὶ παντός ἔργου δικαίου καὶ περὶ πάσης ἁρετῆς ἐνδοξοῦ. ταῦτα πάντα οταν εἰς τὴν καρδίαν σου ἀναβῇ 2, γίνωσκε, ὅτι ὁ ἄγγελος τῆς δικαιοσύνης μετὰ σοῦ ἐστὶ. ταῦτα οὖν ἐστὶ τὰ ἔργα τοῦ ἄγγελου τῆς δικαιοσύνης. τούτῳ οὖν πίστευε καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῦ. 4. ὁρᾷ οὖν 3 καὶ τοῦ ἄγγελου τῆς πονηρίας τὰ ἔργα. πρῶτον πάντων ἄτυχολος ἔστι καὶ πικρὸς καὶ ἄφρων, 4 καὶ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ πονηρά, καταστρέφοντα τοὺς δούλους τοῦ θεοῦ. οταν οὖν οὐτὸς ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν σου ἀναβῇ, γνωρίζει αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ.
5. Πῶς, φησί, κύριε, νοήσω αὐτὸν, οὐκ ἐπίσταμαι. Ἄκουε, φησί. οταν ἄτυχολια σοὶ τῆς προσπέσης ἢ πικρία, γίνωσκε, ὅτι αὐτὸς ἐστὶν ἐν σοὶ. εἰτα ἐπιθυμία πράξεων πολλῶν καὶ πολυτέλειαι

Mt. 7, 16

1 συνιεῖς αὐτάς A, σὺνιε L, om E.
2 εὐθέως λαλεῖ . . . ἀναβῇ (with some variations) LE Ath. Ant., om. Δ.
3 οὖν A Ath., νῦν L(E).
4 πικρὲς καὶ ἄφρων L Ath. Ant., om. Δ.
II

1. "Hear now," said he, "concerning faith. There are two angels with man, one of righteousness and one of wickedness." 2. "How then, sir," said I, "shall I know their workings, because both angels dwell with me?" "Listen," said he, "and understand them. The angel of righteousness is delicate and modest and meek and gentle. When, then, he comes into your heart he at once speaks with you of righteousness, of purity, of reverence, of self-control, of every righteous deed, and of all glorious virtue. When all these things come into your heart, know that the angel of righteousness is with you. These things, then, are the deeds of the angel of righteousness. Therefore believe him and his works. 4. Now see also the works of the angel of wickedness. First of all, he is ill tempered, and bitter, and foolish, and his deeds are evil, casting down the servants of God. Whenever therefore he comes into your heart, know him from his works." 5. "I do not understand, sir," said I, "how to perceive him." "Listen," said he. "When ill temper or bitterness come upon you, know that he is in you. Next the desire of many deeds and the luxury of
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ἐδεσμάτων πολλῶν καὶ μεθυσμάτων καὶ κραί-παλῶν πολλῶν καὶ ποικίλων τροφῶν καὶ σύ δεόντων καὶ ἐπιθυμίαι γυναικῶν καὶ πλεονεξίων καὶ ὑπερηφανία πολλῆς τις καὶ ἀλαζονεία καὶ ὁσα τούτων παραπλησία ἐστὶ καὶ ὀμοία· ταῦτα οὖν ἦταν ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν σου ἀναβῇ, γίνωσκε, ὅτι ὁ ἄγγελος τῆς πονηρίας ἐστίν ἐν σοί. 6. σύ οὖν ἐπιγνοὺς τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ ἀπόστα ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, μηδὲν 1 αὐτῷ πίστευε, ὅτι τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ ποιηρά εἶσι καὶ ἀσύμποφα τοὺς δούλους τοῦ θεοῦ. ἔχεις οὖν ἀμφοτέρων τῶν ἁγγελῶν τὰς ἐνεργεῖς· σύνε αὐτὰς καὶ πίστευε τῷ ἁγγέλῳ τῆς δικαιοσύνης· 7. ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ἁγγέλου τῆς πονηρίας ἀπόστηθι, ὅτι η διδαχὴ αὐτοῦ ποιηρά ἐστι παντὶ ἔργῳ· ἐὰν γὰρ ἡ τῆς πιστοῦς ἀνήρ καὶ ἡ ἐνθύμησις τοῦ ἁγγέλου τούτου ἀναβῇ ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν αὐτοῦ, δεῖ τὸν ἄνδρα ἐκείνον ἡ τὴν γυναῖκα ἔξαρμαρσάται τί. 8. ἐὰν δὲ πάλιν ποιηρότατος τις ἡ ἀνήρ ἡ γυνὴ καὶ ἀναβῇ ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν αὐτοῦ τὰ ἔργα τοῦ ἁγγέλου τῆς δικαιοσύνης, ἔξ ἀνάγκης δεῖ αὐτὸν ἀγαθὸν τι ποιῆσαι. 9. θέλεις οὖν, φησίν, ὅτι καλὸν ἐστὶ τῷ ἁγγέλῳ τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἀκολουθεῖν, τῷ δὲ ἁγγέλῳ τῆς πονηρίας ἀποτάξασθαι. 10. τὰ μὲν περὶ τῆς πίστεως αὐτή ἡ ἐντολή δήλοι, ἣν τοῖς ἐργοῖς τοῦ ἁγγέλου τῆς δικαιοσύνης πιστεύσῃ, καὶ ἐργασάμενος αὐτὰ ἐξῆσῃ τῷ θεῷ. πίστευε δέ, ὅτι τὰ ἔργα τοῦ ἁγγέλου τῆς πονηρίας χαλεπά ἐστι· μη ἐργαζόμενος οὖν αὐτὰ ἐξῆσῃ τῷ θεῷ.

1 μηδὲ AE, καὶ μηδὲν Ath., L.

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much eating and drinking, and many feasts, and various and unnecessary foods, and the desire of women, and covetousness and haughtiness, and pride, and whatsoever things are akin and like to these,—when, therefore, these things come into your heart, know that the angel of wickedness is with you. 6. When, therefore, you know his deeds, keep from him, and do not trust him, because his deeds are evil and unprofitable for the servants of God. You have, therefore, the workings of both the angels. Understand them and believe the angel of righteousness, 7. but keep from the angel of wickedness because his teaching is evil in every act. For though a man be faithful, if the thought of that angel rise in his heart, it must be that that man or woman commit some sin. 8. But again, though a man or woman be very evil, if there rise in his heart the deeds of the angel of righteousness, it must needs be that he do some good act. 9. You see, therefore,” said he, “that it is good to follow the angel of righteousness, but to keep away from the angel of wickedness. 10. This commandment makes plain the things of the faith, that you may believe the works of the angel of righteousness, and by doing them live to God. But believe that the works of the angel of wickedness are bad: by not doing them, therefore, you shall live to God.”
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'Εντολή ζ

1. Φοβήθητε, φησί, τὸν κύριον καὶ φυλάσσε τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ. φυλάσσων οὐν τὰς ἐντολὰς τοῦ θεοῦ ἐσθ ἰδιῶτος ἐν πάσῃ πράξει, καὶ ἢ πρᾶξις σου ἀσύγκρητος ἐσται. φοβούμενος γὰρ τὸν κύριον πάντα καλῶς ἑργάσῃ· οὗτος δὲ ἐστὶν ὁ φόβος, ὅν δὲι σε φοβηθῆναι, καὶ σωθῆναι. 2. τὸν δὲ διάβολον μὴ φοβηθῆς· φοβούμενος γὰρ τὸν κύριον κατακυριεύσεις τοῦ διαβόλου, ὦτι δύναμις ἐν αὐτῷ οὐκ ἐστίν. ἐν οδῷ δὲ δύναμις οὐκ ἐστίν, ὡδὲ φόβος· ἐν ἤ δὲ δύναμις ἡ ἐνδοξος, καὶ φόβος ἐν αὐτῷ. πᾶς γὰρ ἡ δύναμιν ἐχων φόβον ἔχει· ὁ δὲ μὴ ἐχων δύναμιν ὑπὸ πάντων καταφορεῖται. 3. φοβήθητι δὲ τὰ ἐργα τοῦ διαβόλου, ὀτι πονηρά ἐστιν. φοβούμενος οὖν τὸν κύριον οὐκ ἑργάζηται ἀυτᾶ, ἀλλ’ ἀφέξῃ ἀπ’ αὐτῶν. 4. δυσσοὶ οὖν εἰσὶν οἱ φόβοι· εὰν γὰρ θέλησ ὁ πονηρὸν ἑργάσασθαι, φοβοῦ τὸν κύριον, καὶ οὐκ ἑργάζῃ αὐτόν· εὰν δὲ θέλῃς παλιὸν τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἑργάσασθαι, φοβοῦ τὸν κύριον, καὶ ἑργάζῃ αὐτόν. ὡστε ὁ φόβος τοῦ κυρίου ἵσχυρός ἐστι καὶ μέγας καὶ ἐνδοξος. φοβήθητι οὖν τὸν κύριον, καὶ ζήσῃ αὐτῷ· καὶ ὅσιον ἀν φοβηθῶσιν αὐτῶν καὶ τηρήσωσι τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ, ζήσονται τῷ θεῷ. 5. Διατί, φησί, κύριε, εἶπας περὶ τῶν τηροῦντων τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ· ζήσονται τῷ θεῷ· ὅτι, φησίν, πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις φοβεῖται τὸν κύριον τὰς δὲ ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ οὐ φυλάσσει. τῶν οὖν

1 σωθῆναι A, σωθήσῃ L₂ Ant.
2 εν δ... ἐστίν om. (E) L₂ Ath.
3 κύριον A, add. φοβηθήσῃ τὰ ἐργα τοῦ διαβόλου καὶ Ant. (L₁), L₂ omits the whole clause.
4 καὶ τηρήσωσι E Ant., τῶν φυλασσόντων A.

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1. "'Fear,'" said he, "'the Lord and keep his fear commandments.' By keeping, therefore, the commandments of God you shall be strong in every act, and your conduct shall be beyond compare. For by fearing the Lord you shall do all things well, and this is the fear with which you must fear and be saved. 2. But the devil do not fear, for by fearing the Lord you have power over the devil because there is no might in him. But where there is no might, neither is there fear. But where there is glorious might, there is also fear. For everyone who has might gains fear. But he who has not might is despised by all. 3. But fear the works of the devil, because they are evil. If therefore, you fear the Lord you shall not do them, but depart from them. 4. There are therefore two sorts of fear. For if you wish to do that which is evil, fear the Lord and you shall not do it. But, on the other hand, if you wish to do that which is good, fear the Lord, and you shall do it. So that the fear of the Lord is mighty and great and glorious. Therefore fear the Lord and you shall live in him. And whosoever shall fear him and keep his commandments, shall live to God." 5. "Wherefore, sir," said I, "did you say of those who keep his commandments, 'they shall live to God'?" "Because," said he, "the whole creation fears the Lord, but it does not keep his commandments. Those, therefore
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φοβομενων αυτου και φυλασσοντων τας εντολας αυτου, έκεινων η ξωη έστι παρα τω θεω των δε μη φυλασσοντων τας εντολας αυτου, ουδε ξωη εν αυτω.

Ἐντολὴ ἡ

1. Εἰπὼν σοι, φησίν, ὅτι τα κτίσματα του θεοῦ διπλὰ έστιν καὶ γὰρ ἡ ἐγκράτεια διπλῆ ἐστίν. ἐπὶ τινῶν γὰρ δεῖ ἐγκρατεύεσθαι, ἐπὶ τινῶν δὲ οὐ δεῖ. 2. Γνώρισόν μοι, φημί, κύριε, ἐπὶ τινῶν δεῖ ἐγκρατεύεσθαι, ἐπὶ τινῶν δὲ οὐ δεῖ. Ἀκούει, φησίν. τὸ πονηρὸν ἐγκρατεύον καὶ μὴ ποιεῖ αὐτὸ. τὸ δὲ ἀγαθὸν μὴ ἐγκρατεύον, ἄλλα ποιεῖ αὐτὸ. ἐὰν γὰρ ἐγκρατεύσῃ τὸ ἀγαθὸν μὴ ποιεῖν, ἀμαρτίαν μεγάλην ἐργάζῃ 1 ἐὰν δὲ ἐγκρατεύσῃ τὸ πονηρόν μὴ ποιεῖν, δικαιοσύνην μεγάλην ἐργάζῃ. ἐγκρατεύσαι οὖν ἀπὸ πονηρίας πάσης ἐργαζόμενος τό ἀγαθόν. 3. Ποταπαί, φημί, κύριε, εἰσίν αἱ πονηρίαι, ἀφ’ οὗ ἡμᾶς δεῖ ἐγκρατεύεσθαι; Ἀκούει, φησίν ἀπὸ μοιχείας καὶ πορνείας, ἀπὸ μεθύσματος ἀνομίας, ἀπὸ τρυφῆς πονηρᾶς, ἀπὸ ἐδεσμάτων πολλῶν καὶ πολύτελειας πλοῦτον καὶ καυχῆσεως καὶ ψυχοφροσύνης καὶ υπερηφανίας καὶ ἀπὸ πείσματος καὶ κατακαλάλας καὶ ὑποκρίσεως, μνησικοκίας καὶ πάσης βλασφημίας. 4. ταύτα τὰ ἔργα πάντων πονηρῶτατα εἰσίν ἐν τῇ ξώῃ τῶν ἀνθρώπων. ἀπὸ τούτων οὖν τῶν ἔργων δεῖ ἐγκρατεύεσθαι τὸν δούλον τοῦ θεοῦ. ὦ γὰρ μὴ ἐγκρατεύομενος ἀπὸ τούτων οὐ δύναται ζῆσαι τῷ θεῷ. ἀκούει οὖν καὶ τὰ

1 ἐὰν γὰρ ... ἐργάζῃ EL, om. A.
who fear him and observe his commandments,—it is they who have life with God. But as for those who do not observe his commandments, neither have they life in him.

Mandate 8

1. "I told you," said he, "that the creatures of Temperance God are two-fold, and temperance is also two-fold. For from some things we must refrain and from some things not." 2. "Let me know, sir," said I,"from what we must refrain and from what not." "Listen," said he. "Refrain from evil, and do not do it, but do not refrain from good, but do it. For if you refrain from doing good, you do great sin; but if you refrain from doing evil, you do great righteousness. Refrain therefore from all evil, and do good." 3. "What, sir," said I, "are the wickednesses from which we must refrain?" "Listen," said he. "From adultery and fornication, from the lawlessness of drunkenness, from evil luxury, from much eating, and extravagance of wealth, and boastfulness and haughtiness and pride, and from lying and evil speaking and hypocrisy, malice and all blasphemy. 4. These deeds are the wickedest of all in the life of men. The servant of God must therefore refrain from these deeds. For he who does not refrain from these cannot live to God. Hear therefore what
ΤΗΣ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΙΚΕΣ ΕΠΙΤΡΟΠΕΣ

ἀκόλουθα τούτων, 5. Ἡτὶ γὰρ, φημὶ, κύριε, πονηρὰ ἔργα ἐστὶ; Καὶ γε πολλὰ, φησίν, ἐστὶν, ἀφ’ ὧν δὲ τὸν δούλον τοῦ θεοῦ ἐγκρατεύεσθαι. κλέμμα, παιδίων, ἀποστέρησις, ψευδομαρτυρία, πλεονεξία, ἐπιθυμία πονηρά, ἀπάτη, κενοδοξία, ἀλαζονεία καὶ ὁσα τούτως ὤμοι εἰσίν. 6. οὐ δοκεῖ σοι ταῦτα πονηρὰ εἶναι; καὶ λίγα ποινηρὰ, φημὶ, τοῖς δούλοις τοῦ θεοῦ. τούτων πάντων δὲ ἐγκρατεύεσθαι τὸν δουλεύοντα τῷ θεῷ. ἐγκρατεύεσθαι οὖν ἀπὸ πάντων τούτων, ἵνα γίνῃ τῷ θεῷ καὶ ἐγγραφήσῃ μετὰ τῶν ἐγκρατευμένων αὐτά. ἀυτὸν μὲν οὖν δὲ ἐγκρατεύεσθαι, ταῦτα ἐστὶν. 7. ἄ δὲ δὲ δὲ τῇ ἐγκρατεύεσθαι, φησίν, ἀλλὰ ποιεῖν, ἀκονε. τὸ ἀγαθὸν μὴ ἐγκρατεύειν, ἀλλὰ ποιεῖν αὐτὸ. 8. Καὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν μοι, φημὶ, κύριε, δῆλωσον τὴν δύναμιν, ἵνα πορευθῶ ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ δουλεύσω αὐτοῖς, ἵνα ἐργασάμενος αὐτὰ δυνηθῶ σωθῆναι. Ἀκονε, φησί, καὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν τὰ ἔργα, ἀ σε δεῖ εὐραγεσθαι καὶ μὴ ἐγκρατεύεσθαι. 9. πρῶτον πάντων πίστις, φόβος κυρίων, ἀγάπη, ὀμονοια, ῥήματα δικαιοσύνης, ἀλήθεια, ὑπομονή τούτων ἀγαθοτέρων οὐδέν ἐστιν ἐν τῇ ζωῇ τῶν ἀνθρώπων. ταῦτα εὖ τὰς φυλάσσῃ καὶ μὴ ἐγκρατεύηται ἀπ’ αὐτῶν, μακάριος γίνεται ἐν τῇ ζωῇ αὐτοῦ. 10. εἰτα τούτων τὰ ἀκόλουθα ἀκουσον χήραις ὑπηρετεῖν, ὀρφανοὺς καὶ ὑστερούμενοις ἐπισκέπτεσθαι, ἐξ ἀναγκῶν λυτροῦσθαι τοὺς δούλους τοῦ θεοῦ, φιλόξενον εἰναι (ἐν γὰρ τῇ φιλοξενίᾳ εὐρίσκεται ἀγαθοποίησις ποτε), μηδεὶς ἐκπτάσεσθαι, ἢσύχων εἰναι, ἐνδείκτερον γίνεσθαι πάντων ἀνθρώπων, πρεσβύτας σέβεσθαι,

1 φημὶ Α, φησὶ Λ2, om. Ε.
follows on these things.” 5. “But, sir,” said I, “are there still other evil deeds?” “Yes,” said he, “there are many from which the servant of God must refrain. Theft, lying, robbery, false witness, coveteousness, evil desire, deceit, vain-glory, pride, and whatever is like to these. 6. Do you not think that these are wicked?” “Yes, very wicked,” said I, “for the servants of God.” “From all these he who is serving God must refrain. Refrain, therefore from all these, that you may live to God and be enrolled with those who refrain from them. These then are the things from which you must refrain. 7. But now hear the things from which you must not refrain but do them,” said he. “Do not refrain from that which is good, but do it.” 8. “And explain to me, sir,” said I, “the power of the things which are good, that I may walk in them and serve them, that by doing them I may be saved.” “Listen, then,” said he, “to the deeds of goodness, which you must do and not refrain from them. 9. First of all, faith, fear of God, love and harmony, words of righteousness, truth, patience; than these there is nothing better in the life of man. If any man keep these things and do not refrain from them, he becomes blessed in his life. 10. Next hear the things which follow: To minister to widows, to look after orphans and the destitute, to redeem from distress the servants of God, to be hospitable, for in hospitality may be found the practice of good, to resist none, to be gentle, to be poorer than all men, to reverence the aged, to practise justice, to preserve
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dikaiosynēn ἁσκεῖν, ἀδελφότητα συντηρεῖν, ὑβριν ὑποφέρειν, μακροθυμοῦν εἶναι, μνησικακίαν μὴ ἔχειν, κάμνοντας τῇ φυχῇ παρακαλεῖν, ἔσκανδαλισμένους ἀπὸ τῆς πίστεως μὴ ἀποβάλλεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐπιστρέφειν καὶ εὐθύμους ποιεῖν, ἀμαρτάνοντας νοεθεῖν, χρεώστας μὴ θλίβειν καὶ ἐνδεεῖς, καὶ εἰ τινα τούτων ὁμοία ἔστι. 11. δοκεῖ σοι, φησὶ, ταῦτα ἀγαθὰ εἶναι; Τί γὰρ, φησί, ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ μὴ ἐγκρατεύου ἀπ’ αὐτῶν, καὶ ἥση ἡ θεοῦ. 12. φύλασσε οὖν τὴν ἑντολὴν ταύτην· ἕαν τὸ ἀγαθὸν ποιῆς καὶ μὴ ἐγκρατεύῃς ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ, ἥση τῷ θεῷ, καὶ πάντες ἥσουν τῷ θεῷ οἱ οὐτω ποιοῦντες. καὶ πάλιν ἕαν τὸ πονηρὸν μὴ ποιῆς καὶ ἐγκρατεύῃς ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ, ἥση τῷ θεῷ, καὶ πάντες ἥσουν τῷ θεῷ, ὅσοι ἕαν ταύτας τὰς ἑντολὰς φυλάξωσι καὶ πορευθῶσιν ἐν αὐτοῖς.

'Εντολὴ θ'.

1. Λέγει μοι: ὁ Ἀρων ἀπὸ σεαυτοῦ τὴν διψυχίαν καὶ μὲν ὀλίγω διψυχής αἰτήσασθαι τι παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ, λέγων ἐν σεαυτῷ· οὐ δὲ δύναμαι αἰτήσασθαι παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου καὶ λαβέων, ἡμαρτήκως τοσοῦτα εἰς αὐτὸν· 2. μὴ διαλογίζου ταῦτα, ἀλλ’ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας σου ἐπιστρέψων ἐπὶ τὸν κύριον καὶ αὐτὸν παρ’ αὐτὸν ἀδιστάκτως, καὶ γνώσῃ τὴν πολλὴν εὐσπλαγχνίαν αὐτοῦ, ὅτι οὐ μὴ σε ἐγκαταλίπῃ, ἀλλὰ τὸ αἰτήμα τῆς ψυχῆς σου πληροφορήσει. 3. οὐκ ἔστι γὰρ ὁ θεὸς ὡς οἱ ἄνθρωποι μνησικακοῦντες, ἀλλ’ αὐτὸς ἀμνηστικάκος ἦ
brotherhood, to submit to insult, to be brave, to bear no malice, to comfort those who are oppressed in spirit, not to cast aside those who are offended in the faith, but to convert them and give them courage, to reprove sinners, not to oppress poor debtors, and whatever is like to these things. 11. Do you not think,” said he, “that these things are good?” “Yes, sir,” said I, “for what is better than these things?” “Walk then,” said he, “in them, and do not refrain from them, and you shall live to God. 12. Keep therefore this commandment. If you do good, and do not refrain from it, you shall live to God, and all who act so shall live to God. And again, if you do not do that which is wicked, and refrain from it, you shall live to God, and all shall live to God who keep these commandments and walk in them.”

MANDATE 9

1. And he said to me: “Remove from yourself double-mindedness, and be not at all double-minded about asking anything from God, saying in yourself, How can I ask anything from the Lord and receive it after having sinned so greatly against him? 2. Do not have these thoughts but 'turn to the Lord with all your heart,' and ask from him without doubting, and you shall know his great mercifulness, that he will not desert you, but will fulfil the petition of your soul. 3. For God is not as men who
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ἐστι καὶ σπλαγχνίζεται ἐπὶ τὴν ποίησιν αὐτοῦ. 4. σὺ οὖν καθάρισόν σου τὴν καρδίαν ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ματαιωμάτων τού αἰώνος τούτου καὶ τῶν προειρημένων σοι ῥήματοι καὶ αἰτοῦ παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου, καὶ ἀπολήψῃ πάντα καὶ ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν αἰτημάτων σου ἀισιστήρητος ἔσῃ, ἐὰν ἀδιστάκτῳς αἰτήσῃς παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου. 5. ἐὰν δὲ διστάσῃς ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ σου, οὔδεν οὖ μὴ λήψῃ τῶν αἰτημάτων σου. οἱ γὰρ διστάζουσι εἰς τοὺς θεούς, οὐτοὶ εἰσίν οἱ διψυχοί καὶ οὔδεν ὅλως ἐπιτυγχάνουσι τῶν αἰτημάτων αὐτῶν. 6. οἱ δὲ ὀλοτελεῖς ὄντες ἐν τῇ πίστει πάντα αἰτοῦνται πεποιθότες ἐπὶ τὸν κυρίον καὶ λαμβάνοντι, ὅτι ἀδιστάκτως αἰτοῦνται, μηδὲν διψυχοῦντες. πᾶς γὰρ διψυχος ἀνήρ, ἐὰν μὴ μετανοήσῃ, δυσκόλως σωθήσεται. 7. καθάρισόν οὖν τὴν καρδίαν σου ἀπὸ τῆς διψυχίας, ἐνδυσάται δὲ τὴν πίστιν, ὅτι ἰσχυρὰ ἐστὶ, καὶ πίστευο τῷ θεῷ, ὅτι πάντα τὰ αἰτημάτα σου ἄιτεις λήψῃ, καὶ ἐὰν αἰτησάμενος ποτὲ παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου αἰτημά τι βραδύτερον λαμβάνῃς, μὴ διψυχήσῃς, ὅτι ταχὺ οὖν ἔλαβες τὸ αἰτήμα τῆς ψυχῆς σου. πάντως γὰρ διὰ πειρασμὸν τινα ἡ παράπτωμά τι, δ' σὺ ἀγνοεῖς, βραδύτερον λαμβάνεις τὸ αἰτημά σου. 8. σὺ οὖν μὴ διάλειψῃς αἰτούμενος τὸ αἰτήμα τῆς ψυχῆς σου, καὶ λήψῃ αὐτό· ἐὰν δὲ ἐκκακήσῃς καὶ διψυχήσῃς αἰτούμενος, σεαυτὸν αἰτιῶ καὶ μὴ τὸν διδόντα σοι. 9. βλέπε τὴν διψυχίαν ταύτην πονηρὰ γὰρ ἔστι καὶ ἀσύνετος καὶ πόλλος ἐκρίζοι ἀπὸ τῆς πίστεως καὶ γε λιῶν πιστῶς καὶ ἰσχυρούς. καὶ γὰρ αὐτὴ ἡ διψυχία θυγάτηρ ἐστὶ 1 ἀδελφή Α.

Ps. 2, 12; etc.

cf. Jac. 1, 8

1 ἀδελφή Α.

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bear malice, but is himself without malice, and has mercy on that which he made. 4. Therefore purify your heart from all the vanities of this world, and from the words which were spoken to you beforehand, and ask from the Lord, and you shall receive all things, and shall not fail to obtain any of your petitions, if you ask from the Lord without doubting. 5. But if you doubt in your heart, you shall receive none of your petitions. For those who have doubts towards God, these are the double-minded, and they shall not in any wise obtain any of their petitions. 6. But they who are perfect in faith ask for all things, ‘trusting in the Lord,’ and they receive them, because they ask without doubting, and are double-minded in nothing. For every double-minded man, unless he repent, shall with difficulty be saved. 7. Therefore purify your heart from double-mindedness, but put on faith, because it is mighty, and believe God, that you shall obtain all your requests which you make. And if ever you make any petition from the Lord, and receive it but slowly, do not be double-minded because you have not received the request of your soul speedily, for in every case it is because of some temptation or some transgression, of which you are ignorant, that you receive your request slowly. 8. Do not therefore cease from making the request of your soul, and you shall receive it. But if you grow weary, and are double-minded in your request, blame yourself and not him who gives to you. 9. Consider this double-mindedness; for it is wicked and foolish, and uproots many from the faith, yes, even those who are very faithful and strong. For this double-minded-
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tοῦ διαβόλου καὶ λίαν πονηρεύεται εἰς τοὺς
dούλους τοῦ θεοῦ. 10. καταφρόνησον οὖν τῆς
dιψυχίας καὶ κατακυρίευσον αὐτῆς ἐν παντὶ
πράγματι, ἐνυσάμενος τὴν πίστιν τὴν ἱσχυρὰν
καὶ δυνατήν· ἡ γὰρ πίστις πάντα ἐπαγγέλλεται,
pάντα τελειοί, ἡ δὲ διψυχία μὴ καταπιστεύουσα
ἐαυτὴ πάντων ἀποτυγχάνει τῶν ἔργων αὐτῆς ὡσ
πράσσει. 11. βλέπεις οὖν, φησίν, ὅτι η ἡ πίστις
ἀνωθέν ἐστὶν παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου καὶ ἔχει δύναμιν
μεγάλην· ἡ δὲ διψυχία ἐπίγειον πνεῦμα ἐστὶν παρὰ
tοῦ διαβόλου, δύναμιν μὴ ἐχουσα. 12. σὺ οὖν
dούλευε τῇ ἐχούσῃ δύναμιν τῇ πίστει καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς
dιψυχίας ἀπόσχου τῆς μὴ ἐχούσῃς δύναμιν, καὶ
ζήσῃ τῷ θεῷ, καὶ πάντες ζήσονται τῷ θεῷ οἱ τάτα
φρονούντες.

Ἐντολὴ ἦ

I

1. ᾿Αρου ἀπὸ σεαυτοῦ, φησί, τὴν λύπην καὶ
gὰρ αὕτη ἀδελφῇ ἐστὶν τῆς διψυχίας καὶ τῆς
ὀξυχολίας. 2. Πῶς, φημί, κύριε, ἀδελφῇ ἐστι
ποιτῶν; ἀλλο γὰρ μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι ὀξυχολία καὶ
ἀλλο διψυχία καὶ ἄλλο λύπη. ᾿Ασύνετος εἰ
ἀνθρωπε, φησί, καὶ ᾿ο νοεῖς, ὅτι ἡ λύπη
πάντων τῶν πνευμάτων ποτηροτέρα ἐστὶ καὶ
deinotatio τοῖς δούλοις τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ παρὰ πάντα
tὰ πνεύματα καταφθείρει τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ

1 φρονοῦντες Λ, Αθ., φρονησαντες ΑΙ·(Ε).
2 φησί, καὶ om. Α.
ness is the daughter of the devil, and commits much wickedness against the servants of God. 10. Despise therefore double-mindedness. and master it in every act, putting on the faith which is strong and powerful. For faith promises all things, perfects all things. But the double-mindedness which has no full faith in itself fails in all deeds which it undertakes. 11. You see, then," said he, "that faith is from above, from the Lord, and has great power; but double-mindedness is an earthly spirit, from the devil, and has no power. Do you, therefore, serve the faith which has power, and refrain from the double-mindedness which has no power, and you shall live to God, and all who have this mind shall live to God.

MANDATE 10

I

1. "Put away," said he, "grief from yourself, for Grief this also is a sister of double-mindedness and bitterness." 2. "How, sir," I said, "is she their sister, for it seems to me that bitterness is one thing and double-mindedness is another, and grief another?" "You are foolish, O man," he said, "and do not understand that grief is more evil than all the spirits, and is most terrible to the servants of God, and corrupts man beyond all the spirits, and wears
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ἐκτρίβει τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον καὶ πάλιν σώζει; 3. Ἐγὼ, φησίν, κύριε, ἀσύνετος εἰμι καὶ οὐ συνίω τὰς παραβολὰς ταῦτας. πῶς γὰρ δύναται ἐκτρίβειν καὶ πάλιν σώζειν, οὐ νοώ. 4. Ῥμ. 1:6, ἀκούει, φησίν, οἱ μηδέποτε ἐρευνήσαντες περὶ τῆς ἄληθείας μηδὲ ἐπιτυχήσαντες περὶ τῆς θεότητος, πιστεύσαντες δὲ μόνον, ἐμπεφυρμένοι δὲ πραγματείας καὶ πλούτῳ καὶ φιλίαις ἑθικαῖς καὶ ἄλλαις πολλαῖς πραγματείαις τοῦ αἰῶνος τοῦτον· ὅσοι οὖν τούτοις πρόσκεινται, οὐ νοοῦσι τὰς παραβολὰς τῆς θεότητος· ἐπισκοποῦνται γὰρ ὑπὸ τούτων τῶν πράξεων καὶ καταφθείρονται καὶ γίνονται κεχερωμένοι. 5. καθὼς οἱ ἀμπελώνες οἱ καλοὶ, ὅταν ἀμελεῖας τύχωσι, χερσοῦνται ἀπὸ τῶν ἀκανθῶν καὶ βοτανῶν ποικίλων, οὕτως οἱ ἀνθρώποι οἱ πιστεύσαντες καὶ εἰς ταῦτας τὰς πράξεις τὰς πολλὰς ἐμπίπτοντες τὰς προειρήμενας, ἀποπλανῶνται ἀπὸ τῆς διανοίας αὐτῶν, καὶ οὔδὲν ὅλως νοοῦσι περὶ δικαιοσύνης, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅταν ἀκούσωσι περὶ θεότητος καὶ ἁληθείας, οὐ νοῦς αὐτῶν περὶ τὴν πράξιν αὐτῶν καταγίνεται, καὶ οὔδὲν ὅλως νοοῦσιν. 6. οἱ δὲ φόβοι ἔχοντες θεὸν καὶ ἐρευνῶντες περὶ θεότητος καὶ ἁληθείας καὶ τὴν καρδίαν ἔχοντες πρὸς τὸν κύριον, πάντα τὰ λεγόμενα αὐτοῖς τάχιον νοοῦσι καὶ συνιούσιν, ὁτι ἔχοντες τὸν φόβον τοῦ κυρίου ἐν ἐαυτοῖς· ὅπου γὰρ ὁ κύριος κατοικεῖ, ἐκεῖ καὶ σύνεσις πολλῆς. κολλήθητι οὖν τῷ κυρίῳ, καὶ πάντα συνίησεις καὶ νοήσεις.

1 τάχιον νοοῦσι καὶ συνιούσι Λθ (𝐿𝔓), ταχύνουσι καὶ νοοῦσι Α. 112
out the Holy Spirit—and again saves us." 3. "Yes, sir," said I, "I am a foolish man, and do not understand these parables, for how it can wear out and again save, I do not understand." 4. "Listen," he said, "those who have never inquired concerning the truth, nor made search concerning the Godhead, but only have faith, and are mixed up with business and riches, and heathen friendships, and many other occupations of this world,—such as are intent on these, do not understand the parables of the Godhead; for they are darkened by these deeds, and are corrupted and become sterile. 5. Just as good vineyards when they meet with neglect, are made barren by the thorns and various weeds, so men, who have believed, and fall into these many occupations, which have been mentioned above, are deceived in their understanding, and understand nothing completely about righteousness. But even when they listen concerning the Godhead and truth their mind is taken up with their business, and they understand nothing properly. 6. But they who have the fear of God, and inquire concerning the Godhead and truth, and have their heart towards the Lord, perceive quickly and understand all that is said to them, because they have the fear of the Lord in themselves; for where the Lord dwells, there also is great understanding. 'Cleave therefore to the Lord,' and you shall understand and perceive all things.
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II

1. Ἀκούε ὦν, φησίν, ἀνόητε, πῶς ἡ λύπη ἐκτρίβει τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἀγιον καὶ πάλιν σώζει.
2. ὅταν ὁ δίψυχος ἐπιβάλληται πρᾶξιν τινα καὶ ταύτης ἀποτύχῃ διὰ τὴν διψυχίαν αὐτοῦ, ἡ λύπη αὐτὴ εἰσπορευέται εἰς τὸν ἀνθρώπον καὶ λυπεῖ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἀγιον καὶ ἐκτρίβει αὐτὸ.
3. εἶτα πάλιν ἡ οξυχολία ὅταν κολληθῇ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ πρὶ πράγματος τινος, καὶ λίαν πικρανθῇ, πάλιν ἡ λύπη εἰσπορευέται εἰς τὴν καρδίαν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τοῦ οξυχολήσαντος, καὶ λυπεῖται ἐπὶ τῇ πράξει αὐτοῦ ἢ ἐπράξε καὶ μετανοεῖ, ὅτι πονηρὸν εἰργάσατο. 4. αὐτὴ ὁμ ἡ λύπη δοκεῖ σωτηρίαν ἔχειν, ὅτι τὸ πονηρὸν πράξας μετενόησεν. ἀμφότεραι οὖν αἱ πράξεις λυποῦσι τὸ πνεῦμα: ἡ μὲν διψυχία, ὅτι οὐκ ἐπέτυχε τῆς πράξεως αὐτῆς, ἡ δὲ οξυχολία λυπεῖ τὸ πνεῦμα, ὅτι ἐπράξε τὸ πονηρὸν. ἀμφότερα οὖν λυπηρά ἐστι τῷ πνεύματι τῷ ἁγίῳ, ἡ διψυχία καὶ ἡ οξυχολία.
5. Ἄρον οὖν ἀπὸ σεαυτοῦ τὴν λύπην καὶ μὴ θλίψε τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἁγίον τὸ ἐν σοὶ κατοικοῦν, μὴ τοῦτο ἐντεύξῃ τῷ θεῷ καὶ ἀποστῇ ἀπὸ σοῦ. 6. τὸ γὰρ πνεῦμα τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ δοθὲν εἰς τὴν σάρκα ταύτην λύπην οὐχ ὑποφέρει οὐδὲ στενοχωρίαν.

Eph. 4, 30

III

1. Ἐνδυσαι οὖν τὴν ἰλαρότητα, τὴν πάντοτε ἐξουσίαν χάριν παρὰ τῷ θεῷ καὶ εὐπρόσδεκτον τῷ θεῷ EL Ath. Ant., κατὰ σοῦ Α, κατὰ σοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ Αθ.

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THE SHEPHERD, MAND. X. ii. i—iii. i

II

1. "Hear, now," said he, "foolish man, how grief wears out the Holy Spirit, and again brings salvation. Grief and the Holy Spirit

2. When the double-minded undertakes any work, and fails in it because of his double-mindedness, this grief enters into the man, and grieves the Holy Spirit and wears it out. 3. Then again, when for any matter ill temper cleave to a man, and he become exceedingly bitter, again grief enters into the heart of the ill tempered man, and he is grieved at the act which he did, and repents because he did wickedly. 4. Therefore this grief seems to bring salvation, because he repented of having done wickedly. Therefore both deeds grieve the Spirit; double-mindedness, because he did not obtain his purpose, and ill temper grieves the Spirit, because he acted wickedly. Both, therefore, are grievous to the Holy Spirit, double-mindedness and ill temper. 5. Put therefore away from yourself grief, and do not oppress the Holy Spirit which dwells in you, lest it beseech God,¹ and it depart from you. 6. For the Spirit of God which is given to this flesh endures neither grief nor oppression.

III

1. "Put on, therefore, joyfulness, which always has favour with God and is acceptable to him, and

¹ Apparently the meaning is 'beseech God to allow it to depart from the man in whom it is.' This is brought out in the variants of A and Ath.
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οὖςαν αὐτῷ, καὶ ἐντρύφα ἐν αὐτῇ. πᾶς γὰρ Ἰλαρὸς ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὰ ἐργάζεται καὶ ἀγαθὰ φρονεῖ καὶ καταφρονεῖ τῆς λύπης. 2. ὁ δὲ λυπηρὸς ἀνὴρ πάντοτε πονηρεύεται: πρῶτον μὲν πονηρεύεται, ὅτι λυπεῖ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἀγιον τὸ δοθὲν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ Ἰλαρόν: δεύτερον δὲ λυπῶν τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἀγιον ἀνομίαν ἐργάζεται, μὴ ἐντυγχάνουν μηδὲ ἐξομολογούμενος τῷ κυρίῳ. Πάντοτε γὰρ λυπηροῦ ἀνδρὸς ἡ ἐντεύξεις οὐκ ἔχει δύναμιν τοῦ ἀναβῆναι ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον τοῦ θεοῦ. 3. Διατί, φησὶ, οὐκ ἀναβαίνει ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον ἡ ἐντεύξεις τοῦ λυπουμένου; Ὅτι, φησίν, ἡ λύπη ἐγκάθηται εἰς τὴν καρδίαν αὐτοῦ. μεμιγμένη οὖν ἡ λύπη μετὰ τῆς ἐντεύξεως οὐκ ἀφίησι τὴν ἐντεύξιν ἀναβῆναι καθαρὰν ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον. ἀσπερ γὰρ ὁξὺς καὶ οἶνος μεμιγμένα ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ τὴν αὐτὴν ἡδονήν οὐκ ἔχουσιν, οὔτω καὶ ἡ λύπη μεμιγμένη μετὰ τοῦ ἀγιον πνεύματος τῆς αὐτῆς ἐντεύξιν οὐκ ἔχει. 4. καθάρισον οὖν σεαυτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς λύπης τῆς πονηρᾶς ταύτης, καὶ ζήσῃ τῷ θεῷ καὶ πάντες ζήσονται τῷ θεῷ, ὡσοὶ ἀν ἀποβάλωσιν ἀφ’ ἑαυτῶν τὴν λύπην καὶ ἐνδύσωσται πᾶσαι ἱλαρότητα.

Ἐντολὴ ἡ ἡμῶν

1. Ἐδείξε, μοι ἐπὶ συμψελλίου καθημένους ἀνθρώπους καὶ ἑτερον ἀνθρώπον καθήμενον ἐπὶ καθέδραν, καὶ λέγει μοι: Βλέπεις τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ συμψελλίου καθημένους; Βλέπω, φημί, κύριε. Οὖτοι, φησί, πιστοὶ εἰσι, καὶ ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ τὴν καθέδραν πενιδοπροφήτης ἔστιν, ὅς ἀπόλλυσι
THE SHEPHERD, MAND. X. iii. I–XI. I

flourish in it; for every joyful man does good deeds, and has good thoughts, and despises grief. 2. But the mournful man always does wickedly. First of all he does wickedly because he grieves the Holy Spirit, which is given to man in joyfulness, and secondly he grieves the Holy Spirit by doing wickedly, not praying nor confessing to the Lord. For the intercession of the mournful man has nowhere power to ascend to the altar of God." 3. "Why," said I, "does not the intercession of the mournful man ascend to the altar?" "Because," said he, "grief sits in his heart. Therefore, the grief which is mixed with his intercession does not permit the intercession to ascend in purity to the altar. For just as vinegar mixed with wine has not the same agreeableness, so also grief mixed with the Holy Spirit, has not the same power of intercession. 4. Therefore purify yourself from this wicked grief, and you shall live to God, and all shall live to God who cast away from themselves grief, and put on all joyfulness."

MANDATE 11

1. He showed me men sitting on a bench, and another man sitting on a chair, and he said to me: "Do you see the men sitting on the bench?" "Yes, sir," said I; "I see them." "They," said he, "are faithful, and he who is sitting on the chair is a false prophet, who is corrupting the understanding

1 συμψέλλων cannot be here translated by the same word as in Vis. iii. i. 4. Here it is the ‘bench’ of the learner as opposed to the ‘chair’ of the teacher.
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tην διάνοιαν τῶν δούλων τοῦ θεοῦ τῶν διψύχων δὲ ἀπόλλυσιν, οὗ τῶν πιστῶν. 2. οὕτωι οὖν οἱ δίψυχοι ὡς ἐπὶ μάντιν ἔρχονται καὶ ἐπερωτώσιν αὐτὸν, τί ἀρα ἐσται αὐτοῖς. κάκεινος ὁ ψευδο-
προφήτης, μηδεμίαν ἔχων ἐν ἐαυτῷ δύναμιν πνεύματος θείου, λαλεῖ μετ' αὐτῶν κατὰ τὰ ἐπερωτήματα αὐτῶν καὶ κατὰ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας τῆς πονηρίας αὐτῶν καὶ πληροῖ τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν, καθὼς αὐτοὶ βουλοῦνται. 3. αὕτως γὰρ κενὸς ὑπερποιότες κενοῖς: δὲ γὰρ ἐὰν ἐπερωτηθῇ, πρὸς τὸ κένωμα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἀποκρίνεται. τινὰ δὲ καὶ ῥήματα ἄληθῆ λαλεῖ: ὁ γὰρ διάβολος πληροῖ αὐτὸν τῷ αὐτοῦ πνεύματι, εἰ τινὰ δυνηθείς ῥηξάτων τῶν δικαίων. 4. ὅσοι οὖν ἱσχυροὶ εἰσίν ἐν τῇ πίστει τοῦ κυρίου, ἐνδεδυ-
μένοι τὴν ἀλήθειαν, τοῖς τοιούτοις πνεῦμασιν οὐ κολλώνται, ἀλλ' ἀπέχονται ἅπ' αὐτῶν: ὅσοι δὲ δίψυχοι εἰσί καὶ πυκνῶς μετανοοῦσι, μαντεύ-
ονται ὅσα καὶ τὰ ἔθνη καὶ ἐαυτοῖς μείζονα ἀμαρτίαις ἑπιφέροντο εἰδωλολατροῦντες: ὁ γὰρ ἐπερωτῶν ψευδοπροφήτης περὶ πράξεως τινος εἰδωλολάτρης ἔστι καὶ κενὸς ἀπὸ τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ ἄφρων.
5. πᾶν γὰρ πνεῦμα ἀπὸ θεοῦ δοθὲν οὐκ ἐπερωτᾶται, ἀλλὰ ἔχον τὴν δύναμιν τῆς θεότητος ἀφ' ἐαυτοῦ λαλεῖ πάντα, ὅτι ἀνωθὲν ἔστιν ἀπὸ τῆς δυνάμεως τοῦ θείου πνεύματος. 6. τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα τὸ ἐπε-
ρωτῶμενον καὶ λαλοῦν κατὰ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπίγειον ἔστι καὶ ἐλαφρὸν, δύναμιν μὴ ἔχων· καὶ ὀλος οὐ λαλεῖ, ἐὰν μὴ ἐπερωτηθῇ.
7. Πῶς οὖν, φησί, κύριε, ἀνθρωπος γνώσεται, τὶς αὐτῶν προφήτης καὶ τὶς ψευδοπροφήτης ἔστιν; Ἄκονε, φησί, περὶ ἀμφιτέρων τῶν προφητῶν καὶ
of the servants of God. He corrupts the understanding of the double-minded, not of the faithful.
2. Therefore these double-minded men come to him as to a wizard, and ask him concerning their future; and that false prophet, having no power of the Divine Spirit in himself, speaks with them according to their requests, and according to the desires of their wickedness, and fills their souls, as they themselves wish. 3. For he is empty and makes empty answers to empty men; for whatever question is put he answers according to the emptiness of the man. But he also speaks some true words, for the devil fills him with his spirit, to see if he can break any of the righteous. 4. Therefore, as many as are strong in the faith of the Lord, and have put on the truth, do not cleave to such spirits, but refrain from them. But as many as are double-minded, and constantly repent, practise soothsaying, like the heathen, and bring greater shame upon themselves by their idolatry. For he who asks a false prophet concerning any act is an idolator, and empty of the truth and foolish. 5. For every spirit which is given from God is not asked questions, but has the power of the Godhead and speaks all things of itself, because it is from above, from the power of the Divine spirit. 6. But the spirit which is questioned and speaks according to the lusts of man is earthly and light, and has no power, and it does not speak at all unless it be questioned." 7. "How, then," said I, "sir, shall a man know which of them is a true prophet and which a false prophet?" "Listen," said he, "concerning both the prophets, and as I shall tell
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ὡς σοι μέλλω λέγειν, οὕτω δοκιμάσεις τὸν προφή-
tην καὶ τὸν ψευδοπροφήτην. ἀπὸ τῆς ζωῆς δοκι-
μαζὲ τὸν ἀνθρώπον τὸν ἔχοντα τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ
θείον. 8. πρῶτον μὲν ὁ ἔχων τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἀνωθεν 1 πραῖς ἐστὶ καὶ ἤσύχιος καὶ ταπεινόφρων
καὶ ἀπεχόμενος ἀπὸ πάσης πονηρίας καὶ ἐπι-
θυμίας ματαίος τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου καὶ ἐκατο-
ντὸν ἐνδεξάμενος ποιεῖ πάντων τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ
οὕδειν οὐδὲν ἀποκρίνεται ἐπερωτώμενος, οὐδὲ κατα-
μόνας λαλεῖ, οὐδὲ ὅταν θέλῃ ἀνθρώπος λαλεῖν,
λαλεῖ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἁγιον, ἀλλὰ τότε λαλεῖ, ὅταν
θελήσῃ αὐτὸν ὁ θεός λαλήσῃ. 9. ὅταν οὖν ἔλθῃ
ὁ ἀνθρώπος ὁ ἔχων τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ θείον εἰς συνα-
γωγὴν ἀνδρῶν δικαίων τῶν ἐχόντων πίστιν θείον
πνεύματος καὶ ἔντευξις γείνηται πρὸς τὸν θεὸν
tῆς συναγωγῆς τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκείνων, τότε ὁ ἅγιον
τοῦ προφητικοῦ πνεύματος 2 ὁ κείμενος πρὸς αὐτὸν
πληροῖ τὸν ἀνθρώπον, καὶ πληρωθεῖς ὁ ἀνθρώπος
τῷ πνεύματι τῷ ἅγιῳ λαλεῖ εἰς τὸ πλῆθος, καθὼς
ὁ κύριος βούλεται. 10. οὕτως οὖν φανερῶν ἔσται
tὸ πνεῦμα τῆς θεότητος. δὴ οὖν περὶ τοῦ
πνεύματος τῆς θεότητος τοῦ κυρίου ἡ δύναμις
αὐτῆ. 11. ἄκουε νῦν, φησί, περὶ τοῦ πνεύματος
tοῦ ἐπιτείχου καὶ κενοῦ καὶ δύναμιν μὴ ἐχόντος,
ἀλλὰ ὅτος μωρὸς. 12. πρῶτον μὲν ὁ ἀνθρώπος
ἐκείνος ὁ δοκῶν πνεῦμα ἐχεῖν υπὸ ἐκατον καὶ
θέλει πρωτοκαθεδρίαν ἐχεῖν, καὶ εὐθὺς ἱταμός ἐστιν
καὶ ἀναιδῆς καὶ πολύλαθος καὶ ἐν τρυφαῖς
πολλαῖς ἀναστρεφόμενος καὶ ἐν ἑτέραις πολλαῖς

1 τὸ ἀνωθεν Δ L3, τὸ θεῖον τὸ ἀνωθεν Ε L2.
2 τοῦ προφητικοῦ πνεύματος L2 E1, τοῦ προφητοῦ A, nuntius
sanctus divinitatis (ἁγγελὸς ἄγιος θεότητος).

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you, so you shall judge the true prophet and the
false prophet. Test the man who has the Divine
Spirit by his life. 8. In the first place, he who
has the spirit which is from above, is meek and
gentle, and lowly-minded, and refrains from all
wickedness and evil desire of this world, and makes
himself poorer than all men, and gives no answers to
anyone when he is consulted, nor does he speak by
himself (for the Holy Spirit does not speak when a
man wishes to speak), but he speaks at that time
when God wishes him to speak. 9. Therefore, when
the man who has the Divine Spirit comes into a
meeting of righteous men who have the faith of the
Divine Spirit, and intercession is made to God from
the assembly of those men, then the angel of the
prophetic spirit rests on him and fills the man, and
the man, being filled with the Holy Spirit, speaks to
the congregation as the Lord wills. 10. Thus, then,
the Spirit of the Godhead will be plain. Such, then,
is the power of the Lord concerning the Spirit of the
Godhead. 11. Listen, now,” said he, “concerning
the spirit which is earthly, and empty, and has
no power, but is foolish. 12. In the first place, that
man who seems to have a spirit exalts himself and
wishes to have the first place, and he is instantly
impudent and shameless and talkative, and lives in
great luxury and in many other deceits, and accepts
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ἀπάταις καὶ μισθούς λαμβάνων τής προφητείας αὐτοῦ· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ λάβῃ, οὐ προφητεύει. δύναται οὖν πνεύμα θείον μισθούς λαμβάνειν καὶ προφητεύειν; οὐκ ένδεχεται τούτο ποιεῖν θεοῦ προφήτην, ἀλλὰ τῶν τοιούτων προφητῶν ἐπίγειόν ἐστι τὸ πνεύμα. 13. εἰτα δόλως εἰς συναγωγὴν ἄνδρῶν δικαίων οὐκ ἐγγίζει, ἀλλ' ἀποφεύγει αὐτούς· κολλᾶται δὲ τοῖς διψύχοις καὶ κενοῖς καὶ κατὰ γυνίαν αὐτοῖς προφητεύει καὶ ἀπατᾶ αὐτοὺς λαλῶν κατὰ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας αὐτῶν πάντα κενῶς· κενοῖς γὰρ καὶ ἀποκρίνεται· τὸ γὰρ κενὸν σκεῦος μετὰ τῶν κενῶν συνυπάρχον οὐ θραύσεται, ἀλλὰ συμφωνοῦσιν ἀλληλοις. 14. ὅταν δὲ ἐλθῇ εἰς συναγωγὴν πλῆρη ἄνδρῶν δικαίων ἐχόντων πνεύμα θεότητος καὶ ἐντεύξεις ἀπ' αὐτῶν γένεται, κενοῦται ὁ ἀνθρώπος ἐκεῖνος, καὶ τὸ πνεύμα τὸ ἐπίγειαν ἀπὸ τοῦ φόβου φεύγει ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ κωφοῦται ὁ ἀνθρώπος ἐκεῖνος καὶ δόλως συνυπάρχει, μηδὲν δυνάμενος λαλῆσαι. 15. εἰς γὰρ εἰς ἀποθήκην στιβάζῃς οἶνον ἢ ἐλαιον καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς θῆς κεράμων κενῶν, καὶ πάλιν ἀποστιβάζαις θελήσῃς τὴν ἀποθήκην, τὸ κεράμον ἐκεῖνο, ὁ ἔθηκας κενῶν, κενῶν καὶ εὐρήσεις· οὕτω καὶ οἱ προφῆται οἱ κενοὶ ὅταν ἔλθωσιν εἰς πνεύματα δικαίων, ὅποιοι ἔθεσαν, τοιοῦτοι καὶ εὐρήσκονται. 16. ἔχεις ἀμφοτέρων τῶν προφητῶν τὴν ζωήν. δοκίμασε οὖν ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων καὶ τῆς ζωῆς τὸν ἀνθρωπόν τὸν λέγοντα ἑαυτὸν πνευματοφόρον εἶναι. 17. σὺ δὲ πίστευε τῷ πνεύματι τῷ ἐρχομένῳ ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἔχουτε δύναμιν τῷ δὲ πνεύματι τῷ ἐπιγειόφ καὶ κενῷ μηδὲν πίστευε, ὅτι ἐν αὐτῷ δύναμις οὐκ ἐστιν· ἀπὸ τοῦ διαβόλου γὰρ ἔρχεται. 18. ἀκού-
THE SHEPHERD, MAND. XI. 12-18

rewards for his prophecy, and if he does not receive them he does not prophesy. Is it then possible for a Divine Spirit to accept rewards and prophesy? It is not possible for a prophet of God to do this, but the spirit of such prophets is of the earth. 13. Next, on no account does he come near to an assembly of righteous men, but shuns them. But he cleaves to the double-minded and empty, and prophesies to them in a corner, and deceives them by empty speech about everything according to their lusts, for he is also answering the empty. For an empty vessel which is put with others that are empty is not broken, but they match one another. 14. But when he comes into a meeting full of righteous men, who have a spirit of the Godhead, and intercession is made by them, that man is made empty, and the earthly spirit flees from him in fear, and that man is made dumb and is altogether broken up, being able to say nothing. 15. For if you stack wine or oil in a cellar, and put among them an empty jar, and again wish to unstack the cellar, the jar which you put in empty you will find still empty. So also the prophets who are empty, when they come to the spirits of just men, are found out to be such as when they came. 16. You have the life of both the prophets. Test, then, from his life and deeds, the man who says that he is inspired. 17. But believe yourself in the Spirit which comes from God and has power, but have no faith in the spirit which is from the earth and empty, because there is no power in it, for it comes from the devil. 18. Hear, then, the parable which I will tell you.
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σον οὖν¹ τὴν παραβολὴν, ἂν μέλλω σοι λέγειν. λάβε λίθον καὶ βάλε εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, ἵδε, εἰ δύνασαι ἄφασθαι αὐτοῦ. ἢ πάλιν λάβε σίφωνα ύδατος καὶ σιφώνσου εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, ἵδε, εἰ δύνασαι τρυπῆσαι τὸν οὐρανόν. 19. Πῶς, φησίν, κύριε, δύναται ταῦτα γενέσθαι; ἄδυνατα γὰρ ἀμφότερα ταῦτα εἰρήκας. Ὡς ταῦτα οὖν, φησίν, ἄδυνατα ἐστίν, οὔτω καὶ τὰ πνεύματα τὰ ἐπίγεια ἄδυνατά ἐστι καὶ ἀδρανή. 20. λάβε οὖν² τὴν δύναμιν τὴν ἀνοιθεν ἐρχομένην· ἡ χάλαξ ἐλάχιστον ἐστὶν κοκκάριον, καὶ ὅταν ἐπιπέσῃ ἐπὶ κεφαλὴν ἀνθρώπου, πῶς πόνον παρέχει; ἢ πάλιν λάβε σταγόνα, ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ κεράμου πῖπτει χαμακαὶ καὶ τρυπᾷ τὸν λίθον. 21. βλέπεις οὖν, ὅτι τὰ ἀνοιθεν ἐλάχιστα πῖπτοντα ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν μεγάλην δύναμιν ἔχει· οὔτω καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ θεῖον ἀνοιθεν ἐρχόμενον δυνατόν ἐστὶν· τούτῳ οὖν τῷ πνεύματι πίστευε, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ἐτέρου ἀπέχειν.

Ἐντολὴ ἢβ'.

I

1. Λέγει μοι· Ἀρον ἀπὸ σεαυτοῦ πᾶσαν ἐπιθυμίαν πονηράν, ἐνδυσάτε τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν τὴν ἀγαθὴν καὶ σεμνήν· ἐνδυδομένος γὰρ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ταύτην μισήσεις τὴν πονηρὰν ἐπιθυμίαν καὶ χαλιναγωγήσεις αὐτὴν, καθὼς βούλει. 2. ἀνρία γὰρ ἐστιν· ἡ ἐπιθυμία· ἡ πονηρὰ καὶ δυσκόλως ἥμεροῦται. φοβερὰ γάρ ἐστι καὶ λίαν τῇ ἕγριῳ-

¹ οὖν L (ergo) E (now), om. A.
² οὖν A, νῦν L (E is confused).
THE SHEPHERD, MAND. XI. 18-XII. I. 2

Take a stone and throw it up to Heaven and see if you can touch it; or take a syringe and squirt it towards the sky, and see if you can make a hole in the Heavens." 19. "How, sir," said I, "can these things be? For both these things which you have spoken of are impossible." "Even," said he, "as these are impossible, so also are the earthly spirits without power and feeble. 20. Take now the power which comes from above. The hail is a very little grain, and when it falls on man's head, how it hurts! Or, again, take a drop which falls on the ground from the roof, and makes a hole in stone. 21. You see, then, that the smallest things which come from above and fall on the earth have great power; so also the Divine Spirit which comes from above is powerful. Have faith, then, in this Spirit, but refrain from the other."

Mandate 12

I

1. He said to me, "Put away from yourself every Desire evil desire, but put on the desire which is good and holy; for by putting on this desire you will hate the wicked desire, and will curb it as you will. 2. For the wicked desire is cruel and hard to tame, for it is fearful, and destroys men greatly in its cruelty, but

1 The syringe or hand pump used for cleaning and watering the vines in the Italian vineyards.
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tητι αὐτῆς δαπανᾶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους· μάλιστα δὲ ἐὰν ἐμπέσῃ εἰς αὐτὴν δοῦλος θεοῦ καὶ μὴ ἡ συνετός, δαπανᾶται ὑπ’ αὐτῆς δεινῶς· δαπανᾶ δὲ τοὺς τουοῦτοις τοὺς μὴ ἔχοντας ἐνδύμα τῆς ἐπιθυμίας τῆς ἁγαθῆς, ἀλλὰ ἐμπεφυρμένως τῷ αἰῶνι τοῦτον τούτους ὅυν παραδίδωσιν εἰς θάνατον. 3. Ποία, φημὶ, κύριε, ἔργα ἐστὶν τῆς ἐπιθυμίας τῆς πονηρᾶς τὰ παραδίδοντα τοὺς ἀνθρώπους εἰς θάνατον; ἥμωρισόν μοι, ἵνα ἀφε-ξωμαι ἀπ’ αὐτῶν. Ἄκουσον, φησίν, ἓν ποιοις ἔργοις θανατοῖς ἡ ἐπιθυμία ἡ πονηρὰ τοὺς δούλους τοῦ θεοῦ.

II

1. Πάντων προέχουσα ἐπιθυμία γυναικὸς ἄλλοτρίας ἢ ἀνδρὸς καὶ πολυτελείας πλούτου καὶ ἐδεσμάτων πολλῶν ματαιῶν καὶ μεθυσμάτων καὶ ἐτέρων τρυφῶν πολλῶν καὶ μωρῶν· πάσα γὰρ τρυφὴ μωρὰ ἔστι καὶ κενὴ τοῖς δούλοις τοῦ θεοῦ. 2. αὕται ὅλαί ἐπιθυμίαι πονηραί εἰσι, θανατοῦ-σαι τοὺς δούλους τοῦ θεοῦ· αὕτῃ γὰρ ἡ ἐπιθυμία ἡ πονηρὰ τοῦ διαβόλου θυγατρὶ ἐστίν. ἀπέχεσθαι ὅλαί ἐπιθυμίαιν τῶν πονηρῶν, ἵνα ἀποσχέμοι ζήσητε τῷ θεῷ. 3. ὃς δὲ ἀν κατα-κυριευθῶσιν ὑπ’ αὐτῶν καὶ μὴ ἀντισταθὼς αὐταῖς, ἀποθανοῦσιν εἰς τέλος· θανατώδεις γὰρ εἰσιν αἱ ἐπιθυμίαι 2 αὕται. 4. σὺ δὲ ἐνύσαι τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν τῆς δικαιοσύνης, καὶ καθοπλισάμενος τὸν φόβον τοῦ κυρίου ἀντίστηθι αὐταῖς· ὁ γὰρ φόβος τοῦ θεοῦ κατοικεῖ ἐν τῇ ἐπιθυμίᾳ τῇ ἁγαθῇ.

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1 φησίν om. A. 2 ἐπιθυμίαι eis telos A.
especially if a servant of God fall into it, and be not prudent, he is terribly destroyed by it. But it destroys such as have not the good desire as a covering, but are mixed with this world; these then it delivers to death.” 3. “What, sir,” said I, “are the deeds of the wicked desire, which deliver men to death? Let me know that I may refrain from them.” “Listen,” said he, “by what deeds the evil desire brings to death the servants of God.

II

1. “Before all is desire for the wife or husband of another, and of extravagance of wealth, and much needless food and drink, and many other foolish luxuries. For all luxury is foolish and vain for the servants of God. 2. These desires then are wicked, and bring the servants of God to death, for this desire is the wicked daughter of the devil. It is necessary therefore, to refrain from the wicked desires, that by refraining you may live to God. 3. But as many as are overcome by them, and do not resist them, shall perish finally, for these desires are deadly. 4. But put on the desire of righteousness, and resist them, being armed with the fear of the Lord. For the fear of God dwells in the desire which is good. If the evil desire see you armed
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Jam. 4, 7

ἡ ἐπιθυμία ἡ πονηρὰ ἐὰν ἦδη σε καθωπλυσμένον τῷ φῶβῳ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθεστηκότα αὐτῆ, φεύγεται ἀπὸ σοῦ μακράν καὶ σου ὀφθήσεται φοβομένη τὰ ὅπλα σου. 5. σὺ οὖν νικήσας καὶ ἑστηκότα αὐτῆ, ἐλθὲ πρὸς τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν τῆς δικαιοσύνης, καὶ παραδοῦσα αὐτῆ τὸ νίκος, δὲ ἔλαβες, δούλευσον αὐτῇ, καθὼς αὐτῇ βούλεται. ἐὰν δουλεύῃς τῇ ἐπιθυμίᾳ τῆς ἀγαθῆ καὶ ὑποταγῆς αὐτῇ, δυνήσῃς τῆς ἐπιθυμίας τῆς πονηρᾶς κατακυριεύσαι καὶ ὑποτάξαι αὐτήν, καθὼς βούλει.

III

1. Ἡθελον, φημί, κύριε, γνώναι, ποίως τρόποις με δεὶ δουλεύσαι τῇ ἐπιθυμίᾳ τῆς ἀγαθῆ. Ἄκοιν, φησίν, ἐργάσαι δικαιοσύνην καὶ ἀρετήν, ἀληθείαν καὶ φῶβον κυρίον, πίστιν καὶ πραότητα καὶ ὅσα τούτοις ὁμοία ἔστων ἀγαθᾶ. ταύτα ἐργαζόμενος εὐάρεστος ἔσθῃ δούλος τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ζήσῃ αὐτῷ καὶ πᾶς, δὴ ἐὰν δουλεύῃς τῇ ἐπιθυμίᾳ τῆς ἀγαθῆς, ζήσεται τῷ θεῷ. 2. συνετέλεσεν οὖν τὰς ἐντολὰς τὰς δόδεκα καὶ λέγει μοι. Ἐχεις τὰς ἐντολὰς ταύτας: πορεύου ἐν αὐταῖς καὶ τοὺς ἀκούοντας παρακάλει, ἵνα ἡ μετανοία αὐτῶν καθαρὰ γένηται τὰς λοιπὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ζωῆς αὐτῶν. 3. τὴν διακονίαν ταύτην, ἣν σοι δίδωμι, ἐκτελεὶ ἐπιμελῶς, καὶ πολὺ ἐργάσῃς εὐρήσεις γὰρ χάριν ἐν τοῖς μέλλουσι μετανοεῖν, καὶ πεισ-

1 νικήσας καὶ om A. (The exact words are of course doubtful, but LE both imply some such phrase before στεφανωθεῖς. Hollenegg and Funk read νίκος λαβῶν to correspond with τὸ νίκος δὲ ἔλαβες.)

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with the fear of God, and resisting it, it will flee far
from you and will no longer be seen by you, for fear
of your weapons. 5. Do you, therefore, conquer
it, and come in triumph over it to the desire of
righteousness, and giving up to it the victory which
you have gained, serve it as it wishes. If you serve
the good desire, and submit to it, you will be able to
overcome the wicked desire, and subdue it as you
wish.”

III

1. "I would like, sir," said I, "to know in what
way I must serve the good desire." "Listen," said
he, "'work righteousness' and virtue, and fear of the
Lord, faith and meekness, and whatever good things
are like to these. For by working these you will be
a well-pleasing servant of God, and shall live to him,
and whoever shall serve the good desire, shall live to
God." 2. So he finished the twelve commandments,
and said to me: "You have these commandments;
walk in them, and exhort those who hear that their
repentance may be pure for the rest of the days of
their life. 3. Fulfil carefully this ministry which I
give you, and work much in it, for you will find
favour with those who are about to repent, and they
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θήσονται σου τοῖς ῥήμασι· ἐγὼ γὰρ μετὰ σοῦ ἔσομαι καὶ ἀναγκάσω αὐτοὺς πεισθήναι σοι.  
4. Λέγω αὐτῶ. Κύριε, αἱ ἐντολαὶ αὕτα μεγάλαι καὶ καλαί καὶ ἐνδοξοί εἰσι καὶ δυνάμεναι εὐφράναι 
καρδιάν ἀνθρώπου τοῦ δυναμένου τηρῆσαι αὐτάς. οὐκ οἶδα δὲ, εἰ δύνανται αἱ ἐντολαὶ αὕτα ὑπὸ 
ἀνθρώπου φυλαχθῆναι, διὸτι σκληραὶ εἰσὶ λίαν.  
5. ἀποκριθεὶς λέγει μοι. Ἡ δὲ σάρκα τροφῆς, 
ἀν ὑπὸ σεαυτῷ τροφῆς, 
ὅτι δύνανται φυλαχθῆναι, εὐκόλως αὕτας φυλάξεις 
καὶ οὐκ ἔσονται σκληραί· ἐὰν δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν καρδιὰν 
οὐκ ἇναβεῖ μὴ δύνασθαι αὕτας ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπου 
φυλαχθῆναι, οὐ φυλάξεις αὐτὰς.  
6. νῦν δὲ σοι 
λέγω· ἐὰν ταύτας μὴ φυλάξης, ἄλλα παρενθύμη-
θῆς, οὐχ ἔξεις σωτηρίαν οὔτε τὰ τέκνα σου οὔτε 
ὀ οἰκός σου. ἔπει δὴ σεαυτῷ κέκρικας τοῦ μὴ 
δύνασθαι τὰς ἐντολὰς ταύτας ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπου 
φυλαχθῆναι.

IV

1. Καὶ ταύτα μοι λίαν ὅργιλως ἐλάλησεν, ὡστε 
με συγχυθῆναι καὶ λίαν αὐτὸν φοβηθῆναι· ἡ 
μορφὴ γὰρ αὐτοῦ ἠλλοιώθη, ὡστε μὴ δύνασθαι 
ἀνθρώπον ὑπενεγκείν τὴν ὀργὴν αὐτοῦ.  
2. ἴδὼν 
δὲ με τεταραγμένον ὄλον καὶ συγκεκυμένον ἤρξατό 
μοι ἐπιείκεστερον καὶ ἱλαρωτέρον λαλεῖν καὶ 
λέγει· Ἀφρον, ἀσύνετε καὶ δίψυχε, οὐ νοεῖς τὴν 
δόξαν τοῦ θεοῦ, πως μεγάλη ἐστὶ καὶ ἱσχυρᾶ καὶ 

1 There are some indications that in some recensions the Similitudes began here. A inserts ἄρχῃ before the next paragraph and E inserts iniitium similitudinum.

2 A inserts here ὁ συνεκλεῖσας φῶς καὶ ἔχωρισας τὸ σκότος ἀπ’ ἀλλήλων, ἔθεμελισας τὴν γῆν, καὶ ἔκτισας καρποὺς πάντα-

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THE SHEPHERD, MAND. xii. iii. 3–iv. 2

will obey your words, for I will be with you, and will force them to be persuaded by you.” 4. I said to him, “Sir, these commandments are great and beautiful and glorious, and ‘able to make glad the heart of man’ if he be able to keep them. But I do not know if these commandments can be kept by man, because they are very hard.” 5. He answered and said to me, “If you set it before yourself that they can be kept you will easily keep them, and they will not be difficult; but if it already comes into your heart that they cannot be kept by man, you will not keep them. 6. But now I say to you, if you do not keep them, but neglect them, you shall not have salvation, nor your children, nor your house, because you have already judged for yourself that these commandments cannot be kept by man.”

IV

1. And he spoke these things to me very angrily, so that I was confounded, and greatly afraid of him, for his appearance was changed so that a man could not endure his wrath. 2. But when he saw me quite disturbed and confused he began to speak to me more gently and cheerfully, and said: “Foolish one without understanding and double-minded, do you not understand the glory of God, how great and

 Apparently a pious comment inserted in the text by mistake.
θαυμαστή, ὅτε ἐκτίσε τὸν κόσμον ἐνεκα τοῦ ἄνθρωπον καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν κτίσιν αὐτοῦ ὑπέταξε τῷ ἄνθρωπῳ καὶ τὴν ἔξουσιαν πᾶσαν ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ τοῦ κατακυριεύειν τῶν ὑπὸ τῶν οὐρανῶν πάντων; 3. εἰ ὄνων, φησὶν, πάντων ὁ ἄνθρωπος κύριός ἐστι τῶν κτισμάτων τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πάντων κατακυριεύει, οὐ δύναται καὶ τούτων τῶν ἐντολῶν κατακυριεύσαι; δύναται, φησί, πάντων καὶ πασῶν τῶν ἐντολῶν τούτων κατακυριεύσαι ὁ ἄνθρωπος ὁ ἔχων τὸν κύριον ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ. 4. οἳ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς χειλεσιν ἔχοντες τὸν κύριον, τὴν δὲ καρδίαν αὐτῶν πεπορωμένην καὶ μακρὰν ὄντες ἀπὸ τοῦ κυρίου, ἐκείνοις αἱ ἐντολαι αὐταὶ σκληραί εἰσι καὶ δύσβαται. 5. θέσθε οὖν ὡμέης, οἱ κενοὶ καὶ ἐλαφροὶ ὄντες ἐν τῇ πίστει, τὸν κύριον ὑμῶν εἰς τὴν καρδίαν, καὶ γνώσεθε, ὅτι οὐδὲν ἐστὶν εὐκοπώτερον τῶν ἐντολῶν τούτων οὔτε γλυκύτερον οὔτε ἠμερώτερον. 6. ἐπιστράφητε ὡμέης οἱ ταῖς ἐντολαίς πορευόμενοι τοῦ διάβολου, ταῖς δυσκόλοις καὶ πικραῖς καὶ ἀγρίαις καὶ ἀσελγέσιν, καὶ μὴ φοβήθητε τὸν διάβολον, ὅτι ἐν αὐτῷ δύναμις οὐκ ἔστιν καθ' ὑμῶν. 7. ἐγὼ γὰρ ἔσομαι μεθ' ὑμῶν, ὁ ἄγγελος τῆς μετανοίας ὁ κατακυριεύων αὐτοῦ. ὁ διάβολος μόνον φόβου ἔχει, ὁ δὲ φόβος αὐτοῦ τόνον οὐκ ἔχει· μὴ φοβήθητε οὖν αὐτὸν, καὶ φεύξεται ἀφ' ὑμῶν.

V

1. Δέγω αὐτῷ: Κύριε, ἄκουσόν μου ὀλίγων ῥημάτων. Δέγε, φησίν, ὅ βούλει. Ὁ μὲν ἄνθρωπος, φημὶ, κύριε, πρόθυμος ἐστι τὰς ἐντολὰς.
THE SHEPHERD, MAND. XII. iv. 2–v. 1

mighty and wonderful it is, because 'he created the world' for man's sake, and subdued all his creation to man, and gave him all power, to master all things under heaven? 3. If, then," said he, "man is the lord of all the creatures of God, and masters them, is it not possible to master these commandments also? The man," said he, "who has the Lord in his heart, is able to master all things and all these commandments. 4. But those who have the Lord on their lips, but their heart is hardened, and they are far from the Lord, for them these commandments are hard, and difficult to walk in. 5. Do you, therefore, who are empty and light in the faith, put the Lord into your heart, and you shall know that nothing is easier or sweeter or more gentle than these commandments. 6. Be converted, you who walk in the commandments of the devil, which are difficult and bitter and cruel and foul, and do not fear the devil, for there is no power in him against you. 7. For I, the angel of repentance who masters him, will be with you. The devil can only cause fear, but fear of him has no force. Therefore do not fear him and he will fly from you."

V

1. I said to him "Sir, listen to a few words from me." "Say what you will," he said. "Sir," said I, "man desires to keep the commandments of God,
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tou theou phylassew, kai oudeis estin o mhe autou-
menos parà tou kurion, hna edynamwthi en taís
entolais autou kai upostaghi autais. Alle o
diabolos skleros esti kai katanunasteuei auton.
2. Oi dunatai, phesi, katanunasteuei twon doulwn
tou theou twon ex olhs karidias elpizontwn ep'
auton. Dunatai o diabolos antipalaissai, katan-
palaissai de ou dunatai. Edan oui antistathite
autw, vniktheis feuxetai afi umwn kattrxymenon.
Osoi de, phesiwn, apokeneoi eisi, foboynai tou
diabolon ws dunamim exontsa. 3. Otan o anbrotos
keramia ikanotata gemoni oinon kalou kai en
tois keramion ekeinos oligna apokeuna h, erxetai
epi ta keramia kai ou katanoei ta plhrh. Oide
yaro, oti plhrh eisi katanoei de ta apokeva,
phoynomenos, nhpite oixisaan tachy yaro ta
apokeva keramia oixoussi, kai apollntai h idonh
tou oinou. 4. Otw kai o diabolos erxetai epa
pantasa tois doulous tou theou ekpeiraqwn auton.
Osoi oui plhres eisin en tis pistei, anasthkaisin
autw ischurw, kakeinon apokorei apt auton mhe
exwn topou, pou eiselth. Erxetai ouin toto pro
ouis apokevwn kai exwn topon eisporneuetai eis
autous, kai o de bouleTai en autois ergaqetai,
kal gynontai autw upodouloi.

VI

1. ’Egn de umw logos, o angelo tis metanoias:
mh fobhthte ton diabolon. Apestatlhoun gar,
phesi, mev umwn einai ton metanouuntwn ex olhs

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and there is none that does not pray to the Lord, that he may be made strong in his commandments, and submit to them. But the devil is hard, and oppresses them." 2. "He cannot," said he, "oppress the servants of the Lord who hope in him with all their heart. The devil can wrestle with them, but he cannot throw them down. If then you 'resist him' he will be conquered and 'fly from you' in shame. But as many," said he, "as are empty fear the devil as though he had power. 3. When a man fills very many pots with good wine, and among those pots a few are half empty, he comes to the pots, and does not consider those which are full, for he knows that they are full, but he looks at those which are half empty, fearing that they have gone sour, for empty pots quickly go sour, and the flavour of the wine is spoilt. 4. So also the devil comes to all the servants of God, tempting them; as many therefore as are full of faith withstand him powerfully, and he departs from them, having no room by which to enter. Then, therefore, he comes to those who are half empty and finding room he enters into them, and does what he will in them, and they become his servants.

VI

1. "But I, the angel of repentance, say to you, Do not fear the devil. For I was sent," said he, "to be with you who repent with all your heart, and
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καρδίας αὐτῶν καὶ ἰσχυροποιήσαι αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ πίστει. 2. πιστεύσατε οὖν τῷ θεῷ ὑμεῖς οἱ διὰ τὰς ἁμαρτίας ὑμῶν ἀπεγνωκότες τὴν ψωφή ὑμῶν καὶ προστιθέντες ἁμαρτίας καὶ καταβαρύνοντες τὴν ψωφή ὑμῶν, ὅτι, ἢταν ἐπιστραφήτε πρὸς τὸν κύριον ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας ὑμῶν καὶ ἐργάσησθε τὴν δικαιοσύνην, τὰς λοιπὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ψωφής ὑμῶν καὶ δουλεύσητε αὐτῷ ὁρθῶς κατὰ τὸ θέλημα αὐτοῦ, ποιήσει ἵσαι τοῖς προτέροις ὑμῶν ἁμαρτήμασι καὶ ἔξετε δύναμιν τοῦ κατακυριεύσαι τῶν ἔργων τοῦ διαβόλου. τὴν δὲ ἀπειλήν τοῦ διαβόλου ὅλως μὴ φοβήθητε· ἀτονος γὰρ ἐστὶν ὅσπερ νεκροῦ νεύρα. 3. ἀκούσατε οὖν μοι καὶ φοβήθητε τὸν πάντα δυνάμενον, σῶσαι καὶ ἀπολέσαι, καὶ τηρεῖτε τὰς ἐντολὰς ταῦτας, καὶ ζήσεσθε τῷ θεῷ. 4. λέγω αὐτῷ· Κύριε, νῦν ἐνεδυναμώθην ἐν πάσι τοῖς δικαιώμασι τοῦ κυρίου, ὅτι σὺ μετέ ἐμοῦ εἰ· καὶ οἶδα, ὅτι συν- κόψεις τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ διαβόλου πάσαν καὶ ἤμεις αὐτοῦ κατακυριεύσαμεν καὶ κατισχύσαμεν πάντων τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ. καὶ ἐλπίζω, κύριε, δύνασθαι με τὰς ἐντολὰς ταῦτας, ὡς ἐντελεσθῇ, τοῦ κυρίου ἐνδυναμοῦντος φυλάξαι. 5. Φυλάξεις, φησίν, ἢν ἡ καρδία σου καθαρὰ γένηται πρὸς κύριον· καὶ πάντες δὲ φυλάξουσιν, ὅσοι ἄν καθαρίσωσιν ἑαυτῶν τὰς καρδίας ἀπὸ τῶν ματαίων ἐπιθυμιῶν τοῦ αἰῶνος τοῦτον, καὶ ζήσωται τῷ θεῷ.

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to strengthen you in the faith. 2. Believe, therefore, in God, though you have renounced your life through your sins, and have added to your sins, and have made your life heavy, that if you 'turn to the Lord with all your heart, and do righteousness' for the rest of the days of your life, and serve him in uprightness, according to his will, he will heal your former sins, and you shall have power to master the works of the devil. But do not fear the threat of the devil at all, for he is powerless as the sinews of a dead man. 3. Listen, therefore, to me, and fear him who has all power, 'to save and to destroy,' and keep these commandments, and you shall live to God." 4. I said to him: "Sir, now I have received power in all the ordinances of the Lord, because you are with me, and I know that you will break down all the power of the devil, and we shall master him, and have power against all his deeds. And I hope, sir, that I shall now be able to keep these commandments which you have commanded, the Lord giving me strength." 5. "You shall keep them," said he, "if your heart be pure towards the Lord, and all who ever purify their hearts from the vain desires of this world shall keep them, and shall live to God."
ΠΑΡΑΒΟΛΑΙ 1 ΑΣ ΕΛΛΗΣΕ ΜΕΤ' ΕΜΟΥ

1. Δέγει μοι. Οίδατε, φησίν, ὅτι ἐπὶ ξένης κατοικεῖτε ὦμείς οἱ δύο σου τοῦ θεοῦ; ἡ γὰρ πόλις ὦμον μακράν ἐστιν ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ταύτης· εἰ οὖν οἴδατε, φησί, τὴν πόλιν ὦμον, ἐν ἐκείνη ὠμολογεῖτε καὶ παρατάξεις πολυτελεῖς καὶ οἰκοδομὰς καὶ οἰκήματα μάταια; 2. ταῦτα οὖν ὁ ἐτοιμάζον εἰς ταύτην τὴν πόλιν οὐ δύναται2 ἐπανακάμψαι εἰς τὴν ἱδίαν πόλιν. 3. ἀφρον καὶ δίψυχε καὶ ταλαίπωρε ἀνθρώπε, οὐ νοεῖς, ὅτι ταῦτα πάντα ἀλλότρια εἰσί καὶ ὑπὲρ ἐξουσιαν ἐπέφερεν εἰσίν; ἐρεῖ γὰρ ὁ κύριος τῆς πόλεως ταύτης· Οὐ θέλω σε κατοικεῖν εἰς τὴν πόλιν μου, ἀλλ' ἔξελθε ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ταύτης, ὅτι τοῖς νόμοις μου οὐ χρᾶσαι. 4. σὺ οὖν ἔχων ἁγροὺς καὶ οἰκήσεις καὶ ἐτέρας ὑπάρξεις πολλὰς, ἐκβαλ- λόμενος ὑπ' αὐτῷ τί ποιήσεις σου τὸν ἁγρόν καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν καὶ τὰ λοιπά, ὡσα ἡτοίμασας σεαντῷ; λέγει γὰρ σοι δικαίως ὁ κύριος τῆς χώρας ταύτης· Ἡ τοῖς νόμοις μου χρῶ ἡ ἐκχώρει ἐκ τῆς χώρας μου. 5. σὺ οὖν τὴ μέλλεις ποιεῖν, ἔχων νόμον ἐν τῇ σῇ πόλει; ἔνεκεν τῶν ἁγρῶν σου καὶ τῆς λοιπῆς ὑπάρξεις τῶν νόμων σου πάντως ἀπαρνήσῃ καὶ πορεύσῃ τὸ νόμον τῆς πόλεως ταύτης; βλέπε,

1 Translated Similitudines in L, hence the custom of quoting this section of the Shepherd as the "Similitudes."
2 δύναται Δ, cogitat L, vult E (LE perhaps represent προσδοκή).

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THE SHEPHERD, SIM. I. 1–5

THE PARABLES WHICH HE SPOKE WITH ME

1. He said to me, "You know that you, as the servants of God, are living in a strange country, \(^1\) for your city is far from this city. If then you know your city, in which you are going to dwell, why do you here prepare lands and costly establishments and buildings and vain dwellings? 2. He therefore, who prepares these things for this city, is not able to return to his own city. 3. O foolish and double-hearted and wretched man, do you not understand that all these things are foreign to you, and are under the power of another? For the Lord of this city will say: 'I do not wish you to dwell in my city, but go out from this city, because you do not use my law.' 4. If then you have fields and dwellings, and many other possessions, when you are cast out by him, what will you do with your land and house, and all the other things which you have prepared for yourself? For the Lord of this country justly says to you, 'Either use my law or go out from my country.' 5. What then are you going to do, seeing that you have a law in your own city? Will you because of your fields and other possessions altogether deny your law, and walk in the law of

\(^1\) The idea of the conflict of interests between earthly and heavenly citizenship is common in early Christian literature. Cf. Heb. 13, 14. "For here have we no continuing city, but we seek one to come."
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μη ἀσύμφορον ἐστιν ἀπαρνήσαι τὸν νόμον σου· ἐὰν γὰρ ἐπανακάμψαι θελήσῃς εἰς τὴν πόλιν σου, οὐ μὴ παραδεχήσῃς, ὅτι ἀπηρνήσω τὸν νόμον τῆς πόλεως σου, καὶ ἐκκλεισθῇ ἂπ’ αὐτῆς. 6. βλέπε ὅσιος σὺ ὡς ἐπὶ ξένης κατοικῶν μηδὲν πλέον ἐτοίμαζε σεαυτῷ εἰ μὴ τὴν αὐτάρκειαν τῆς ἀρκετῆς σοι, καὶ ἔτοιμος γίνου, ἵνα, ὅταν θέλῃ ὁ διεσποτός τῆς πόλεως ταύτης ἐκβάλειν σε ἀντιταξάμενον τῷ νόμῳ αὐτοῦ, ἐξέλθῃς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀπέλθῃς ἐν τῇ πόλει σου καὶ τῷ σῷ νόμῳ χρήσῃ ἀνυβρίστως ἀγαλλιώμενος. 1

7. βλέπε ὅσιος σὺ ὡς ἐπὶ ξένης κατοικῶν μηδὲν πλέον ἐτοίμαζε σεαυτῷ ἐκ τῆς καρδίας ἐργάζεσθε τὰ ἔργα τοῦ Θεοῦ μνημονεύοντες τῶν ἐντολῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐπαγγελιῶν ὅσιος ἐπηγγελλατο, καὶ πιστεύ- σατε αὐτῷ, ὅτι ποιήσει αὐτάς, ἐὰν αἱ ἐντολαὶ αὐτοῦ φυλαχθῶσιν. 8. ἀντὶ ἀγρόν ὃν ἀγορά- ξετε ψυχὰς θλιβομένας, καθά τις δυνατός ἐστιν, καὶ χήρας καὶ ὄρφανος ἐπισκέπτεσθε καὶ μὴ παραβλέπετε αὐτούς, καὶ τὸν πλοῦτον ὑμῶν καὶ τὰς παρατάξεις πάσας εἰς τοιούτους ἄγρους καὶ οἰκίας δαπανᾶτε, ἃς ἔλαβεν παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ. 9. εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ ἐπλούτισεν ὑμᾶς ὁ διεσπότης, ὦν ταύτας τὰς διακονίας τελέσῃς αὐτῷ· πολὺ βέλτιον ἐστὶ τοιούτους ἄγροις ἀγοράζειν καὶ κτήματα καὶ οἰκίας, οὕτω εἰρήσεις ἐν τῇ πόλει σου, ὅταν ἐπιδημήσῃς εἰς αὐτὴν. 10. αὕτη ἡ πολυ- τέλεια καλὴ καὶ ἱερά, λύπην μὴ ἔχουσα μηδὲ φόβου, ἐγώσα δὲ χαιρῶν. τὴν οὖν πολυτέλειαν τῶν θυσίων μὴ πράσσετε· ἀσύμφορον γὰρ ἐστιν

1 ἀνυβρίστως ἀγαλλιώμενος LE, ἀνυβριστως καὶ ἀγαλλιωμένως.

A.

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THE SHEPHERD, sim. i. 5-10

this city? Take heed that it be not unprofitable to deny your law, for if you wish to return back to your city, you will not be received, because you have denied the law of your city, and you will be excluded from it. 6. Take heed, then, make no further preparations for yourself beyond a sufficient competence for yourself, as though you were living in a foreign country, and be ready in order that, whenever the master of this city wishes to expel you for resisting his law, you may go out from his city, and depart to your own city, and joyfully follow your own law suffering no harm. 7. Take heed, then, you who serve the Lord and have him in your heart. Do the deeds of God, 'remembering his commandments,' and the promises which he made, and believe him that he will perform them if his commandments be observed. 8. Therefore instead of lands, purchase afflicted souls, as each is able, 'and look after widows and orphans,' and do not despise them, and spend your wealth and all your establishments for such fields and houses as you have received from God. 9. For, for this reason did the Master make you rich, that you should fulfil these ministries for him. It is far better to purchase such lands and houses, as you will find in your own city, when you go to it. 10. This wealth is beautiful and joyful, and has neither grief nor fear, but has joy. Follow therefore not after the wealth of the heathen, for it

1 ἀνυψηλῶς is either active or passive: it may qualify ἀγαλλιάμενος, "in decorous joy," "joy unmixed with ἤπειρος."
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ýμίν τοῖς δούλωσι τοῦ θεοῦ. 11. τὴν δὲ ἰδίαν πολυτέλειαν πράσσετε, ἐν ἡ δύνασθε χαρῆναι, καὶ μὴ παραχαράσσετε μηδὲ τοῦ ἀλλοτρίου ἁψηθείς μηδὲ ἐπιθυμεῖτε αὐτοῦ· ποιητὴν γὰρ ἐστιν ἀλλοτρίων ἐπιθυμεῖν. τὸ δὲ σῶν ἔργον ἐργάζον, καὶ σωθήσῃ.

"Αλλη παραβολή

1. Περιπατοῦντός μοι εἰς τὸν ἄγρον καὶ κατανοοῦντος πτελέαν καὶ ἄμπελον καὶ διακρίνοντος περὶ αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν καρπῶν αὐτῶν, φανεροῦταί μοι ὁ ποιμὴν καὶ λέγει· Τί σὺ ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἤστεις περὶ τῆς πτελέας καὶ τῆς ἄμπελος; Συζητῶ, φημί, κύριε, ὅτι εὐπρεπεσταταί εἰσιν ἄλληλαις. 2. Ταῦτα τὰ δύο δένδρα, φησίν, εἰς τύπον κεῖναται τοῖς δούλοις τοῦ θεοῦ. Ἡθελον, φημί, γνώσαι τὸν τύπον τῶν δένδρων τούτων ὧν λέγεις. Βλέπεις, φησίν, τὴν πτελέαν καὶ τὴν ἄμπελον; Βλέπω, φημί, κύριε. 3. Ἡ ἄμπελος, φησίν, αὐτὴ καρπὸν φέρει, ἡ δὲ πτελέα ξύλον ἄκαρπον ἔστιν ἀλλ τῇ ἄμπελος αὐτὴ ἕαν μὴ ἀναβῇ ἐπὶ τὴν πτελέαν, οὐ δύναται καρποφορῆσαι πολὺ ἔρριμμένη χαμαί, καὶ δὲν φέρει καρπόν, σεσηπότα φέρει μὴ κρεμαμένη ἐπὶ τῆς πτελέας, ὅταν οὐν ἐπιρριφῇ ἡ ἄμπελος ἐπὶ τὴν πτελέαν, καὶ παρ’ ἑαυτῆς φέρει καρπὸν καὶ παρὰ τῆς πτελέας. 4. Βλέπεις οὖν, ὅτι καὶ ἡ πτελέα πολὺν καρπὸν δίδωσιν, οὐκ ἔλάσσονα τῆς ἄμπελον, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ πτελέαν. Πῶς, φημί, κύριε,

1 κύριε LE, om. A.
is unprofitable to you, who are the servants of God. 11. Follow your own wealth, in which you can rejoice, and do not counterfeit nor touch that which is another's, nor desire it, for it is wicked to desire that which is another's, but do your own work and you shall be saved."

Another Parable (II)

1. While I was walking in the country I noticed an elm and a vine, and was considering them and their fruits, when the shepherd appeared to me and said: "What are you considering in yourself about the elm and vine?" "I am considering, sir," said I, "that they are very well suited to one another." 2. "These two trees," said he "are put as a type for the servants of God." "I should like," said I, "to know the type of the trees of which you speak." "You see," said he, "the vine and the elm." "Yes, sir," said I, "I see them." 3. "This vine," said he, "bears fruit, but the elm is a sterile tree. But this vine, if it do not grow upon the elm, cannot bear much fruit, because it is spread on the ground, and the fruit which it bears, it bears rotten, when it is not hanging on the elm. When, therefore, the vine is attached to the elm, it bears fruit from itself and from the elm. 4. You see then that the elm gives much fruit, not less than the vine, but rather more." "How, sir," said I, "does it bear more?" "Be-
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πλείόνα; 1 "Οτι, φησίν, ἡ ἀμπελος κρεμαμένη ἐπὶ τὴν πτελέαν τῶν καρπῶν πολὺν καὶ καλῶν δίδωσιν, ἐρριμμένη δὲ χαμαί, 2 ὀλγον καὶ σατρῶν φέρει. αὕτη οὖν ἡ παραβολή εἰς τοὺς δούλους τοῦ θεοῦ κεῖται, εἰς πτωχόν καὶ πλούσιον. 5. Πῶς, φημί, κύριε, γνώρισον μοι. Ἀκούε, φησίν; ὁ μὲν πλούσιος ἔχει χρήματα, τὰ δὲ πρὸς τὸν κύριον πτωχεύει, περισσῶμενος περὶ τὸν πλούτον εαυτοῦ, καὶ λίαν μικρὰν ἔχει τὴν ἐντευξίν καὶ τὴν ἐξομολόγησιν πρὸς τὸν κύριον, καὶ ἂν ἔχει, βληχρὰν καὶ μικρὰν καὶ ἄλλην 3 μὴ ἔχουσαν δύναμιν. ὅταν οὖν ἐπαναπάθη ἐπὶ τὸν πένθη τὸ πλούσιον καὶ χορηγήσῃ αὐτῷ τὰ δέοντα, πιστεύει, ὅτι ἐὰν ἐργάσηται εἰς τὸν πένθη δυνηθείσεται τὸν μισθὸν εὐρείν παρὰ τῷ θεῷ. ὅτι ὁ πένθης πλούσιος ἐστιν ἐν τῇ ἐντευξίμι καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐξομολόγησίμι καὶ δύναμιν μεγάλην ἔχει παρὰ τῷ θεῷ ἡ ἐντευξίς αὐτοῦ. ἐπιχορηγεῖ οὖν ὁ πλούσιος τῷ πένθητι πάντα ἀδιστάκτως. 6. ὁ πένθης δὲ ἐπιχορηγούμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ πλουσίου ἐντυγχάνει τῷ θεῷ εὐχαριστῶν αὐτῷ, ὑπὲρ τοῦ διδόντος αὐτῷ κάκεινος ἐτὶ ἐπιστούδαζε περὶ τοῦ πένθητος, ἵνα ἀδιάλεπτος γένηται ἐν τῷ ζωῆς αὐτοῦ. οἴδε γάρ, ὅτι ἡ τοῦ πένθητος ἐντευξίς προσδεκτή ἐστι καὶ πλουσίᾳ πρὸς κύριον. 7. ἀμφότεροι οὖν τὸ ἔργον τελοῦσιν, ὃ μὲν πένθης ἐργάζεται τῇ ἐντευξίμι, ἐν ἧ πλουτεῖ, ἢν ἐλαβεν παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου, ταύτην ἀποδίδωσι τῷ κυρίῳ τῷ ἐπιχορηγούντι αὐτῷ. καὶ ὁ πλούσιος ὡσαύτως

1 πῶς...πλείόνα LE, om. A.
2 χαμαί om. Pox.
3 ἄλλην conjectured from Pox (ἀ...ην), ἄνω (= ἄνθρωπου) A.
cause,” said he, “the vine, when it hangs on the elm, gives much beautiful fruit, but when it is lying on the ground, it bears but little fruit and rotten. This parable, therefore, applies to the servants of God, to the poor and the rich.” 5. “How, sir?” said I, “let me know.” “Listen,” said he. “The rich man has much wealth, but he is poor as touching the Lord, being busied about his riches, and his intercession and confession towards the Lord is very small, and that which he has is weak and small, and has no other power. But when the rich man rests upon the poor, and gives him what he needs, he believes that what he does to the poor man can find a reward with God, because the poor is rich in intercession and confession, and his intercession has great power with God. The rich man, therefore, helps the poor in all things without doubting. 6. But the poor man, being helped by the rich, makes intercession to God, giving him thanks, for him who gave to him, and the rich man is still zealous for the poor man, that he fail not in his life, for he knows that the intercession of the poor is acceptable and rich toward the Lord. 7. Therefore the two together complete the work, for the poor works in the intercession in which he is rich, which he received from the Lord: this he pays to the Lord who helps him.
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tο πλούτος, δέ ἔλαβεν παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου, ἀδιστάκτως παρέχεται τῷ πένητι. καὶ τοῦτο ἔργον μέγα ἔστι καὶ δεκτὸν παρὰ τῷ θεῷ, ὅτι συνήκεν ἐπὶ τῷ πλούτῳ αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰργάσατο εἰς τὸν πένητα ἐκ τῶν δωρημάτων τοῦ κυρίου καὶ ἔτέλεσε τὴν διακονίαν ὅρθως. 8. παρὰ τοῖς οὖν ἀνθρώποις ἡ πτελέα δοκεῖ καρπὸν μὴ φέρειν, καὶ οὐκ οἴδασιν οὐδὲ νοοῦσιν, ὅτι, ὅταν ἄβροχια γένηται, ἡ πτελέα ἐχούσα ύδωρ τρέφει τὴν ἄμπελον καὶ ἡ ἀμπέλος ἀδιαλειπτων ἐχουσα τὸ ύδωρ διπλοῦν τὸν καρπὸν ἀποδίδωσι, καὶ ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῆς καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς πτελέας. οὕτως καὶ οἱ πένητες ὑπὲρ τῶν πλούσιων ἐνυγχάνοντες πρὸς τὸν κύριον πληροφοροῦσι τὸ πλούτος αὐτῶν, καὶ πάλιν ὁ πλοῦσιοι χορηγοῦντες τοῖς πένησι τὰ δέοντα πληροφοροῦσι τὰς εὐχὰς ἀυτῶν. 9. γίνονται οὖν ἁμφότεροι κοινωνοὶ τοῦ ἔργου τοῦ δικαίου. ταῦτα οὖν ὁ ποιῶν οὐκ ἐγκαταλειφθῆσαι ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀλλ’ ἔσται γεγραμμένος εἰς τὰς βίβλους τῶν ζωντων. 10. μακάριοι οἱ ἐχοντες καὶ συνέντες, ὅτι παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου πλούτιζονται, ὁ γὰρ συνίων τούτο δυνησται καὶ διακονησαι τῷ ἀγαθῷ.

"Αλλήπως παραβολή

1. Ἕδειξέ μοι δένδρα πολλὰ μὴ ἔχοντα φύλλα, ἀλλ’ ὥσεὶ ἔηρα ἔδοκει μοι εἶναι ὅμοια γὰρ ἦν πάντα. καὶ λέγει μοι. Βλέπεις τὰ δένδρα ταῦτα;

1 eὐχάς is a conjecture; ψυχάς ALq, L1E paraphrase and clearly could not understand the Greek.

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And the rich man likewise provides the poor, without hesitating, with the wealth which he received from the Lord; and this work is great and acceptable with God, because he has understanding in his wealth, and has wrought for the poor man from the gifts of the Lord, and fulfilled his ministry rightly. 8. Among men, therefore, the elm appears as if it bore no fruit, and they do not know nor understand that if there is drought the elm which has water nourishes the vine, and the vine, having water continuously, gives double fruit, both for itself and for the elm. So also the poor, interceding with the Lord for the rich, complement the wealth, and again, the rich helping the poor with their necessities complement their prayers. 9. Both, therefore, share in the righteous work. Therefore he who does these things shall not be deserted by God, but shall be inscribed in the books of the living. 10. Blessed are they who are wealthy and understand that their riches are from the Lord, for he who understands this will also be able to do some good service.

ANOTHER PARABLE (III)

1. He showed me many trees, without leaves, which appeared to me to be as if dry, for they were all alike. And he said to me: "Do you see these

1 The idea in πληροφοροῦσι is that of filling up that which is lacking,—a ὑπερήφανος.
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Βλέπω, φημί, κύριε, ομοία ὠντα καὶ ξηρά. ἀποκριθεὶς μοι λέγει. Ταῦτα τὰ δένδρα, ἡ βλέπεις, οἱ κατοικοῦντες εἰσιν ἐν τῷ αἰώνι τοῦτῳ. 2. Διατὶ οὖν, φημί, κύριε, ὡσεὶ ξηρά εἰσι καὶ ομοία; Ὁτι, φησίν, οὔτε οἱ δίκαιοι φαίνονται οὔτε οἱ ἁμαρτωλοὶ ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι τοῦτῳ, ἀλλ’ ομοίοι εἰσιν ὁ γὰρ αἰὼν οὕτως τοῖς δικαίως χειμῶν ἔστιν, καὶ οὐ φαίνονται μετὰ τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν κατοικοῦντες. 3. Ὑστερον γὰρ ἐν τῷ χειμῶν τὰ δένδρα ἀποβεβληκότα τὰ φύλα ομοία εἰσι καὶ οὐ φαίνονται τὰ ξηρὰ πολία εἰσιν ἡ τὰ ξωτα, οὐτὸς ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι τοῦτῳ οὐ φαίνονται οὔτε οἱ δίκαιοι οὔτε οἱ ἁμαρτωλοὶ, ἀλλὰ πάντες ομοίοι εἰσιν.

"Αλλη παραβολή

1. Ἕδειξέ μοι πάλιν δένδρα πολλά, ἀ μὲν βλαστώντα, ἀ δὲ ξηρά, καὶ λέγει μοι. Βλέπεις, φησί, τὰ δένδρα ταῦτα; Βλέπω, φημί, κύριε, τὰ μὲν βλαστώντα τὰ δὲ ξηρά. 2. Ταῦτα, φησί, τὰ δένδρα τὰ βλαστῶντα οἱ δίκαιοι εἰσιν οἱ μέλλοντες κατοικεῖν εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τὸν ἐρχόμενον. ὁ γὰρ αἰὼν ὁ ἐρχόμενος θερεία ἔστι τοῖς δίκαιοις, τοῖς δὲ ἁμαρτωλοῖς χειμῶν. ὅταν οὖν ἐπιλάμψη τὸ ἔλεος τοῦ κυρίου, τότε φανερωθήσονται οἱ δουλεύοντες τῷ θεῷ, καὶ πάντες φανερωθήσονται. 3. Ὑστερον γὰρ τῷ θερεὶ ἐνὸς ἐκάστοι δένδρον οἱ καρποὶ φανεροῦνται καὶ ἐπιφυγόσκονται ποταποὶ εἰσιν, οὕτω καὶ τῶν δικαίων οἱ καρποὶ φανεροὶ ἔσονται καὶ γνωσθήσονται πάντες εὐθαλεῖς οὕτε ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι ἐκεῖνος. 4. τὰ δὲ έθνη καὶ οἱ ἁμαρτωλοὶ, ἀ εἴδες τὰ δένδρα.
trees?" "Yes, sir," said I, "and I see that they are all alike and dry." And he answered me and said: "These trees which you see are they who dwell in this world." 2. "Why, then," said I, "sir, are they as it were dry and all alike?" "Because," said he, "in this world, neither righteous nor sinners are apparent, but are all alike. For this world is winter for the righteous and they are not apparent, though they are living with sinners. 3. For just as in the winter the trees which have shed their leaves are alike, and it is not apparent which are dry and which are alive, so in this world neither the righteous nor the sinners are apparent, but all are alike."

**Another Parable (IV)**

1. He showed me again many trees, some budding and some withered, and said to me, "Do you see," said he, "these trees." "I see them, sir," said I, "some budding and some withered." 2. "These trees," said he, "which are budding are the righteous, who are destined to live in the world to come; for the world to come is summer for the righteous, but winter for the sinners. When therefore the mercy of the Lord shall shine, then the servants of God shall be made plain and all men shall be made apparent. 3 For, just as in the summer the fruit of each individual tree is made plain, and they are recognised for what they are, so also the fruit of the righteous will be plain, and they will all be known, by blossoming in that world. 4. But the heathen and the sinners—the withered
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τὰ ἕηρα, τοιούτοι εὐρεθήσονται ἕηροι καὶ ἄκαρτοι ἐν ἐκεῖνῳ τῷ αἰῶνι καὶ ὡς ξύλα κατακαυκήσονται καὶ φανεροὶ ἔσονται, ὅτι ἡ πράξεις αὐτῶν πονηρὰ γέγονεν ἐν τῇ ζωῇ αὐτῶν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀμαρτωλοί καυθήσονται, ὅτι ἡμαρτών καὶ οὐ μετενόησαν τὰ δὲ ἐθνή καυθήσονται, ὅτι οὐκ ἐγνώσαν τὸν κτίσαντα αὐτούς. 5. σὺ οὖν καρποφόρησον, ἵνα ἔν τῷ θέρει ἐκεῖνῳ γνωσθῇ σοι ὁ καρπὸς· ἀπέχου δὲ ἀπὸ πολλῶν πράξεων καὶ οὐδὲν διαμαρτήσεις. οἱ γὰρ τὰ πολλὰ πράσσοντες πολλὰ καὶ ἀμαρτάνοντι, περισσότεροι περὶ τὸς πράξεως αὐτῶν καὶ μηδὲν δουλεύοντες τῷ κυρίῳ ἑαυτῶν. 6. πὼς οὖν, φησίν, ὁ τοιοῦτος δύναται τι αἰτήσασθαι παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου καὶ λαβεῖν, μη δουλεύων τῷ κυρίῳ; οἱ δουλεύοντες αὐτῷ, ἐκεῖνοι λήψονται τὰ αἰτήματα αὐτῶν. οἱ δὲ μὴ δουλεύοντες τῷ κυρίῳ, ἐκεῖνοι οὐδὲν λήψονται. 7. εὰν δὲ μίαν τις πράξειν ἐργάσῃται, δύναται καὶ τῷ κυρίῳ δουλεύσαι· οὐ γὰρ διαφθαρῆσεται ἡ διάνοια αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ κυρίου, ἀλλὰ δουλεύσει αὐτῷ ἐχῶν τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτοῦ καθαρὰν. 8. ταῦτα οὖν ἐάν ποιήσῃς, δύνασαι καρποφορήσαι εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τὸν ἐρχόμενον καὶ δὲ ἂν ταῦτα ποιήσῃ, καρποφορήσει.

Ἀ λλή παραβολή

I

1. Νηστεύων καὶ καθήμενος εἰς ὁρὸς τι καὶ εὐχαριστῶν τῷ κυρίῳ περὶ πάντων ὃν ἐποίησε

1 μηδέν Δ, μηδέ Λ.

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trees which you saw—will be found to be such, dried and fruitless in that world, and they shall be burnt up like wood and shall be made manifest, because their conduct was wicked in their lives. For the sinners shall be burnt, because they sinned and did not repent, and the heathen shall be burnt, because they did not know their Creator. 5. Be therefore fruitful, that your fruit may be known in that summer. But abstain from much business, and you will do no sin. For those who do much business also sin much, being engrossed in their business, and serving their Lord in nothing. 6. How then,” said he, “can such a one pray for anything from the Lord and receive it, when he does not serve the Lord?” They who serve him,—they shall receive their requests. But they who do not serve the Lord,—they shall receive nothing. 7. But if anyone be occupied with but one business, he can serve the Lord also. For his understanding is not corrupted away from the Lord, but he will serve him with a pure mind. 8. If, therefore, you do this, you can bear fruit for the world to come. And whoever does this shall bear fruit.”

Another Parable (V)

1. While I was fasting, and sitting on a certain Fasting mountain, and thanking the Lord for all that he had
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μετ’ ἐμοὶ, βλέπω τὸν ποιμένα παρακαθήμενόν μοι καὶ λέγοντα: Τί ὀρθρινὸς ὡδε ἐλήλυθας; Ὁτι, φησί, κύριε, στατίωνα ἔχω. 2. Τί, φησίν, ἐστι στατίων; Νηστεύω, φησί, κύριε. Νηστεύα δὲ, φησί, τί ἐστιν αὕτη, ἢ νηστεύετε; Ὡς εἰώθειν, φησί, κύριε, οὗτο νηστεύω. 3. Οὐκ οἶδατε, φησί, νηστεύειν τῷ κυρίῳ, οὔτε ἐστιν νηστεύα αὕτη ἢ ἀνοφελής, ἢ νηστεύετε αὕτῳ. Διατι, φησί, κύριε, τοῦτο λέγεις; Δέξω σοι, φησίν, ὅτι οὐκ ἐστιν αὕτη νηστεύα, ἢ δοκεῖτε νηστεύειν ἀλλ' ἐγὼ σε δεδάξω, τί ἐστι νηστεύα δεκτὴ καὶ πλήρης τῷ κυρίῳ. 1 Ἀκοὺε, φησίν. 4. ο θεὸς οὐ βούλεται νηστεύαν ματαίαν οὗτο γὰρ νηστεύαν τῷ θεῷ οὔτε ἐργασία τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ νηστεύον δὲ τῷ θεῷ νηστεύαν τοιαύτην. 5. μηδὲν ποιηρεύσῃ ἐν τῇ ξωῇ σου, ἀλλὰ δούλευσον τῷ κυρίῳ ἐν καθαρᾷ καρδίᾳ: τήρησον τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ πορευόμενος ἐν τοῖς προστάγμασις αὐτοῦ καὶ μηδεμία ἐπιθυμία ποιηρὰ ἀναβήτω ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ σου πίστευον δὲ τῷ θεῷ, ὅτι, ἐὰν ταῦτα ἐργασία καὶ φοβηθῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐγκρατεύσῃ ἀπὸ παντὸς ποιηροῦ πράγματος, ξῆσῃ τῷ θεῷ καὶ ταῦτα ἐὰν ἐργασίᾳ, μεγάλην νηστείαν ποιήσεις καὶ δεκτὴν τῷ θεῷ.

Mt. 19, 17

1 κυρίῳ ΑΗΛ, κυρίῳ. Ναί, φησί, κύριε, μακαρίων με ποιήσεις ἐὰν γνώ τὴν νηστείαν τὴν δεκτὴν τῷ θεῷ ΗΗΛ.
done with me, I saw the shepherd sitting by me, and saying: "Why have you come here so early?"
"Because, sir," said I, "I have a station." 1 2. "What," said he, "is a station." "I am fasting, sir," said I.
"But," said he, "what is this fast, which you are fasting?" "I am fasting, sir," said I, "as I have been accustomed." 3. "You do not know," said he, "how to fast to the Lord, and this useless fast which you are fasting to him is not a fast?" "Why, sir," said I, "do you say this?" "I tell you," said he, "that this fast which you think to fast is nothing, but I will teach you what is a fast, acceptable and complete to the Lord. Listen," he said: 4. "God does not wish such a vain fast. For if you thus fast to God you do nothing for righteousness. But fast to God in this way: 5. do nothing evil in your life, but serve the Lord with a pure heart; 'keep his commandments' and walk in his ordinances, and let no evil desire arise in your heart, but believe in God, that if you do these things and fear him, and refrain from every wicked act, you shall live to God; and if you do this you will fulfil a great fast and one acceptable to God.

1 'Station' is not found elsewhere in Greek writers but is used in Latin writers in the sense of a fixed time for fasting (e.g. cf. Tertullian de orat. 19, de jejun. 1, 10, etc.). It is apparently one of the many terms taken from military language 'statio de militari exemplo nomen accepit, nam et militia dei sumus' says Tertullian.
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II

1. Ἄκουε τὴν παραβολὴν, ἥν μέλλω σοι λέγειν, ἀνήκουσαν τῇ νηστείᾳ. 2. εἰδέ τις ἄγρον καὶ δούλους πολλοὺς καὶ μέρος τι τοῦ ἄγροῦ ἐφύτευσεν ἀμπελῶνα· καὶ ἐκλεξάμενος δούλον τινα πιστὸν καὶ εὐάρεστον ἐντιμον,¹ προσεκαλέσατο αὐτὸν καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ. Λάβε τὸν ἀμπελῶνα τούτων, δύν ἐφύτευσα, καὶ χαράκοσαν αὐτὸν, ἑως ἐρχομαι, καὶ ἔτερον δὲ μὴ ποιήσῃ τῷ ἀμπελῶνι· καὶ ταύτην μου τὴν ἐντολὴν φύλαξον, καὶ ἐλεύθερον ἔσῃ παρ’ ἐμοί. ἔξηλθε δὲ ὁ δεσπότης τοῦ δούλου εἰς τὴν ἀποδημίαν. 3. ἐξελθόντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ἔλαβεν ὁ δούλος καὶ ἐχαράκωσε τὸν ἀμπελῶνα. καὶ τελέσας τὴν χαράκοσων τοῦ ἀμπελῶνος εἴδε τὸν ἀμπελῶνα βοτανῶν πλήρη ὄντα. 4. ἐν ἔαυτῷ οὖν ἔλογισατο λέγων· Ταύτην τὴν ἐντολὴν τοῦ κυρίου τετέλεκα· σκάψω λοιπὸν τὸν ἀμπελῶνα τούτων, καὶ ἔσται εὐπρεπέστερος ἐσκαμμένος, καὶ βοτάνας μὴ ἔχων δώσεις καρπὸν πλέονα, μὴ πυριγόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν βοτανῶν. λαβὼν ἔσκαψα τὸν ἀμπελῶνα καὶ πάσας τὰς βοτάνας τὰς οὕσας ἐν τῷ ἀμπελῶνι ἐξέτιλλε. καὶ ἐγένετο ὁ ἀμπελῶν ἐκεῖνος εὐπρεπέστερος καὶ εὐθαλής, μὴ ἔχων βοτάνας πυριγόμενας αὐτὸν. 5. μετὰ χρόνων ἦλθεν ὁ δεσπότης τοῦ δούλου καὶ τοῦ ἄγρου καὶ εἰςῆλθεν εἰς τὸ τὸν ἀμπελῶνα. καὶ ἰδὼν τὸν ἀμπελῶνα κεχαρακωμένον εὐπρεπῶς, ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἐσκαμμέ-

¹ There is probably something missing in the text; L reads deinde peregre profectus elegit servum etc., EL paraphrase the whole, but insert the phrase peregre afuturus, or its equivalent.

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II

1. "Listen to the Parable which I am going to tell you concerning Fasting. 2. A certain man had a field, and many servants, and on part of the field he planted a vineyard. And he chose out a certain servant, who was faithful, in good esteem and honour with him, and he called him and said to him: "Take this vineyard which I have planted, and fence it until I come, and do nothing more to the vineyard. And follow this order of mine and you shall have your freedom from me. And the master of the servant went abroad. 3. Now when he had gone the servant took and fenced the vineyard, and when he had finished the fencing of the vineyard he saw that the vineyard was full of weeds. 4. Therefore he reasoned in himself, saying: I have finished this order of the Lord; I will next dig this vineyard, and it will be better when it is dug, and having no weeds will yield more fruit, not being choked by the weeds. He took and dug the vineyard, and pulled out all the weeds which were in the vineyard. And that vineyard became very beautiful and fertile with no weeds to choke it. 5. After a time the master of the servant and the field came, and entered into the vineyard, and seeing the vineyard beautifully fenced, and moreover dug, and all the weeds pulled up and
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μένον καὶ πάσας τὰς βοτάνας ἐκτειλμένας καὶ εὐθαλεῖς οὕτως τὰς ἀμπέλους, ἔχαρῃ λίαν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἔργοις τοῦ δούλου. 6. προσκαλεσάμενος οὐν τὸν νῦν αὐτοῦ τὸν ἀγαπητόν, δυν ἔλεγε κληρονόμου, καὶ τοὺς φίλους, οὓς ἔλεγε συμβούλους, λέγει αὐτοῖς, ὅσα ἐνετείλατο τῷ δούλῳ αὐτοῦ καὶ ὃσα εὗρε γεγονότα. ἡ ἡμερής αὐτοῦ συνεχάρησαν τῷ δούλῳ ἐπὶ τῇ μαρτυρίᾳ ἐμαρτύρησεν αὐτῷ ὁ δεσπότης. 7. καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς: Ἑγώ τῷ δούλῳ τούτῳ ἐλευθερίαν ἐπηγγελμάτων, εἰάν μου τὴν ἐντολὴν φυλάξῃ, ἂν ἐνετείλατο αὐτῷ. ἐφύλαξε δὲ μου τὴν ἐντολὴν καὶ προσέθηκε τῷ ἀμπελῶνι ἔργον καλόν, καὶ ἔμοι λίαν ἦρεσεν. ἀντὶ τούτου οὖν τοῦ ἐργοῦ οὐ εἰργάσατο θέλω αὐτὸν συγκληρονόμου τῷ νῦν μου ποιῆσαι, ὅτι τὸ καλὸν φρονήσας οὐ παρενεθυμήσῃ, ἀλλ’ ἐνετέλεσεν αὐτῷ. 8. ταύτῃ τῇ γνώμῃ ὁ νῦς τοῦ δεσπότου συνυπόκησεν αὐτῷ, ἵνα συγκληρονόμος γενῆται ὁ δούλος τῷ νῦν. 9. μετὰ ήμέρας οὗ γενοῦσας δείπνου ἐποίησεν καὶ ἐπεμψεν αὐτῷ ἐκ τοῦ δείπνου ἐδέσματα πολλά. λαβὼν δὲ ὁ δούλος τὰ ἐδέσματα τὰ πεμφθέντα αὐτῷ παρὰ τοῦ δεσπότου τὰ ἀρκοῦντα αὐτῷ ἢρε, τὰ λοιπὰ δὲ τοὺς συνδούλους αὐτοῦ διεδωκεν. 10. οἱ δὲ σύνδουλοι αὐτοῦ λαβώντες τὰ ἐδέσματα ἔχαρησαν καὶ ἤρξαντο εὐχεσθαι ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, ἵνα χάριν μείζονα εὐρή παρὰ τῷ δεσπότῃ, ὅτι οὕτως ἔχρισεν αὐτοῖς. 11. ταύτα πάντα τὰ γεγονότα ὁ δεσπότης αὐτοῦ ἠκούσε

1 ἐπηγγελμάτων Δ, Hilgenfeld and others emend to ἐνετείλατο.
2 ἐποίησεν Δ, L adds paterfamilias which the editors usually accept and translate oikodespότης.

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vines fertile, he was greatly pleased at the acts of the servant. 6. So he called his beloved son, whom he had as heir, and his friends whom he had as counsellors, and told them what he had ordered his servant, and what he had found accomplished. And they congratulated the servant on the character which the master gave him. 7. And he said to them: I promised this servant his freedom if he kept the orders which I gave him. Now he has kept my orders, and has added good work in the vineyard, and greatly pleased me. So in reward for this work which he has done I wish to make him joint heir with my son, because, when he had a good thought he did not put it on one side, but carried it out. 8. The son of the master agreed with this plan, that the servant should be joint heir with the son. 9. After a few days he made a feast and sent to him much food from the feast. But the servant took the food which was sent to him by the master, kept what was sufficient for himself, and distributed the rest to his fellow-servants. 10. And his fellow-servants were glad when they received the food, and began to pray for him, that he might find greater favour with his master, because he had treated them thus. 11. His master heard all these events, and again rejoiced
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καὶ πάλιν λίαν ἐχάρη ἐπὶ τῇ πράξει αὐτοῦ. συγκαλεσάμενος πάλιν τοὺς φίλους ὁ δεσπότης καὶ τὸν νιών αὐτοῦ ἀπῆγγειλεν αὐτοῖς τὴν πράξειν αὐτοῦ, ἢν ἐπράξεν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐδέσμασιν αὐτοῦ ὡς ἐλαβεν· οἱ δὲ ἔτι μᾶλλον συνενδόκησαν γενέσθαι τὸν δούλου συγκληρονόμον τῷ νιῷ αὐτοῦ.

III

1. Λέγω· Κύριε, ἑγὼ ταύτας τὰς παραβολὰς ὑμῖν γινώσκω οὐδὲ δύναμαι νοῆσαι, ἐὰν μὴ μοι ἐπιλύσῃς αὐτὰς. 2. Πάντα σοι ἐπιλύσω, φησίν, καὶ ὅσα ἀν λαλήσω μετὰ σοῦ. 3. δείξω σοι τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ ἕαν δὲ τι ἀγαθὰν ποιήσῃς ἐκτὸς τῆς ἐντολῆς τοῦ θεοῦ, σεαυτῷ περιποίησῃ δόξαν περισσοτέρων καὶ ἐσῃ ἐνδοξότερος παρὰ τῷ θεῷ οὐ ἐμελλες εἶναι. ἐὰν οὖν φυλάσσων τὰς ἐντολὰς τοῦ θεοῦ προσθῆκη καὶ τὰς λειτουργίας ταύτας, χαρῆσῃ, ἐὰν τηρήσῃς αὐτὰς κατὰ τὴν ἐμὴν ἐντολὴν. 4. λέγω αὐτῷ· Κύριε, ὁ ἐὰν μοι ἐντείλῃ, φυλάξω αὐτῷ οἴδα γάρ, ὅτι σὺ μετ᾽ ἐμοῦ εἰ. Ἐσομαι, φησιν, μετὰ σοῦ, ὅτι τοιαυτὴν προθυμίαν ἔχεις τῆς ἀγαθοποιήσεως, καὶ μετὰ πάντων δὲ ἐσομαι, φησιν, ὅσιος ταύτην τὴν προθυμίαν ἔχονσιν. 5. ὅ νηστεία αὐτῇ, φησίν, τηρομένων τῶν ἐντολῶν τοῦ κυρίου, λίαν καλῆ ἐστιν. οὕτως οὖν φυλάξεις τὴν νηστείαν ταύτην, ἢ μέλλεις τηρεῖν. 6. πρῶτον πάντων φύλαξαι

1 τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ. Α, mandata domini custodi et eris
probatus et scriberis in numero eorum qui custodivit
mandata eius LQ(LQ,E) which the editors usually accept and
re-translate into Greek.

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THE SHEPHERD, sim. v. ii. i i—iii. 6

greatly at his conduct. The master again assembled his friends and his son and reported to them what he had done with the food which he had received, and they were still more pleased that the servant should be made joint heir with his son."

III

1. I said: "Sir, I do not know these parables and I cannot understand them if you do not explain them to me." 2. "I will explain everything to you," he said, "and everything that I talk with you. 3. I will show you his commandments and if you do anything good, beyond the commandment of God, you will gain for yourself greater glory, and shall be more honourable with God than you were destined to be. If then, you keep the commandments of God, and add these services also, you shall rejoice, if you keep them according to my commandment." 4. I said to him: "Sir, I will keep whatever you command me, for I know that you are with me." "I will be with you," said he, "because you have such zeal for doing good, and I will be with all, said he, who have this zeal. 5. This fast," said he, "if the commandments of the Lord are kept, is very good. You shall therefore keep this fast, which you are going to observe in this way: 6. First of all, keep from every
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ἀπὸ παντὸς ῥήματος πονηροῦ καὶ πάσης ἐπιθυμίας πονηρᾶς καὶ καθάρισον σου τὴν καρδίαν ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ματαιωμάτων τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου. ἐὰν ταῦτα φυλάξῃς, ἔσται σοι αὕτη ἡ νηστεία τελεία. 7. οὕτω δὲ ποιήσεις· συντελέσας τὰ γεγραμμένα, ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἡ νηστείας μηδὲν γεύσῃ εἰ μη ἁρτον καὶ ὕδωρ, καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐδεσμάτων σου ὄν ἔμελλες τρώγειν συμψηφίσας τὴν ποσότητα τῆς δαπάνης ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας ἢς ἔμελλες ποιεῖν, δῶσεις αὐτὸ χήρᾳ ἡ ὀρφανῷ ἢ ἱεροθεμέλῳ, καὶ οὕτω ταπεινοφρονήσεις, ἵν’ ἐκ τῆς ταπεινοφροσύνης σου ὁ εἰληφὼς ἐμπλήσῃ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ψυχὴν καὶ εὐξηθαίρεται ὑπὲρ σοῦ πρὸς τὸν κύριον. 8. ἐὰν οὖν οὕτω τελέσῃς τὴν νηστείαν, ὅς σοι ἐνετελάσῃ τίς, ἔσται ἡ θυσία σου δεκτή παρὰ τῷ θεῷ, καὶ ἐγγραφὸς ἔσται τῇ νηστείᾳ αὕτη, καὶ ἡ λειτουργία οὕτως ἐργαζόμενη καλή καὶ ἰλαρά ἔστι καὶ εὐπρόσδεκτος τῷ κυρίῳ. 9. ταῦτα οὕτω τηρήσεις σύ μετὰ τῶν τέκνων σου καὶ ὅλου τοῦ οἴκου σου· τηρήσας δὲ αὐτὰ μακάριος ἔσῃ· καὶ ὅσιοι ἀν ἄκοὐσαντες αὐτὰ τηρήσωσι, μακάριοι ἔσονται, καὶ ὅσα ἀν αἰτήσωσαι παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου λήψονται.

IV

1. Ἐδείξθην αὐτοῦ πολλά, ὥσι μοι δήλωσῃ τὴν παραβολὴν τοῦ ἀγροῦ καὶ τοῦ δεσπότον καὶ τοῦ ἀμπελῶνος καὶ τοῦ δούλου του χαρακάσαντος τὸν ἀμπελῶνα καὶ τῶν χαράκων καὶ τῶν βοτανῶν τῶν ἐκτειλιμένων ἐκ τοῦ ἀμπελῶνος καὶ τοῦ νιῶν

1 θεφ Α Ant., κυρίφ L Ath.

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evil word, and from every evil desire and purify your heart from all the vanities of this world. If you keep these things, this fast shall be perfect for you. 7. And you shall do thus: After completing what has been written, in that day on which you fast you shall taste nothing except bread and water, and you shall reckon the price of the expense for that day which you are going to keep, of the foods which you would have eaten, and you shall give it to a widow or an orphan or to some one destitute, and you shall thus be humble-minded that through your humility he who receives it may fill his soul and pray to the Lord for you. 8. If then you thus fulfil the fast as I commanded you, your 'sacrifice shall be acceptable to God,' and this fast shall be written down to your credit, and the service which is thus done is good and joyful and acceptable to the Lord. 9. You shall therefore keep these things thus with your children and all your house, and if you keep them you shall be blessed, and all who hear them and keep them shall be blessed and shall obtain from the Lord whatever they ask."

IV.

1. I besought him much to explain to me the application of the parable of the field and the master and the vineyard and the servant who fenced the vineyard, and the fences, and the weeds which were pulled up from the vineyard, and the son, and the friends the counsellors.
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καὶ τῶν φίλων τῶν συμβούλων· συνήκα γάρ, ὅτι παραβολή τής ἐστὶ ταῦτα πάντα. 2. ὃ δὲ ἀποκριθείς μοι ἐίπεις· Ἀθάνατις εἰ λαῖν εἰς τὸ ἐπερωτᾶν, οὐκ ὁφείλεσι, φησίν, ἐπερωτᾶν οὐδὲν ὅλως· ἐὰν γάρ σοι δέῃ δηλωθῆναι, δηλωθήσεται. Λέγω αὐτῷ· Κύριε, ὅσα ἂν μοι δεξιές καὶ μὴ δηλώσῃς, μάτην ἔσομαι ἐφρακὼς αὐτὰ καὶ μὴ νοῶν, τι ἐστιν· ὁσαύτως καὶ ἐὰν μοι παραβολᾶς λαλήσῃς καὶ μὴ ἐπιλύσῃς μοι αὐτάς, εἰς μάτην ἔσομαι ἄκηκοώς τι παρὰ σοῦ. 3. ὃ δὲ πάλιν ἀπεκρίθη μοι λέγων· Ὁς ἂν, φησίν, δοῦλος ἢ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἔχῃ τῶν κύριον ἑαυτοῦ ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ, αἰτεῖται παρ' αὐτῶν σύνεσιν καὶ λαμβάνει καὶ πᾶσαν παραβολὴν ἐπιλύει, καὶ γνωστά αὐτῷ γίνονται τὰ ῥήματα τοῦ κυρίου τὰ λεγόμενα διὰ παραβολῶν· ὅσοι δὲ βληχροί εἰσι καὶ ἄργοι πρὸς τὴν ἐντευξίν, ἐκεῖνοι διστάξουσιν αἰτεῖσθαι παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου. 4. ὃ δὲ κύριος πολυεύσπλαγχνός ἐστι καὶ πάσι τοῖς αἰτούμενοι παρ’ αὐτοῦ ἀδιαλείπτως δίδωσι. σὺ δὲ ἐνδεδυναμωμένος ὑπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου ἁγγέλου καὶ εἰληφὼς παρ’ αὐτοῦ τοιαύτην ἐντευξίν καὶ μὴ ὅν ἄργος, διατὶ οὐκ αἰτῇ παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου σύνεσιν καὶ λαμβάνεις παρ’ αὐτοῦ; 5. λέγω αὐτῷ· Κύριε, ἐγώ ἔχω σὲ μεθ’ ἑαυτοῦ ἀνάγκην ἔχω σὲ αἰτεῖσθαι καὶ σὲ ἐπερωτᾶν· σὺ γάρ μοι δεικνύεις πάντα καὶ λαλεῖς μετ’ ἐμοῦ· εἰ δὲ ἄτερ σου ἐβλεπον ἢ ἤκουον αὐτά, ἡρώτων ἂν τὸν κύριον, ἵνα μοι δηλωθῇ.

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THE SHEPHERD, sim. v. iv. 1-5

For I understood that all these things are a parable.
2. He answered and said to me: "You are very importunate with asking. You ought not," he said, "to ask at all, for if it be necessary for it to be explained to you it will be explained." I said to him: "Sir, whatever you show me and do not explain I shall have seen in vain, and not understand what it is. So likewise if you speak parables to me and do not interpret them to me, I shall have heard something from you in vain." 3. He answered and said to me again: "Whoever," said he, "is God's servant, and has his Lord in his heart, seeks understanding from him and receives it, and he interprets every parable, and the sayings of the Lord which were spoken through parables are made known to him. But as many as are weak and idle in prayer, those hesitate to ask from the Lord. 4. But the Lord is very merciful and gives unceasingly to all who ask from him. But you, since you have been given power by the Holy Angel, and received from him such intercession and are not idle, wherefore do you not seek understanding from the Lord and receive it from him?" 5. I said to him: "Sir, when I have you with me I needs must ask you and enquire of you, for you show me all things and talk with me, but if I had seen or heard them without you, I should have asked the Lord that it might be explained to me."
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V

1. Εἴπον σοι, φησί, καὶ ἄρτι, ὅτι πανοῦργος εἶ καὶ αὐθάδης, ἐπερωτῶν τας ἐπιλύσεις τῶν παραβολῶν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὕτω παράμονος εἶ, ἐπιλύσω σοι τὴν παραβολὴν τοῦ ἄγρου καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν τῶν ἀκολούθων πάντων, ἵνα γνωστὰ πάσιν ποιήσῃς αὐτά. ἄκοου νῦν, φησί, καὶ σύνιε αὐτά. 2. ὁ ἄγρος ὁ κόσμος οὐτὸς ἔστιν· ὁ δὲ κύριος τοῦ ἄγρου ὁ κτισάς τὰ πάντα καὶ ἀπαρτίσας αὐτὰ καὶ δυναμός· ὁ δὲ δοῦλος ὁ νύς τοῦ θεοῦ ἔστιν· αἱ δὲ ἀμπελοὶ ὁ λαὸς οὐτὸς ἔστιν, ὅταν αὐτὸς ἐφύτευσε. 3. οἱ δὲ χάρακες οἱ ἄγιοι ἄγγελοι εἰς τὸν κυρίον οἱ συγκρατοῦντες τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ· αἱ δὲ βοτάναι αἱ ἐκτετιλμέναι ἐκ τοῦ ἀμπελάνοις ἀνομίας εἰς τῶν δούλων τοῦ θεοῦ. τὰ δὲ ἐδέσματα, ἀν ἐπέμψεν αὐτῷ ἐκ τοῦ δείπνου, αἱ ἐντολαὶ εἰς αὐτὸς καὶ ἐδώκε τῷ λαῷ αὐτοῦ διὰ τοῦ νῦν αὐτοῦ· οἱ δὲ φίλοι καὶ σύμβουλοι οἱ ἄγιοι ἄγγελοι οἱ πρῶτοι κτισθέντες· ἥ δὲ ἀποδημία τοῦ δεσπότου ὁ χρόνος ὁ περισσεύων εἰς τὴν παρουσίαν αὐτοῦ. 4. λέγω αὐτῷ. Κύριε, μεγάλως καὶ θαυμαστώς πάντα ἐστι καὶ ἐνδόξως πάντα ἔχει. μὴ οὖν, φησί, ἐνώ ἡ ὄνναν ταῦτα νοῦ ὑς; οὐδὲ ἔτερος τῶν ἄνθρωπων, καὶ λίαν συνετὸς ἡ τοίς, οὐ δύναται νοῆσαι αὐτά. ἐτι, φησί, κύριε, δῆλουσι νυ, δὲ μέλλω σε ἐπερωτᾶν. 5. Δέγε, φησί, εἰ τι βούλεις. Διατί, φησί, κύριε, ὁ νύς τοῦ θεοῦ εἰς δούλου τρόπον κεῖται εἰς τῇ παραβολῇ;

1 L, adds filius autem spiritus sanctus est. Cf. Sim. ix. 1. 1, ἑκεῖνο γὰρ τὸ πνεύμα ὁ νύς τοῦ θεοῦ ἔστιν.'

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V

1. "I told you," said he, "just now, that you are obstinate and importunate in asking for the explanations of the parable. But since you are so persistent I will explain to you the parable of the field and all the other consequences of it, that you may make them known to everyone. Listen, now," he said, "and understand it. 2. 'The field is this world,' and the Lord of the field is 'He who created everything' and perfected it and gave it strength. And the servant is the Son of God,¹ and the vines are this people which he planted. 3. And the fences are the holy Angels of the Lord who support his people. And the weeds which are pulled up out of the vineyard are iniquities of the servants of God. And the food which he sent to him from the supper is the commandments which he gave to his people through his Son, and the friends and counsellors are the holy Angels who were first created. And the absence of the Master² is the time which remains before his coming." 4. I said to him: "Sir, all is great and wonderful and all is glorious. How then," said I, "could I understand it? Nor is there any other man, however understanding he may be, who can understand it. Moreover, sir," said I, "explain to me what I am going to ask you." 5. "Say," said he, "what you wish." "Why," said I, "sir, is the Son of God in the parable given the form of a servant?"

¹ With the text given it must be noted that the Son in the parable (Sim. v. ii. 6.) remains unexplained.
² The absence of the Master is not mentioned in the text of the parable; but see the critical note on Sim. v. 2, 2.

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1. Ἀκοῦε, φησίν· εἰς δούλου τρόπον οὐ κεῖται ὁ νῦν τοῦ θεοῦ, ἄλλῃ εἰς ἐξουσίαν μεγάλην κεῖται καὶ κυριότητα. Πώς, φημ, κύριε, οὐ νοώ. 2. Ὅτι, φησίν, ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἀμπελῶνα ἐφύτευσε, τούτ' ἔστι τὸν λαὸν ἐκτισε καὶ παρέδωκε τῷ νῦν αὐτοῦ· καὶ ὁ νῦς κατέστησε τοὺς ἀγγέλους ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τοῦ συντηρεῖν αὐτούς· καὶ αὐτὸς τὰς ἀμαρτίας αὐτῶν ἐκαθάρισε πολλὰ κοπιάσας καὶ πολλοὺς κόπους ἤμπικὼς· οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἀμπελῶν δύναται σκαφῆναι ἀτερ κόπον ἢ μόχθου. 3. αὐτὸς οὐκ καθαρίσας τὰς ἀμαρτίας τοῦ λαοῦ ἐδείξει αὐτοῖς τὰς τράβους τῆς ζωῆς, δοὺς αὐτοῖς τὸν νόμον, ὅν ἔλαβε παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ. 4. δι' ὃ κύριος σύμβουλον ἔλαβε τὸν νῦν αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς ἐνδόξους ἀγγέλους περὶ τῆς κληρονομίας τοῦ δούλου, ἀκοῦε• 5. τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἀγίον τὸ προῶν, τὸ κτίσαν πᾶσαν τὴν κτίσιν, κατέφιξεν ὁ θεὸς εἰς σάρκα, δὴ ἦποιετο· αὐτὴ οὖν ἡ σάρξ, ἐν ἡ κατάκηκε τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ἐδουλεύει τῷ πνεύματι καλῶς ἐν σεμνότητι καὶ ἀγνείᾳ πορευθεῖσα, μηδὲν ὅλως μιάνασα τὸ πνεῦμα. 6. πολιτευσαμένη οὖν αὐτὴν καλῶς καὶ ἅγιον καὶ συγκοπιάσασαν τῷ πνεύματι καὶ συνεργήσασαν ἐν παντὶ πράγματι, ἱσχυρὸς καὶ ἀνδρείως ἀναστραφεῖσαν, μετὰ τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου εἰλατο κοινωνόν. ἦρεσε γὰρ ἡ

1 of LE, om. A.

2 L adds vides inquit dominum eum esse populi accepta a patre suo omni potestate, which the Editors are inclined to accept.

3 ἦρεσε Α, ἦρες τῷ θεῷ (or τῷ Κυρίῳ) L₁ L₂.

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VI

1. "LISTEN," said he: "The Son of God is not given the form of a servant, but is given great power and lordship." "How, sir?" said I, "I do not understand." 2. "Because God planted the vineyard," said he, "that is, created the people, and gave it over to his Son. And the Son appointed the angels over them to keep them. And he himself cleansed their sins, labouring much and undergoing much toil. For no vineyard can be dug without toil or labour. 3. When, therefore, he had cleansed the sins of the people, he showed them the ways of life, and gave them the law which he 'received from his Father.' 4. But listen why the Lord took his Son and the glorious angels as counsellors concerning the heritage of the servant. 5. The Holy Spirit which pre-exists, which created all creation, did God make to dwell in the flesh which he willed. Therefore this flesh, in which the Holy Spirit dwelled, served the Spirit well, walking in holiness and purity, and did not in any way defile the spirit. 6. When, therefore, it had lived nobly and purely, and had laboured with the Spirit, and worked with it in every deed, behaving with power and bravery, he chose it as companion with the Holy Spirit; for the conduct

1 The meaning is apparently that the flesh (i.e. the human being?), in which the Spirit had been incarnate, was elevated to be the companion, for the future, of the Father and of the Son who is the Spirit.
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πορεία τῆς σαρκὸς ταύτης, ὅτι οὐκ ἐμιάνθη ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἔχουσα τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἁγιόν. 7. σύμβουλον οὖν ἐλαβεῖ τὸν νῦν καὶ τοὺς ἀγγέλους τοὺς ἐνδόξους, ἵνα καὶ ἡ σάρξ αὐτῆς, δουλεύσασα τῷ πνεύματι άμέμπτως, σχῆ τόπον τινὰ κατασκηνώσεως καὶ μὴ δόξη τὸν μισθὸν τῆς δουλείας αὐτῆς ἀπολογλεκέναι. πᾶσα γὰρ σάρξ ἀπολήγεται μισθὸν ἡ εὐρεθεὶς άμίαντος καὶ ἀσπίλος, ἐν ἢ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἁγιόν κατέκησεν. 8. ἔχεις καὶ ταύτης τῆς παραβολῆς τὴν ἐπίλυσιν.

VII

1. Ἡφράνθην, φημί, κύριε, ταύτην τὴν ἐπίλυσιν ἄκοισας. Ἄκονε νῦν, φησὶ· τὴν σάρκα σου ταύτην φύλασσε καθαρὰν καὶ ἀμιαντον, ἵνα τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ κατοικοῦν ἐν αὐτῇ μαρτυρήσῃ αὐτῇ καὶ δικαιωθῇ σου ἡ σάρξ. 2. βλέπε, μήποτε ἀναβῇ ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν σου τὴν σάρκα σου ταύτην φθαρτὴν εἶναι καὶ παραχρήσῃ αὐτῇ ἐν μασμῷ τινὶ. ἐδὼ μιάνῃς τὴν σάρκα σου, μιανεῖς καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἁγιόν· ἐδὼ δὲ μιάνῃς τὴν σάρκα, οὐ χήσῃ. 3. Εἰ δὲ τίς, φημί, κύριε, γέγονεν ἄγνοια προτέρα, πρὶν ἄκουσθῶσι τὰ ῥήματα ταῦτα, πῶς σωθῆ τὸ ἀνθρώπος ὁ μιὰς τὴν σάρκα αὐτοῦ· Περὶ τῶν προτέρων, φησίν, ἄγγος ἀμάτων τῷ θεῷ μόνῳ δυνατὸν ἵασιν δούναι, αὐτοῦ

1 τῆς δουλείας ... μισθὸν om. A. The text is reconstructed from L.
2 σάρκα ALE, but the editors usually emend to τὸ πνεῦμα in the supposed interests of the sense.

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of this flesh pleased him, because it was not defiled while it was bearing the Holy Spirit on earth. 7. Therefore he took the Son and the glorious angels as counsellors, that this flesh also, having served the Spirit blamelessly, should have some place of sojourn, and not seem to have lost the reward of its service. For all flesh in which the Holy Spirit has dwelt shall receive a reward if it be found undefiled and spotless. 8. You have the explanation of this parable also."

VII

1. "I am glad, sir," said I, "to hear this explanation." "Listen, now," he said. "Guard this flesh of yours, pure and undefiled, that the spirit which dwells in it may bear it witness, and your flesh may be justified. 2. See to it, lest the idea enter your heart that this flesh of yours is mortal, and you abuse it in some defilement. For if you defile your flesh you defile also the Holy Spirit, and if you defile the flesh you shall not live." 3. "But, if, sir," said I, "there was any previous ignorance before these words were heard, how can the man who defiled his flesh be saved?" "For the former ignorances," said he, "it is possible for God

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Mt. 28, 18
γάρ ἐστι πᾶσα ἐξουσία, 1. 4. ἐὰν τὸ λοιπὸν μὴ μιᾶς σου τὴν σάρκα μηδὲ τὸ πνεῦμα· ἀμφότερα γὰρ κοινὰ ἐστι καὶ ἄτερ ἀλλήλων μανθήναι οὐ δύναται. ἀμφότερα οὐν καθαρὰ φύλασσε, καὶ "ξήσῃ τῷ θεῷ.

Παραβολὴ ἕ'

I

1. Καθήμενος ἐν τῷ οἶκῳ μου καὶ δοξάζων τὸν κύριον περὶ πάντων ὡς ἐφράκειν καὶ συζητῶν περὶ τῶν ἐντολῶν, ὑπερασπιζόμεθα καὶ ἐνίκησον καὶ δυνάμεις σαρκα ἄνθρωπον, ἔλεγον ἐν ἔμαντῳ· ἦλθον ἐν ἔμαντῳ· Μακάριος ἔσομαι, ἐὰν ταῖς ἐντολαῖς ταῦταις πορευθῇ, καὶ δὲ ἄν ταῦταις πορευθῇ, μακάριος ἐσται. 2. ὡς ταῦτα ἐν ἔμαντῳ ἔλαλον, βλέπω αὐτὸν ἐξαιρήσεις παρακαθήμενον μοι καὶ λέγοντα ταῦτα. Τι διψάχεις περὶ τῶν ἐντολῶν ὡς σοι ἐνετειλάμην; καλαί εἰσιν· δλας μὴ διψάχεσθε, ἀλλ' ἐνδυσάιι τὴν πίστιν τοῦ κυρίου, καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς πορευθῇ· ἐγὼ γάρ σε ἐνδυναμώσω ἐν αὐτοῖς. 3. αὐταί αἱ ἐντολαι σύμφοροι εἰς τοὺς μελλοντες μετανοεῖς· ἐὰν γὰρ μὴ πορευθῶσιν ἐν αὐτοῖς, εἰς μάθην ἐστὶν ἡ μετάνοια αὐτῶν. 4. οἱ οὖν μετανοοῦντες ἀποβάλλετε τὰς πονηρίας τοῦ αἰῶνος τοῦτον τὰς ἐκτριβούσας ὑμᾶς· ἐνδυσάμενοι δὲ πᾶσαι ἀρετὴν

1 Li(A) add (with some variations) sed nunc custodi te, et cum sit dominus omnipotens misericeors, prioribus admissis remedium dabit. The editors (probably rightly) usually accept this addition.

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THE SHEPHERD, sim. v. vii. 3–vi. i. 4

alone to give healing, for ‘he has all power,’ 4. if, for the future, you defile neither the flesh nor the spirit; for both are in communion, and neither can be defiled without the other. Keep, therefore, both pure, and you shall live to God.” 1

PARABLE 6

I

1. While I was seated in my house, and was glorifying the Lord for all that I had seen, and enquiring about the commandments because they were beautiful and joyful and glorious, and ‘able to save the soul’ of man, I said in myself: I shall be blessed if I ‘walk in these commandments,’ and whoever shall walk in them shall be blessed. 2. While I said this in myself I suddenly saw him seated by me, and saying this: “Why are you double-minded concerning the commandments which I commanded you? They are beautiful. Be not double-minded at all, but put on the faith of the Lord, and you shall walk in them, for I will strengthen you in them. 3. These commandments are helpful to those who are going to repent, for if they do not walk in them their repentance is in vain. 4. Do you, therefore, who repent, put away the wickednesses of this world which lead you astray, but if you put on all the virtue of righteous-

1 This is directed against the Gnostic tendency to divide flesh and spirit, and to regard the acts of the flesh as unimportant. Against this the church insisted on purity of life now, and on the hope of a resurrection of the flesh hereafter.
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dikaiosúnhe dvnhtsesthe tprhshai tás éntoláds taútas kai µèkéti proostihénai taí s ámbartías µúhn.1 poreúesthe suv tais éntolais mou taútas, kai zhsesthe tò theó. taúta pántha par' ému lelalhetai ùmúν. 5. kai metá tò taúta lahlshai autón met' ému, légei mou: "Agowmen eis àgroun, kai deìxw sou tôs poiménas tôs proobátovn. 1 Agowmen, phmí, kúrie. kai thômen eis tì pedíon, kai deiknúei mou poiména neanískon ènveduménon súnthèson iamatíov tô chrómati krokoðh. 6. ëboske dé proóstata polla lían, kai tà proóstata taúta òse truphônta òn kai lían stpatalónta kai ìlará òn skirtoúnta ònde kàkêis ε' kai autós d poimhí pánν ìlarós òn èptò tò poimínw autòw kai autí ò iđeá tòu poiméno ìlará òn lían, kai en tôs probstovs perimétrechē.

II

1. Kal légei mou: Òlepeis tôs poiménas toútvn; Òlepòw, phmí, kúrie. Óntos, phsíw, ánggelos tru- phíhs kai ápátis thsítv. óntos èktríbei tás ìfcházâ tòw dòulos toú theóu kai kastástrfêi autòv apó ths állhèías, ápátovn autòv ths tàis èpithomís thsión pothràís, en aìs àpòllhntai. 2. èpilavnáontai gar tôv ìntolóv toú theóu toú xótovs kai poréun- ontaî ápátais kai truphais matálais kai àpól- lhnait òpto toû ánggelov toútvn, tinà mev eis thánatov, tinà dé eis kastádhòran. 3. léghw autìv:

1 L adds nihil ergo adicientes plurimum ex prioribus recidetis.

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THE SHEPHERD, sim. vi. i. 4–ii. 3

ness, you shall be able to keep these commandments, and no longer add to your sins. Therefore walk in these commandments of mine, and you shall live to God. All these things have been spoken to you by me.” 5. And after he spoke these things with me, he said to me: “Let us go into the country, and I will show you the shepherds of the sheep.” “Let us go, sir,” said I. And we came into a plain, and he showed me a young shepherd, clothed with a suit of garments of yellow colour. 6. And he was feeding very many sheep, and these sheep were well fed and very frisky, and were glad as they skipped here and there. And the shepherd himself was very joyful over his flock, and the face of the shepherd was very joyful, and he ran about among the sheep.

II

1. And he said to me: “Do you see this shepherd?” “Yes, sir,” said I, “I see him.” “This,” said he, “is the angel of luxury and deceit. He wears out the souls of the servants of God, and perverts them from the truth, deceiving them with evil desires in which they perish. 2. For they forget the commandments of the Living God, and walk in deceit and vain luxury, and are destroyed by this angel, some to death, and some to corruption.” 3. I said to him: “Sir, I do not know what is
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Κύριε, οὐ γινώσκω ἐγώ, τί ἐστιν εἰς θάνατον καὶ τί εἰς καταφθοράν. ἀκούεις, φησίν; ἀ εἰδεῖς πρόβατα ἱλαρά καὶ σκιρτῶντα, οὔτοι εἰσὶν οἵ ἀπεσπασμένοι ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ εἰς τέλος καὶ παραδεδωκότες ἑαυτοὺς ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις τοῦ αἰώνος τούτου. ἐν τούτοις οὖν μετανοια ξωῆς οὐκ ἔστιν, ὅτι προσέθηκαν ταῖς ἀμαρτίαις αὐτῶν καὶ εἰς τὸ ὅνομα τοῦ θεοῦ ἐβλασφήμησαν. τῶν τοιούτων οὖν ὁ θάνατος ἔστιν. 4. ἂ δὲ εἰδεῖς πρόβατα μὴ σκιρτῶντα, ἀλλ' ἐν τόπῳ ἐνι βοσκόμενα, οὗτοι εἰσίν οἱ παραδεδωκότες μὲν ἑαυτοὺς ταῖς τρυφαῖς καὶ ἀπάταις, εἰς δὲ τὸν κύριον οὐδὲν ἐβλασφήμησαν. οὗτοι οὖν κατεφθαρμένοι εἰσίν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀληθείας. ἐν τούτοις ἐλπίς ἐστὶ μετανοίας, ἐν ἣ δύνανται ζῆσαι. ἡ καταφθορὰ οὖν ἐπὶ ἔχει ἀνανεώσεως τινος, ὅ δὲ θάνατος ἀπώλειαν ἔχει αἰώνιον. 5. πάλιν προέβην ἡ μικρόν, καὶ δεικνύει μοι ποιμένα μέγαν ὡσεὶ ἀγρίον τῇ ἱδέᾳ, περικείμενον δέρμα αἰγείου λευκοῦ, καὶ πήραν τινὰ εἶχεν ἐπὶ τῶν άμων καὶ ράβδον σκληρὰν λινὰν καὶ ὄξους ἔχουσαν καὶ μάστυγα μεγάλην καὶ τὸ βλέμμα εἶχε περίπτερον, ὡστε φοβηθῆναι με αὐτὸν· τοιούτον εἶχε τὸ βλέμμα. 6. οὕτως οὖν ὁ ποιμὴν παρελάμβανε τὰ πρόβατα ἀπὸ τοῦ ποιμένος τοῦ νεανίσκου, ἐκεῖνα τὰ σπαταλώντα καὶ τρυφώντα, μὴ σκιρτῶντα δὲ, καὶ ἐβαλεν αὐτὰ εἰς τινὰ τόπον κρημνώδη καὶ ἀκανθώδη καὶ τριβολώδη, ὡστε ἀπὸ τῶν ἀκανθῶν καὶ τριβολῶν μὴ δύνασθαι ἐκπλέξαι τὰ πρόβατα, ἀλλ' ἐμπλέκεσθαι εἰς τὰς

1 The preceding seven lines (ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις . . . . ἑαυτοῖς) are omitted in A, but are found in Ath. LE, though with much minor variation. 2 προέβην ΑΕ, προέβημεν Λ.
THE SHEPHERD, sim. vi. ii. 3-6

death,' and what is 'to corruption.' " "Listen," he said, "the sheep which you see joyful and skipping, these are those which have been torn away from God completely, and have given themselves up to the lusts of this world. For these, then, there is no repentance of life, because they added to their sins and blasphemed against the name of God. Such men incur death. 4. But the sheep which you see not skipping, but feeding in one place, these are they who have given themselves up to luxury and deceit, but have uttered no blasphemy against the Lord. These then have been corrupted from the truth; in them there is hope of repentance, in which they can live. Corruption, then, has hope of some renewing, but death has eternal destruction." 5. Again I went on a little, and he showed me a great shepherd, as it were savage in appearance, clothed in a white goat-skin, and he had a bag on his shoulders, with a great staff, very hard and with knots, and a great whip. And he looked very bitter so that I was afraid of him, such a look had he. 6. This shepherd then was receiving the sheep from the young shepherd; that is to say, those who were frisky and well-fed but not skipping, and put them in a certain place precipitous and thorny and full of thistles, so that the sheep could not disentangle themselves from the thorns and thistles, but were
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άκάνθας καὶ τριβόλους. 7. ταῦτα οὖν ἐμπεπλεγμένα ἐβόσκοντο ἐν ταῖς ἀκάνθαις καὶ τριβόλοις καὶ λίαν ἐταλαιπώρουν δαιρόμενα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁδε κάκεισε περιήλαυνεν αὐτὰ καὶ ἀνάπαυσιν αὐτοῖς οὖν ἐδίδου, καὶ ὅλως οὖν ἑυσταθοῦσαν τὰ πρόβατα ἐκεῖνα.

III

1. Βλέπων οὖν αὐτὰ οὖτω μαστιγούμενα καὶ ταλαιπωρούμενα ἐλυποῦμην ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, ὅτι οὖτως ἐβασανίζοντο καὶ ἀνοχὴν ὅλως οὖν εἶχον. 2. λέγω τῷ ποιμένι τῷ μετ' ἐμοῦ λαλοῦντι. Κύριε, τίς ἐστὶν οὗτος ὁ ποιμὴν ὁ οὖτως ἀσπλαγχιούς καὶ πικρός καὶ ὅλως μὴ σπλαγχνιζομένος ἐπὶ τὰ πρόβατα ταῦτα; Οὗτος, φησίν, ἐστὶν ὁ ἄγγελος τῆς τιμωρίας. ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἀγγέλων τῶν δικαίων ἐστὶν, κείμενος δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς τιμωρίας. 3. παραλαμβάνει οὖν τοὺς ἀποτολμημένους ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πορευθέντας ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις καὶ ἀπάταις τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου καὶ τιμωρεῖ αὐτοὺς, καθὼς ἄξιοί εἰσιν, δεινοῖς καὶ ποικίλαις τιμωρίαις. 4. Ἡθελον, φησίν, κύριε, γνώναι τὰς ποικίλας ταῦτας τιμωρίας, ποταπαί εἰσιν. Ἀκούεῐ, φησίν, τὰς ποικίλας βασάνους καὶ τιμωρίας. Καὶ πολλὰς εἰσὶν αἱ βάσανοι τιμωροῦνται γὰρ οἱ μὲν ζημίαις, οἱ δὲ υστερήσειν, οἱ δὲ ἀσθενείας ποικίλαις, οἱ δὲ πάση ἀκαταστασίας, οἱ δὲ υβριζόμενοι ύπὸ ἀναξίων καὶ ἔτεραις πολλαῖς πράξει πάσχοντες. 5. πολλοὶ γὰρ ἀκαταστατοῦντες ταῖς βουλαῖς τὰς τιμωρίας ταῦτας τιμωρίας A(E).

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THE SHEPHERD, sim. vi. ii. 6–iii. 5

cought in the thorns and thistles. 7. These then were being pastured all entangled in the thorns and thistles, and they were very wretched, being beaten by him, and he was driving them about here and there, and gave them no rest, and those sheep had no happy time at all.

III

1. When therefore I saw them thus beaten and miserable I grieved for them that they were being so tormented, and had no rest at all. 2. I said to the shepherd who was speaking with me: "Sir, who is this shepherd who is so pitiless and bitter, and has no compassion at all on these sheep?" "This," said he, "is the angel of punishment. He is one of the righteous angels, but is set over punishment. 3. Therefore he receives those who have wandered away from God, and walked in the lusts and deceits of this world, and punishes them, as they deserve, with various terrible punishments." 4. "I should like, sir," said I, "to know these different punishments, of what kind they are." "Hear," said he, "the different tortures and punishments. The tortures befall them in this life, for some are punished with loss, others with deprivations, others with divers illnesses, others with all unsettlement, and others are insulted by the unworthy, and suffer many other things. 5. For many have been unsettled in their
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αὐτῶν ἐπιβάλλονται πολλά, καὶ οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ὀλος προχωρεῖ. καὶ λέγουσιν ἔαντος μὴ εὐθοδοὺσθαι ἐν ταῖς πράξεσιν αὐτῶν, καὶ οὐκ ἀναβαίνει αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν, ὅτι ἔπραξαν πονηρὰ ἔργα, ἀλλ' αἰτιῶνται τὸν κύριον. 6. ὅταν οὖν θλιβώσι πάση θλίψει, τότε ἐμοὶ παραδίδονται εἰς ἀγαθὴν παίδειαν καὶ ἱσχυροποιοῦνται ἐν τῇ πίστει τοῦ κυρίου καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς ἑμέρας τῆς ζωῆς αὐτῶν δουλεύουσι τῷ κυρίῳ ἐν καθαρᾷ καρδίᾳ. ἦν δὲ μετανοήσωσι, τότε ἀναβαίνει ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν αὐτῶν τὰ ἔργα ἐπὶ ἐπράξαν πονηρὰ, καὶ τότε δοξάζουσι τὸν θεόν, λέγοντες, ὅτι δίκαιως κριθήστηκαί στὶ καὶ δικαιῶς ἐπαθον ἐκκατοστός κατὰ τὰς πράξεις αὐτῶν· δουλεύουσι δὲ λοιπὸν τῷ κυρίῳ ἐν καθαρᾷ καρδίᾳ ἕνα αὐτῶν καὶ εὐθοδοῦντα ἐν πάσῃ πράξει αὐτῶν, λαμβάνοντες παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου πάντα, ὅσα ἄν αἰτιῶνται καὶ τότε δοξάζουσι τὸν κύριον, ὅτι ἐμοὶ παρεδόθησαν, καὶ οὐκέτι οὐδὲν πάσχουσι τῶν πονηρῶν.

IV

1. Λέγω αὐτῷ· Κύριε, ἔτι μοι τοῦτο δήλωσον. Τίς φησίν, ἐπικήτεις; Εἰ ἀρα, φημί, κύριε, τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον βασανίζονται οἱ τρυφῶντες καὶ ἀπατώμενοι, ὅσον τρυφῶσι καὶ ἀπατώμενοι; λέγει μοι. Τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον βασανίζονται. 2. Ἐλάχιστον, φημί, κύριε, βασανίζονται. ἔδει γὰρ

1 ἦν δὲ μετανοήσωσι... καρδία L Ath., om. A.
2 ἔλαχιστον, φημί, κύριε, βασανίζονται om. A. The Greek is reconstructed from L.

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counsels and try many things, and nothing goes well for them at all. And they say that they do not prosper in their undertaking, and it does not enter into their hearts that they have done wicked deeds, but they blame the Lord. 6. When, therefore, they have been afflicted with every affliction, then they are handed over to me, for good instruction, and are made strong in the faith of the Lord, and they serve the Lord the rest of the days of their life 'with a pure heart.' And if they repent, then it enters into their hearts, that the deeds which they did were evil, and then they glorify God saying that he is 'a righteous judge,' and that they suffered righteously, 'each according to his deeds,' and for the future they serve the Lord with a pure heart, and they prosper in all their deeds, 'receiving from the Lord all things, whatever they ask;' and then they glorify the Lord that they were handed over to me, and they no longer suffer any of the evils.'

IV

1. I said to him: "Sir, tell me this also." "What more," said he, "do you ask?" "Whether, Sir," said I, "those who live in luxury and are deceived are punished for the same time as they live in luxury and deceit?" And he said to me: "Yes, they are punished the same time." 2. "Sir," said I, "they are punished a very short time, for those who live in
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tous ou'to trufwonte kai epilaunthanoynous tou theou epitateklois basanizesthai. 3. legei mou 'Afrwv ei kai o uvois ths basanou thn dynamhn. Ei gar evoun, fhm, kuri, ouk av epieirwton, oua mou delwss. 'Akoune, fhsin, amfoteres thn dynamhn. 4. ths trufh kai apth o chrwos swra esti mia. ths de basanou h swra triakonta hmerwn dynamh evxei. ean ouv mivan hmeran trufh ths kai aptith, mivan de hmeran basaniswv, oloun enianton iskhvei h hmera th basanou. osas ouv hmeras trufh ths, tosoiouv eniantwv basanizetai. blepveis ouv, fhsin, oti ths trufh kai apth o chrwos elechisthos esti, ths de timwria kai basanou polis.

V

1. 'Eti, fhm, kuri, ou evwnika olwv perl tou chrwou ths apth kai trufh kai basanou' talaugesterov mou delwson. 2. apokerdeis mou legei: 'H afrosunh sou paramonos esti, kai ou theleis sou thn kardian kathiriasi kai doulerein tw thei. blep, fhs, mptote o chrwos plhrotwv kai su afrown evrethi. 'Akoune ouv, fhs, kathw boylei, ina vohhe auta. 3. o trufwv kai apatwmenos mivan hmeran kai prassov, a boyletai, pollh afrosunn evnedutai kai ouv noeit thn praxein, hnu poiei eis thn auriou epilaunvaetai gar, ti pro mias eptraevi. h gar trufh kai apth mhmwv ouk evxei dia th afrosunn, hnu evnedutai, h de timwria kai h basanw othan kolhthei tw anvropwv mivan

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such luxury and forget God, ought to be punished sevenfold." 3. He said to me: "You are foolish, and do not understand the power of punishment." "No," said I, "Sir, for if I had understood it, I should not have asked you to tell me." "Listen," said he, "to the power of both. 4. The time of luxury and deceit is one hour, but the hour of punishment has the power of thirty days. If, therefore, any man live in luxury and deceit for one day, and be punished one day, the day of punishment has the power of a whole year, for a man is punished as many years as he has lived days in luxury. You see, therefore," said he, "that the time of luxury and deceit is very short, but the time of punishment is long.

V

1. "Sir," said I, "I still do not at all understand about the time of deceit and luxury and torture; explain it to me more clearly." 2. He answered and said to me: "Your foolishness is lasting, and you do not wish to purify your heart and to serve God. See to it," said he, "lest the time be fulfilled, and you be found still foolish. Listen, then," said he, "that you may understand it as you wish. 3. He who lives in luxury and deceit for a single day, and does what he likes, is clothed with great foolishness, and does not understand the deed which he is doing. For he forgets to-morrow what he did yesterday. For luxury and deceit have no memory, because of the foolishness which they have put on. But when punishment and torture cleave to a man for a single
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ημέραν, μέχρις ἐναντίου τιμωρεῖται καὶ βασανίζεται· μνήμας γὰρ μεγάλας ἔχει ἡ τιμωρία καὶ ἡ βάσανος. 4. βασανίζομενος οὖν καὶ τιμωρούμενος ὅλου τὸν ἐναντίον, μημονεύει τότε τῆς τρυφῆς καὶ ἀπάτης καὶ γινώσκει, ὅτι δὲ αὐτὰ πάσχει τα πονηρά. τὰς οὖν ἀνθρώπους ὁ τρυφῶν καὶ ἀπατώμενος οὖτω βασανίζεται, ὅτι ἔχαντες ζωὴν εἰς θάνατον ἐαυτοῦς παραδέδωκασί. 5. Ποιαί, φημί, κύριε, τρυφαί εἰσι βλαβεραί; Πάσα, φησί, πράξεις τρυφή έστι τῷ ἄνθρωπῳ, ὃ ἐὰν ἤδεως ποιήσει καὶ γὰρ ὁ δέος ὑμῶν τῷ ἐαυτοῦ πάθει τὸ ἰκανὸν ποιῶν τρυφὴν καὶ ό μοιχὸς καὶ ό μέθυσος καὶ ὁ κατάλαλος καὶ ὁ ψεύτης καὶ ὁ πλεονέκτης καὶ ὁ ἀποστερητὴς καὶ ὁ τούτως τὰ ὅμως ποιῶν τῇ ἱδίᾳ νόσῳ τὸ ἰκανὸν ποιεῖ· τρυφά οὖν ἐπὶ τῇ πράξει αὐτοῦ. 6. αὐταὶ πάσαι αἱ τρυφαὶ βλαβεραί εἰσι τοὺς δούλους τοῦ θεοῦ. διὰ ταύτας οὖν τὰς ἀπάτας πάσχουσιν οἱ τιμωρούμενοι καὶ βασανίζομενοι. 7. εἰσὶν δὲ καὶ τρυφαὶ σώζονται τοὺς ἀνθρώπους· πολλοὶ γὰρ ἁγαθὸν ἐργαζόμενοι τρυφῶσι τῇ ἐαυτῶν ἠδονῆς φερόμενοι· αὐτὴ οὖν ἡ τρυφή σύμφορος ἐστὶ τοῖς δούλοις τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ζωὴν περιποιεῖται τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τῷ τοιοῦτῳ· αἱ δὲ βλαβεραὶ τρυφαὶ αἱ προειρημέναι βασάνους καὶ τιμωρίας αὐτοῖς περιποιοῦνται· εὰν δὲ ἐπιμένωσι καὶ καθιστώσι καθιστώσι, θάνατον ἐαυτοῖς περιποιοῦνται.

Παραβολή ξ’

1. Μετὰ ημέρας ὅλιγας εἶδον αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ πεδίον τὸ αὐτὸ, ὅπου καὶ τοὺς ποιμένας ἐφράκειν,
day, he is punished and tortured for a year, for punishment and torture have long memories. 4. Therefore, being tortured and punished for a whole year, he then remembers his luxury and deceit, and knows that he is suffering evil because of them. Therefore, all men who live in luxury and deceit are thus tortured, because though they have life, they have given themselves over to death.” 5. “What sort of luxuries, Sir,” said I, “are harmful?” “Every act which a man does with pleasure,” said he, “is luxury, for even the ill-tempered man, by giving satisfaction to his own temper, lives luxuriously. And the adulterer and drunkard and evil-speaker and liar, and the covetous and the robber, and he who does such things as these gives satisfaction to his own disease; therefore he lives in luxury from his own acts. 6. All these luxuries are harmful to the servants of God. Those, therefore, who are punished and tortured suffer, because of these deceits. 7. But there are also luxuries which bring men salvation, for many who do good luxuriate and are carried away with their own pleasure. This luxury therefore is profitable to the servants of God, and brings life to such a man. But the harmful luxuries spoken of already bring them torture and punishment. But if they continue in them and do not repent, they procure death for themselves.

Parable 7

1. After a few days I saw him in the same plain, where I had also seen the shepherds, and he said to
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καὶ λέγει μοι. Τι ἐπιζητεῖς; Πάρεμι, φημί, κύριε, ἵνα τὸν ποιμένα τὸν τιμωρητὴν κελεύῃς ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου μου ἔξελθεῖν, ὅτι λιῶν με θλίβει. Δεῦ σε, φησί, θλιβήναι: οὕτω γάρ, φησί, προσέταξαν ὁ ἐνδοξὸς ἄγγελος τὰ περὶ σοῦ θέλει γάρ σε πειρασθῆναι. Τι γάρ, φημί, κύριε, ἐποίησα οὕτω πονηρῶν, ἵνα τῷ ἄγγελῳ τούτῳ παραδοθῶ; 2. Ἀκούε, φησί: αἱ μὲν ἀμαρτίαι σου πολλαί, ἀλλ’ οὐ τοσαῦτα, ὡστε τῷ ἄγγελῳ τούτῳ παραδοθῆναι: ἀλλ’ ὁ οἶκός σου μεγάλας ἀνομίας καὶ ἀμαρτίας εἰργάσατο, καὶ παρεπικράθη ὁ ἐνδοξὸς ἄγγελος ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐργοῖς αὐτῶν καὶ διὰ τούτο ἐκέλευσε σε χρόνον τινὰ θλιβῆναι, ἵνα κάκεινοι μετανοήσωσι καὶ καθαρίσωσιν ἑαυτοὺς ἀπὸ πάσης ἐπιθυμίας τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου. ὅταν οὖν μετανοήσωσι καὶ καθαρισθῶσι, τότε ἀποστῆσεται ἀπὸ σοῦ ὁ ἄγγελος τῆς τιμωρίας. 3. λέγω αὐτῷ: Κύριε, εἰ ἐκεῖνοι τοιαῦτα εἰργάσαντο, ἵνα παρεπικράθη ὁ ἐνδοξὸς ἄγγελος, τί ἔγω ἐποίησα; 'Αλλας, φησίν, οὐ δύνανται ἐκεῖνοι θλιβῆναι, ἐὰν μὴ σὺ ἡ κεφαλὴ τοῦ οἴκου θλιβῆς. σοῦ γὰρ θλιβομένου ἐξ ἀνάγκης κάκεινοι θλιβῆσονται, εὐσταθοῦντος δὲ σοῦ οὐδεμιᾶν δύνανται θλῆσιν ἔχειν. 4. 'Αλλ’ ἰδοὺ, φημί, κύριε, μετανεονήκασιν ἐξ ὀλης καρδίας αὐτῶν. Οἶδα, φησί, κἀγὼ, ὅτι μετανεονήκασιν ἐξ ὀλης καρδίας αὐτῶν: τῶν οὖν μετανοοῦντων εὐθὺς 2 δοκεῖς τὰς ἀμαρτίας ἀφίσθαι; οὐ παντελῶς: ἀλλὰ δεῖ τῶν μετανοοῦντα βασανίσαι τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ψυχήν καὶ ταπεινοφορῆσαι ἐν πάσῃ πράξει αὐτοῦ ἰσχυρῶς καὶ θλιβῆσαι ἐν πάσαις θύσεις ποικίλαις: καὶ ἐὰν

1 ἀπὸ σοῦ LE, om. A.  
2 εὐθὺς LE, om. A.
me: "What more are you seeking?" "I have come here, Sir," said I, "in order that you may command the shepherd of punishment to depart from my house, because he afflicts me too much." "You must be afflicted," said he, "For thus," said he, "the glorious angel enjoined concerning you. For he wishes you to be tried." "Yes, Sir," said I, "but what have I done so wicked, that I should be handed over to this angel?" 2. "Listen," said he, "your sins are many, but not so great as that you should be handed over to this angel; but your family has done great iniquity and sin, and the glorious angel has become enraged at their deeds, and for this reason he commanded you to be afflicted for some time, that they also may repent and purify themselves from every lust of this world. When, therefore, they repent, and have been purified, then the angel of punishment will depart from you." 3. I said to him: "Sir, even if they have done such things that the glorious angel is enraged, what have I done?" "They cannot," said he, "be punished in any other way, than if you, the head of the house, be afflicted. For when you are afflicted, they also will necessarily be afflicted, but while you prosper, they cannot suffer any affliction." 4. "But see, Sir," said I, "they have repented with all their heart." "I know," said he, "myself also, that they have repented with all their heart; do you then think that the sins of those who repent are immediately forgiven? By no means; but he who repents must torture his own soul, and be humble in all his deeds and be afflicted with many divers afflictions. And if
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ὑπενέγκη τας θλίψεις τας ἐπερχομένας αὐτῷ, πάντως ἐπιλαμβάνονται οὶ τὰ πάντα κτίσεις καὶ ἐνδυνάμωσι γὰρ ἴσαν τινα δώσει αὐτῷ. 5. καὶ τοῦτο πάντως, ἐὰν ἵδη τὴν καρδίαν τοῦ μετανοοῦντος καθαρὰν ἀπὸ παντὸς πονηροῦ πράγματος. σοὶ δὲ συμφέρον ἐστὶ καὶ τῷ οἴκῳ σου νῦν θλίβηναι. τί δὲ σοι πολλὰ λέγω; θλίβηναι σε δεῖ, καθὼς προσέπαξεν ὁ ἄγγελος κυρίου ἐκεῖνος, ὁ παραδίδοται σε ἐμοὶ καὶ τοῦτο εὐχαρίστει τῷ κυρίῳ, ὅτι ἠξιόν σε ἡγεσάτο τοῦ προδηλώσαι σοι τὴν θλίψιν, ὅσα προγνοὺς αὐτὴν ὑπενέγκησι ἱσχυρῶς. 6. λέγω αὐτῷ. Κύριε, σὺ μετ’ ἐμοῦ γίνον, καὶ δυνήσομαι πᾶσαν θλίψιν ὑπενέγκειν. Ἐγὼ, φησίν, ἔσομαι μετὰ σοῦ ἐρωτὴσώ δὲ καὶ τὸν ἄγγελον τὸν τιμωρητὴν, ἵνα σε ἐλαφροτέρως θλίψῃ ἀλλ᾽ ὁ λόγος χρόνον θλιβήσῃ καὶ πᾶλιν ἀποκατασταθήσῃ εἰς τὸν οἶκὸν σου, μόνον παράμεινον ταπεινοφρονῶν καὶ λειτουργῶν τῷ κυρίῳ ἐν πάσῃ καθαρᾷ καρδίᾳ, καὶ τὰ τέκνα σου καὶ τὸν οἶκόν σου, καὶ πορεύον ἐν ταῖς ἐντολαῖς μου ἂν σοι ἐντελέσῃς, καὶ δυνήσεται σου ἡ μετάνοια ἵσχυρα καὶ καθαρὰ εἶναι. 7. καὶ ἐὰν ταῦτας φυλάξῃς μετὰ τοῦ οἶκου σου, ἀποστήσεται πᾶσα θλίψις ἀπὸ σου· καὶ ἀπὸ πάντων δὲ, φησίν, ἀποστήσεται θλίψις. δοσι fodder εἰπὲν ταῖς ἐντολαῖς μου ταύτας πορευθῶς.
he endure the afflictions which come upon him he who 'created all things' and gave them power will have compassion in all ways upon him, and will give him some measure of healing; 5. and this in every case when he sees that the heart of the penitent is clean from every evil deed. But it is good for you and for your house, to suffer affliction now. But why do I say much to you? you must be afflicted, even as that angel of the Lord, who handed you over to me, ordained. And give the Lord thanks for this, because he deemed you worthy to show you the affliction beforehand, that in your foreknowledge you may endure it with strength." 6. I said to him: "Sir, do you be with me, and I shall be able to endure every affliction." "Yes," said he, "I will be with you, and I will also ask the angel of punishment to afflict you more lightly. But you shall be afflicted a little time and you shall be restored again to your house. Only continue humble and serving the Lord with a pure heart, both your children and your household, and walk in my commandments which I give you, and your repentance shall be able to be strong and pure. 7. And if you keep these commandments with your family all affliction shall depart from you. Yes," said he, "and affliction shall depart from all who walk in these my commandments."
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Παραβολή η'

1. Ἐδειξέ μοι ἵτεαν μεγάλην, σκεπάζονσαν πεδία καὶ ὅρη, καὶ ὑπὸ τὴν σκέπην τῆς ἱτεάς πάντες ἐληλύθασιν οἱ κεκλημένοι ἐν οἴνοματι κυρίον. 2. εἰστήκει δὲ ἄγγελος κυρίου ἐνδοξός λίαν ψηλός παρὰ τὴν ἱτεάν, ὄρεσαν εὖχων μέγα, καὶ ἐκοππεῖ κλάδους ἀπὸ τῆς ἱτεάς, καὶ ἐπεδίδου τῷ λαῷ τῷ σκεπαζομένῳ ὑπὸ τῆς ἱτεάς· μικρὰ δὲ ῥαβδία ἐπεδίδου αὐτοῖς, ὅσεὶ πηχυαία. 3. μετὰ τὸ πάντας λαβεῖν τὰ ῥαβδία ἔθηκε τὸ ὄρεσαν ὁ ἄγγελος, καὶ τὸ δένδρον ἑκεῖνο οὐγίας ἦν, οἶνον καὶ ἑωράκειν αὐτό. 4. ἔθαμαζον δὲ ἐγὼ ἐν ἐμαυτῷ λέγων· Πῶς τοσοῦτων κλάδων κεκομενῶν τὸ δένδρον οὐγίας ἐστιν; λέγει μοι ὁ ποιμὴν· Μὴ θαύμαζε, εἰ τὸ δένδρον τούτῳ οὐγίας ἐμεινε τοσοῦτων κλάδων κοπέντων· ἔαν δὲ, φησί, πάντα ἰδης, σοι δηλωθήσεται τὸ τί ἐστιν. 5. ὁ ἄγγελος ὁ ἐπιδεδωκὼς τῷ λαῷ τὰς ῥάβδους πάλιν ἀπήτευ αὐτούς· καὶ καθὼς ἔλαβον, οὕτω καὶ ἐκαλοῦντο πρὸς αὐτὸν, καὶ εἷς ἑκαστὸς αὐτῶν ἐπεδίδου τὰς ῥάβδους. ἐλάμβανε δὲ ὁ ἄγγελος τοῦ κυρίου καὶ κατενάχθη αὐτάς. 6. παρὰ τινών ἐλάμβανε τὰς ῥάβδους ξηρὰς καὶ βεβρωμένας ὡς ὑπὸ σητῶς· ἐκέλευσεν ὁ ἄγγελος τοὺς τὰς τοιαῦτας ῥάβδους ἐπιδεδωκότας χωρὶς ἰστάνεσθαι. 7. ἔτεροι δὲ ἐπεδίδοσαν ξηρὰς, ἀλλὰ οὖν ἦσαν βεβρωμέναι ὑπὸ σητῶς· καὶ τούτους

1 λέγων... ἐστι om. L and probably PBerl.
2 ἔαν PBerl, ἀφ’ ἢς A, LE paraphrases.
Parable 8

I

1. He showed me a great willow, covering plains and mountains, and under the cover of the willow-tree all had come who were called by the name of the Lord. 2. And there stood an angel of the Lord, glorious and very tall, by the side of the willow, with a great pruning-hook, and he kept cutting branches from the willow, and gave them to the people who were in the shade of the willow, and he gave them little rods about a cubit long. 3. After they had all received the little sticks the angel put down the pruning-hook, and that tree remained as sound as when I first saw it. 4. And I wondered in myself saying: How is the tree sound, when so many branches have been cut off? The shepherd said to me: "Do not wonder that this tree has remained sound, though so many branches have been cut off; but if you see everything it will be made clear to you what it is." 5. The angel who had given the sticks to the people asked them back, and as they had received so also they were called to him, and each of them gave back the sticks. And the angel of the Lord took them and looked at them. 6. From some he received the sticks dried and, as it were, moth-eaten. The angel commanded those who had given up such sticks, to stand apart. 7. And others gave up dry sticks, but they were not moth-eaten, and these he commanded
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ἐκέλευσεν χωρίς ἱστάνσθαι. 1 Ετεροι δὲ ἐπεδίδουν ἡμιξύρου καὶ οὗτοι χωρίς ἱστάντο. 9. Ετεροι δὲ ἐπεδίδουν τὰς βάσιν αὐτῶν ἡμιξύρου καὶ σχισμᾶς ἐχούσας καὶ οὗτοι χωρίς ἱστάντο. 10. Ετεροι δὲ ἐπεδίδουν τὰς βάσιν αὐτῶν χωρᾶς καὶ σχισμᾶς ἐχούσας καὶ οὗτοι χωρίς ἱστάντο. 11. Ετεροι δὲ ἐπεδίδουν τὰς βάσιν τὸ ἡμισθος ἐχρον καὶ τὸ ἡμισθον μέρος 3 χωρῶν καὶ οὗτοι χωρίς ἱστάντο. 12. Ετεροι δὲ προσέφερον τὰς βάσιν αὐτῶν τὰ δύο μέρη τῆς βάσιν χωρᾶ, τὸ δὲ τρέτον ἐχρον καὶ οὗτοι χωρίς ἱστάντο. 13. Ετεροι δὲ ἐπεδίδουν τὰ δύο μέρη ἐχρά, τὸ δὲ τρέτον χωρῶν καὶ οὗτοι χωρίς ἱστάντο. 14. Ετεροι δὲ ἐπεδίδουν τὰς βάσιν αὐτῶν παρὰ μικρὸν ὅλας χωρᾶς, ἑλάχιστον δὲ τῶν βάσιν αὐτῶν ἐχρον ἢ, αὐτὸ τὸ ἀκρον σχισμᾶς δὲ εἶχον ἐν αὐταῖς καὶ οὗτοι χωρίς ἱστάντο. 15. Ετεροι δὲ ἐν ἑλάχιστον χωρῶν, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ τῶν βάσιν ἐχρά καὶ οὗτοι χωρίς ἱστάντο. 16. Ετεροι δὲ ἡρχοντο τὰς βάσιν χωρᾶς φέροντες ὡς ἡλισθων παρὰ τοῦ ἄγγελου τὸ δὲ πλεῖον μέρος τοῦ ὅχλου τοιαύτας βάσιν ἐπεδίδουν. ὁ δὲ ἄγγελος ἐπὶ τούτοις ἑχάρη λίαν καὶ οὗτοι χωρὶς ἱστάντο. 17. Ετεροι δὲ ἐπεδίδουν τὰς βάσιν αὐτῶν χωρᾶς καὶ παραφύσας ἐχούσας καὶ οὗτοι χωρὶς ἱστάντο καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ ἄγγελος λίαν ἑχάρη. 18. Ετεροι δὲ ἐπεδίδουν τὰς βάσιν αὐτῶν χωρᾶς καὶ παραφύσας ἐχούσας αἱ δὲ

1 ἱστάνσθαι PBerl, ἱσταθαί A and so throughout this section.
2 Ετεροι . . . ἱστάντο, om. AL, 3 μέρος PBerl, om. A.
4 Ετεροι . . . ἑχάρη, retranslated from LE, om. A.
THE SHEPHERD, sim. viii. i. 7–18

to stand apart. 8. And others gave up sticks half dry, and these stood apart. 9. And others gave up their sticks half dry and with cracks, and these stood apart. 10. And others gave up their sticks, green and having cracks, and these stood apart. 11. And others gave up their sticks half dry and half green, and these stood apart. 12. And others brought two-thirds of the stick green, and one-third dry, and these stood apart. 13. And others gave up two-thirds dry, and one-third green, and these stood apart. 14. And others gave up their sticks almost wholly green, but a little of their sticks was dry, just the tip, and they had cracks in them, and these stood apart. 15. And of others there was very little green and the rest of the sticks was dry, and these stood apart. 16. And others came, bearing their sticks green, as they had received them from the angel, and the greater part of the multitude gave up such sticks, and the angel rejoiced greatly over these, and these stood apart. 17. And others gave up their sticks green and with buds, and these stood apart, and over these also the angel rejoiced greatly. 18. And others gave up their sticks green and with buds,
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παραφυάδες αὐτῶν ὅσεὶ καρπὸν τινα εἶχον καὶ λίαν ἰλαρὸν ἦσαν οἱ ἀνθρωποὶ ἔκεινοι, ὅν αἱ ῥάβδοι τοιαύται εὑρέθησαν. καὶ ὁ ἄγγελος ἐπὶ τούτοις ἤγαλλιάτο, καὶ ὁ ποιμὴν λίαν ἰλαρὸς ἦν ἐπὶ τούτοις.

II

1. Ἐκέλευσε δὲ ὁ ἄγγελος κυρίου στεφάνους ἐνεχθῆναι. καὶ ἐνέχθησαν στέφανοι ὅσεὶ ἐκ φοινίκων γεγονότες, καὶ ἐστεφάνωσε τοὺς ἀνδρας τοὺς ἐπὶ δεδωκότας τὰς ῥάβδους τὰς ἤχουσας τὰς παραφυάδας καὶ καρπὸν τινα καὶ ἀπέλυσεν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸν πύργον. 2. καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους δὲ ἀπέστειλεν εἰς τὸν πύργον, τοὺς τὰς ῥάβδους τὰς χλωρὰς ἐπὶ δεδωκότας καὶ παραφυάδας ἤχουσας, καρπὸν δὲ μὴ ἤχουσας τὰς παραφυάδας, δοὺς αὐτοῖς σφραγίδας. 3. ἰματισμὸν δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν πάντες εἴχον λευκὸν ὅσεὶ χίωνα, οἱ πορεύομενοι εἰς τὸν πύργον. 4. καὶ τοὺς τὰς ῥάβδους ἐπὶ δεδωκότας χλωρὰς ὡς ἠλαβον ἀπέλυσε, δοὺς αὐτοῖς ἰματισμὸν καὶ σφραγίδας. 5. μετὰ τὸ ταύτα τελέσαι τὸν ἄγγελον λέγει τῷ ποιμένι. Ἔγω ὑπάγω. σὺ δὲ τούτους ἀπολύσεις εἰς τὰ τείχη, καθὼς ἄξιός ἐστί τις κατοικεῖν. κατανόησον δὲ τὰς ῥάβδους αὐτῶν ἐπιμελῶς καὶ οὔτως ἀπόλυσον. ἐπιμελῶς δὲ κατανόησον. βλέπε, μὴ τίς σε παρέλθῃ, φησίν, εὰν δὲ τίς σε παρέλθῃ, ἐγὼ αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον δοκιμάσω. ταύτα εἶπὼν τῷ ποιμένι ἀπήλθε. 6. καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἀπελθεῖν τὸν ἄγγελον λέγει μοι ὁ ποιμήν. Δάβωμεν πάντων τὰς ῥάβδους καὶ φυτεύσωμεν αὐτάς, εἰ τινες εξ αὐτῶν δυνήσονται ζῆσαι.
and the buds had, as it were, some fruit. And those men whose sticks were found thus were very joyful, and the angel rejoiced and the shepherd was very joyful over them.

II

1. And the angel of the Lord commanded crowns to be brought, and crowns were brought, made, as it were, of palm leaves, and he crowned the men who had given up their sticks with buds and some fruit, and sent them away into the tower. 2. And he sent also the others into the tower who gave up their sticks green and with buds, but the buds without fruit, and he gave them seals. 3. And all who went into the tower had the same clothing, white as snow. 4. And he sent away those who had given up their sticks green, as they had received them, and gave them clothing and seals. 5. After the angel had finished this he said to the shepherd: “I am going away, but you shall send these within the walls, according as any is worthy to dwell there. But consider their sticks carefully and thus let them go, but look carefully. See to it that none pass you,” he said, “but if anyone pass you, I will test them at the altar.” When he had said this to the shepherd he departed. 6. And after the angel had departed the shepherd said to me: “Let us take the sticks of all of them, and plant them to see if some
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λέγω αὐτῷ· Κύριε, τὰ ἄστρα ταῦτα πῶς δύνανται ζήσαι; 7. ἀποκριθεὶς μοι λέγει· Τὸ δένδρον τοῦτο ἵτεά ἐστὶ καὶ φιλόξων τὸ γένος· ἐὰν οὖν φυτευθῶσι καὶ μικρὰν ἰκμάδα λαμβάνωσιν αἱ ῥάβδοι, ζήσονται πολλαὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν· εἴτε δὲ πειράσωμεν καὶ ὕδωρ αὐταῖς παραχέειν. εἰάν τις αὐτῶν δυνηθῇ ζῆσαι, συνχαρήσομαι αὐταῖς· εἰάν δὲ μὴ ζήσῃ, οὐχ εὐρεθήσομαι ἐγώ ἀμελής. 8. ἐκέλευσε δὲ μοι ὁ ποιμὴν καλέσαι, καθὼς τις αὐτῶν ἔστάθη. ἦλθον τάγματα τάγματα καὶ ἐπεδίδον ταῖς ῥάβδους τῷ ποιμένι· ἐλάμβανε δὲ ὁ ποιμὴν τὰς ῥάβδους καὶ κατὰ τάγματα ἐφύτευσεν αὐτὰς καὶ μετὰ τὸ φυτεύσαι ὕδωρ αὐταῖς πολὺ παρέχεειν, ὡστε ἀπὸ τοῦ ὤδατος μὴ φαίνεσθαι τὰς ῥάβδους. 9. καὶ μετὰ τὸ ποτίσαι αὐτοῦ τὰς ῥάβδους λέγει μοι· Ἄγωμεν ἡμῖν καὶ μετ’ ὅλ γας ἡμέρας ἐπανέλθωμεν καὶ ἐπισκευήσωμεν τὰς ῥάβδους πάσας· οὐ γὰρ κτίσας τὸ δένδρον τοῦτο θέλει πάντας ζήν τοὺς λαβόντας ἐκ τοῦ δένδρου τούτου κλάδους. ἐλπίζω δὲ κἀγὼ, ὅτι λαβόντα τὰ ραβδία ταῦτα ἰκμάδα καὶ ποτισθέντα ὤδατι ζήσονται τὸ πλεῖστον μέρος αὐτῶν.

III

1. Λέγω αὐτῷ· Κύριε, τὸ δένδρον τοῦτο γυνώρισόν μοι τί ἐστιν· ἀποροῦμαι γὰρ περὶ αὐτοῦ, ὅτε τοσοῦτοι κλάδων κοπέντων γυῖες ἐστὶ τὸ δένδρον καὶ οὐδὲν φαίνεται κεκομένον ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ· ἐν τούτῳ οὖν ἀποροῦμαι. 2. Ἐκακοῦε, φησί· τὸ δένδρον τοῦτο τὸ μέγα τὸ σκεπάζον πεδία καὶ ὀρη καὶ

1 Ἄγωμεν LE, om. A.
of them will be able to live.” I said to him: “Sir, how can these dry things live?” 7. He answered me, and said: “This tree is a willow, and is a species tenacious of life. If then, the sticks be planted and receive a little moisture, many of them will live; but next we must try them, and water them. If any of them can live I shall rejoice with them, and if they do not live I shall not be proved careless.” 8. And the shepherd commanded me to call each of them as they stood. They came, rank by rank, and gave up their sticks to the shepherd. And the shepherd took the sticks and planted them in ranks, and after planting them, poured much water round them, so that the sticks could not be seen for the water. 9. And after he had watered the sticks he said to me: “Let us go and come back after a few days, and visit all the sticks, for he who created this tree wishes all to live who received branches from this tree. And I too have hope for these sticks which have received moisture and been watered, that the greater part of them will live.”

1. I said to him: “Sir, tell me what this tree is. For I am perplexed about it, that although so many branches have been cut off, the tree is healthy, and nothing seems to have been cut from it; I am perplexed at this.” 2. “Listen,” said he, “this great tree, which covers plains and mountains and

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πάσαν την γῆν νόμος θεοῦ ἐστὶν ὁ οοθεὶς εἰς ὅλων τὸν κόσμον. ὁ δὲ νόμος οὗτος νῦν θεοῦ ἐστὶν κηρυχθεὶς εἰς τὰ πέρατα τῆς γῆς. οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ τὴν σκέπην λαοὶ ὄντες οἱ ἀκούσαντες τοῦ κηρύγματος καὶ πιστεύσαντες εἰς αὐτὸν. 3. ὁ δὲ ἀγγελος ὁ μέγας καὶ ἐνδοξος Μιχαὴλ ὁ ἔχων τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῦτον τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ διακυβερνῶν αὐτοῦς. 1 οὗτος γὰρ ἐστιν ὁ διδοὺς αὐτοῖς τὸν νόμον εἰς τὰς καρδίας τῶν πιστεύοντων ἐπισκέπτεται οὖν αὐτοὺς, οἷς ἔδωκεν, εἰ ἀρα τετηρήκασιν αὐτόν. 4. βλέπεις δὲ ἐνὸς ἐκάστου τὰς ῥάβδους. αἱ γὰρ ῥάβδοι ὁ νόμος ἔστιν. βλέπεις οὖν πολλὰς ῥάβδους ἡχρεωμένας, γνώσῃ δὲ αὐτοὺς πάντας τοὺς μὴ τηρήσαντας τὸν νόμον καὶ ὢψει ἐνὸς ἐκάστου τὴν κατοικίαν. 5. λέγω αὐτῷ. Κύριε, διατί οὐς μὲν ἀπελύσεν εἰς τὸν πύργον, οὔς δὲ σοὶ κατελείψεν; "Οσοι, φησὶ, παρέβησαν τὸν νόμον, ὅν ἔλαβον παρα αὐτοῦ, εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἐξουσίαν κατέλιπεν αὐτοὺς εἰς μετάνοιαν. ὦσοι δὲ ἦδη εὐηρέστησαν τῷ νόμῳ καὶ τετηρήκασιν αὐτόν, ὑπὲρ τὴν ἱδίαν ἐξουσίαν ἔχει αὐτοὺς. 6. Τίνες οὖν, φησί, κύριε, εἰςὶν οἱ ἐστεφανωμένοι καὶ εἰς τὸν πύργον ὑπάγοντες; "Οσοι, φησίν, ἀντεπάλασαν τῷ διαβόλῳ καὶ ἐνίκησαν αὐτόν, ἐστεφανωμένοι εἰς ἑαυτοῦ εἰς ὑπὲρ τοῦ νόμου παθόντες. 7. οἱ δὲ ἔτεροι καὶ αὐτοὶ χλωρὰς τὰς ράβδους ἑπιδεδωκότες καὶ παραφυάδας ἐχοῦσας, κατὰ τὸν δὲ μὴ ἐχοῦσας οἱ ὑπὲρ τοῦ νόμου θλιβέντες, μὴ

1 αὐτοὺς om. A.
2 ὦσοι... εἰς... retranslated from LE; instead of ἐνίκησαν editors usually read κατεπάλασαν, but this is not justified by the Latin (colluctati... vicerunt).

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all the earth, is God's law which was given to all the world. And this law is God's son preached to the ends of the earth. And those who are under its shade are nations which have heard the preaching and have believed in it. 3. And the great and glorious angel is Michael, who has power over this people and governs them; for this is he who put the law into the hearts of those who believe. Therefore he looks after those to whom he gave it to see if they have really kept it. 4. But you see the sticks of each one, for the sticks are the law. Therefore, you see that many sticks have been made useless, and you will understand, that they are all the men who have not observed the law; and you will see the dwelling of each one of them.” 5. I said to him: “Sir, why did he send some into the tower, and left some to you?” “All those who have transgressed against the law, which they received from him, he left to my authority for repentance. But as many as were already well-pleased with the law, and have observed it, he keeps them under his own authority.” 6. “Who then, Sir,” said I, “are they who were crowned and went into the tower?” “All those,” said he, “who wrestled with the devil and conquered him, have been crowned. These are they who suffered for the law. 7. And the others who also gave up their sticks green and having buds, but without fruit, are they who were persecuted for the law, but

1 But in Sim. ix. he is the Son of God. This together with the identification of the Son with the Spirit in Sim. ix. 1 (cf. Sim. v. 5) makes it very hard to reconstruct the Christology of Hermas. On the question of Michael see W. Lucken's Michael, Göttingen, 1898.
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παθόντες δὲ μηδὲ ἀρνησάμενοι τὸν νόμον αὐτῶν.
τὰ δὲ χλωρᾶσ ἐπιδεδωκότες, οίας ἔλαβον, σεμώνι
καὶ δίκαιοι καὶ λίαν πορευθέντες ἐν καθαρᾷ καρδία
καὶ τὰς ἐντολὰς κυρίου πεφυλακότες. τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ
γνώση, ὅταν κατανοῆσον τὰς ράβδους ταύτας τὰς
πεφυτευμένας καὶ πεποτισμένας.

IV

1. Καὶ μετὰ ἡμέρας ὄλγας ἠλθομεν εἰς τὸν
tόπον, καὶ ἐκάθισεν ὁ ποιμὴν εἰς τὸν τόπον τοῦ
ἀγγέλου, καὶ ὁ παρεστάθην αὐτῷ. καὶ λέγει 
μοί. Περίζωσαι ὁμόλινον καὶ διακόνει μοι. 
περιεξωσάμην ὁμόλινον ἐκ σάκκου γεγονὸς καθαρὸν.
2. ἤδὼν δὲ με περιεξωσμένον καὶ ἔτοιμον ὅτα 
tοῦ διακονεῖν αὐτῷ. Κάλει, φησί, τοὺς ἄνδρας, ὅν
εἰσιν αἱ ράβδοι πεφυτευμέναι, κατὰ τὸ τάγμα, ὡς
τις ἐδώκε τὰς ράβδους. καὶ ἀπῆλθον εἰς τὸ πεδίον
καὶ ἐκάλεσα πάντας· καὶ ἐστησάν πάντες τὰγμα τάγματα.
3. λέγει αὐτοῖς· Ἐκαστὸς τὰς ἰδίας
ράβδους ἐκτελάτω καὶ φερέτω πρὸς με. 4. πρῶ-
tοι ἐπέδωκαν οἱ τὰς ἡράς καὶ κεκομμένας
ἐσχηκότες, καὶ ὡς αὐτοὶ εὑρέθησαν ἡρᾶς καὶ
κεκομμέναι, ἐκέλευσεν αὐτοὺς χωρίς σταθῆναι.
5. εἰτα ἐπέδωκαν οἱ τὰς ἡρᾶς καὶ μὴ κεκομμένας
ἐχοντες· τινὲς δὲ εἰσ αὐτῶν ἐπέδωκαν τὰς ράβδους

1 καὶ διακόνει . . . ὁμόλινον om. A.
2 τάγμα τάγμα emended in accordance with Sim. viii.
ii. 8. A reads πάντα τά τάγμα: Funk emends to κατὰ
tάγματα.

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did not suffer, and did not deny their law. 8. And those who gave them up green, as they received them, are holy and righteous and have walked far with a pure heart, and have kept the commandments of the Lord. And the rest you will know, when I look at these sticks which have been planted and watered."

IV

1. And after a few days he came to the place, and the shepherd sat in the place of the angel, and I stood by him, and he said to me; "Gird yourself with a towel and serve me." And I girded myself with a clean towel made of sackcloth. 2. And when he saw me girded and ready to serve him he said: "Call the men whose sticks have been planted, according to the order in which each gave his stick." And I went into the plain and called all of them, and they all stood in their stations. 3. And he said to them: "Let each pull out his own stick and bring it to me." 4. And they first gave them up who had had them dry and cut, and they were found to be still dry and cut, and he commanded them to stand apart. 5. Then they gave them up who had them dry, but not cut, and some

1 'Suffer' means 'suffer a death of martyrdom,' and the law means the Christian rule of life, not (as in the N.T.) the Jewish Law.

2 The exact meaning of ωμάλινον is apparently 'made of undressed flax,' but it came to mean merely a towel.
χλωράς, τινὲς δὲ ξηρὰς καὶ κεκομμένας ὡς ὑπὸ σητός. τοὺς ἐπιδεδωκότας αὐτὸν χλωράς ἐκέλευσε χωρίς σταθήναι, τοὺς δὲ ξηρὰς καὶ κεκομμένας ἐπιδεδωκότας ἐκέλευσε μετὰ τῶν πρῶτων σταθήναι. 6. εἶτα ἐπέδωκαν οἱ τὰς ἡμίξερας καὶ σχισμὰς ἐχούσας· καὶ πολλοὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν χλωράς ἐπέδωκαν καὶ μὴ ἐχούσας σχισμὰς· τινὲς δὲ χλωράς καὶ παραφυάδας ἐχούσας καὶ εἰς τὰς παραφυάδας καρποὺς, οὗσι εἰχόν οἱ εἰς τὸν πύργον πορευθέντες ἐστεφανωμένοι. τινὲς δὲ ἐπέδωκαν ξηρὰς καὶ βεβρωμένας, τινὲς δὲ ξηρὰς καὶ ἀβρώτους, τινὲς δὲ οἱ τὰς ἡμίξερας καὶ σχισμὰς ἐχούσας. ἐκέλευσεν αὐτοὺς ἕνα ἐκαστὸν χωρίς σταθήναι, τοὺς μὲν πρὸς τὰ ἰδια τάγματα, τοὺς δὲ χωρίς.

V

1. Εἶτα ἐπέδιδον οἱ τὰς ράβδους χλωρὰς μὲν ἔχοντες, σχισμὰς δὲ ἐχούσας· οὔτοι πάντες χλωράς ἐπέδωκαν καὶ ἐστήσαν εἰς τὸ ἵδιον τάγμα. ἔχαρη δὲ ὁ ποιμὴν ἐπὶ τούτοις, ὅτι πάντες ἡλιοώθησαν καὶ ἀπέθετο τὰς σχισμὰς αὐτῶν.

2. ἐπέδωκαν δὲ καὶ οἱ τὸ ἡμί συν χλωρὸν, τὸ δὲ ἡμί συν ξηρὸν ἔχοντες· τινῶν οὖν εὐρέθησαν αἱ ράβδοι ὀλτελώς χλωραῖ, τινῶν ἡμίξηροι, τινῶν ξηραὶ καὶ βεβρωμέναι, τινῶν δὲ χλωραὶ καὶ παραφυάδας ἐχούσαι· οὔτοι πάντες ἀπελύθησαν ἐκαστὸς πρὸς τὸ τάγμα αὐτοῦ. 3. εἶτα ἐπέδωκαν οἱ τὰ δύο μέρη χλωρὰ ἔχοντες, τὸ δὲ τρίτον ξηρόν. πολλοὶ δὲ αὐτῶν χλωρὰς ἐπέδωκαν, πολλοὶ δὲ
of them gave up their sticks green and some dry and cut as it were by moth. Those then who gave them up green he commanded to stand apart, and those who had given them up dry and cut he commanded to stand with the first ones. 6. Then those gave them up who had them half dry and cracked, and many of them gave them up green and without cracks, and some green and with buds, and with fruit on the buds, as those had had who had gone crowned into the tower. But some gave them up dry and moth-eaten, and some dry but not eaten, and some remained half dry and with cracks. And he commanded each of them to stand apart, some in their own station and some apart.¹

V

1. Next those gave up their sticks who had had them green but with cracks, and these all gave them up green and stood in their own station. And the shepherd rejoiced over these that all were changed and had lost their cracks. 2. And those also gave them up who had had them half green and half dry. The sticks of some of them were found quite green, of some half dry, of some dry and moth-eaten, but of some green and with buds. All these were sent each to his own station. 3. Next those gave them up who had two-thirds green and one-third dry; many of

¹ This must mean that some were sent back to their original place, others were moved aside. But the text is obscure and probably corrupt.
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ἡμιξήρους, ἔτεροι δὲ ξηρὰς καὶ βεβρωμένας· οὕτω πάντες ἔστησαν εἰς τὸ ἱδίον τάγμα. 4. εἶτα ἐπέδωκαν οἱ τὰ δύο μέρη ξηρὰ ἔχοντες, τὸ δὲ τρίτον χλωρόν· πολλοὶ δὲ αὐτῶν ἡμιξήρους ἐπέδωκαν, τινὲς δὲ ξηρὰς καὶ βεβρωμένας, ἔτεροι δὲ ἡμιξήρους, καὶ σχειμάτα ἔχονσας, ὅλιγοι δὲ χλωράς· οὕτω πάντες ἔστησαν εἰς τὸ ἱδίον τάγμα. 5. ἐπέδωκαν δὲ οί τὰς ῥάβδους αὐτῶν χλωράς ἐσχηκότες, ἐλάχιστον δὲ ξηρὸν 2 καὶ σχειμάτα ἔχονσας· εἰ τούτων τινῶν χλωράς ἐπέδωκαν, τινὲς δὲ χλωράς καὶ παραφυάδας· ἐπήλθον καὶ οὕτω εἰς τὸ τάγμα αὐτῶν. 6. εἶτα ἐπέδωκαν οἱ ἐλάχιστον ἔχοντες χλωρόν, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ μέρη ξηρὰ· τούτων αἱ ῥάβδοι εὑρέθησαν τὸ πλεῖστον μέρος χλωράι καὶ παραφυάδας ἔχουσαι καὶ καρπὸν ἐν ταῖς παραφυάσι, καὶ ἔτεραι χλωραί ὄλαι. ἐπὶ ταύτας ταῖς ῥάβδοις ἐχάρῃ ο ποιμὴν λίαν μεγάλως, ὅτι οὕτως εὐρέθησαν. ἀπήλθον δὲ οὕτω ἐκαστὸς εἰς τὸ ἱδίον τάγμα.

VI

1. Μετὰ τὸ πάντων καταυσκησάς τὰς ῥάβδους τὸν ποιμένα λέγει μοι· Εἰπτὸν σοι, ὅτι τὸ δένδρον τοῦτο φιλόξων ἔστι. Βλέπεις, φησί, πόσοι μετενόησαν καὶ ἐσώθησαν· Βλέπω, φημί, κύριε. "Ἰνα ἰδῆς, φησί, τὴν πολυευσπλαγχνίαν τοῦ κυρίου, ὅτι μεγάλη καὶ ἐνδοξός ἔστι, καὶ ἐδώκε πνεύμα τοῖς ἄξιοις οὕτω μετανοίας. 2. Διατί οὖν, φημί, κύριε, πάντες οὐ μετενόησαν; Ὡν

1 εἶτα . . . τάγμα retranslated from LE, om. A.
2 ξηρὸν LE, om. A.

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THE SHEPHERD, sim. viii. v. 3–vi. 2

them gave them up green, but many half-dry, and others dry and moth-eaten; these all stood in their own station. 4. Next they gave them up who had had two-thirds dry, and one-third green. Many of them gave them up half-dry, and some dry and moth-eaten and others half-dry and with cracks, and a few green. These all stood in their own station. 5. And those gave up their sticks who had had them green, but a very little dry and with cracks. Of these some gave them up green, and some green and with buds. These also went away to their own station. 6. Next, those gave them up who had had a very little green, but the rest dry. Of these the sticks were found for the greatest part green and with buds, and fruit on the buds, and others quite green. Over these sticks the shepherd rejoiced greatly because they were found thus. And these went away each to his own station.

VI

1. After the shepherd had looked at the sticks of them all, he said to me: "I told you that this tree is tenacious of life. Do you see," said he, "how many have repented and been saved?" "Yes, Sir," said I, "I see it." "See then," said he, "the mercifulness of the Lord, that it is great and glorious, and he has given his spirit to those who are worthy of repentance." 2. "Why then, Sir," said I, "did not all
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eide, φησί, τὴν καρδίαν μέλλουσαν καθαρὰν γενέσθαι καὶ δουλεύειν αὐτῷ ἐξ ὅλης καρδίας, τούτως ἔδωκε τὴν μετάνοιαν· ὁν δὲ εἰδε τὴν δολιότητα καὶ πονηρίαν, μελλόντων ἐν ὑποκρίσει μετανοεῖν, ἐκείνους οὐκ ἔδωκε μετάνοιαν, μὴποτε πάλιν βεβηλώσωσι τὸ ὅνομα αὐτοῦ. 3. λέγω αὐτῷ· Κύριε, νῦν οὖν μοι δῆλωσον τοὺς τὰς ῥάβδους ἐπιδιδοκότας, ποταπὸς τις αὐτῶν ἐστί, καὶ τὴν τοῦτων κατοικίαν, ίνα ἀκούσαντες οἱ πιστεύσαντες καὶ εἰληφότες τὴν σφραγίδα καὶ τεθλακότες αὐτὴν καὶ μὴ τηρήσαντες ὑγιῆ, ἐπιγνώσας τὰ ἐαυτῶν ἔργα μενανοήσωσί, λαβόντες ὑπὸ σοῦ σφραγίδα, καὶ δοξάσωσι τὸν κύριον, ὅτι ἐσπλαγχνίσθη ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀπέστειλε σε τοῦ ἱνακατισία τὰ πνεύματα αὐτῶν. 4. Ἀκούει, φησίν· ὅν αἱ ῥάβδοι ἔηραί καὶ βεβρωμέναι ὑπὸ σητοῦ εὐρέθησαν, οὐτοὶ εἰσίν οἱ ἀποστάται καὶ προδόται τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ βλασφημήσαντες ἐν ταῖς ἀμαρτίαις αὐτῶν τὸν κύριον, ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἐπαισχύνθεντες τὸ ὅνομα κυρίου τὸ ἐπικληθὲν ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς. οὐτοὶ οὖν εἰς τέλος ἀπόλοντο τῷ θεῷ. βλέπεις δὲ, ὅτι οὐδὲ εἰς αὐτῶν μετενόησε, καὶ περ ἁκούσαντες τὰ ῥήματα, ἃ ἐλάλησας αὐτοῖς, ἃ σοι ἐνετειλάμην ἀπὸ τῶν τοιούτων ἢ ξοῆ ἀπέστη. 5. οἱ δὲ τὰς ἁγίας καὶ ἀσάπτους ἐπιδιδοκότας, καὶ οὗτοι ἐγνύταις αὐτῶν· ἥσαν γὰρ ὑποκρίται καὶ διδαχάς ἕνας εἰσφέροντες καὶ ἐκστρέφοντες τοὺς δούλους τοῦ θεοῦ, μᾶλλον δὲ τοὺς ἡμαρτηκότας, μὴ ἀφιέντες μετανοεῖν αὐτοὺς, ἀλλὰ ταῖς διδαχαῖς ταῖς μωραῖς πείθοντες αὐτοὺς. οὗτοι οὖν ἔχουσιν ἐλπίδα τοῦ μετανοῆσαι. 6. βλέπεις δὲ πολλοὺς ἐξ αὐτῶν καὶ μετανοεκοτας,
THE SHEPHERD, sim. viii. vi. 2–6

repent?". "He gave repentance to those," said he, "whose heart he saw would be pure, and would serve him with all their heart. But in whom he saw guile and wickedness, that they would repent with hypocrisy, to them he gave no repentance, lest they should again defile his name." 3. I said to him: "Sir, now therefore, explain to me those who gave up the sticks, what is the character of each and their dwelling, that when those hear who have believed and have received the seal, and have broken it, and have not kept it whole, they may recognize their own deeds, and repent, and receive a seal from you and glorify the Lord, that he had mercy on them, and sent you to renew their spirits." 4. "Listen," said he, "those whose sticks are dry and were found moth-eaten are the apostates and the betrayers of the Church, and blasphemers of the Lord in their sins; and moreover they were ashamed of 'the name of the Lord which was called over them.' These then have finally perished to God. And you see that not even one of them repented, although they heard the words which you spoke to them, which I commanded you; from such life is departed. 5. And they who gave up their sticks dry and not moth-eaten, these are also near them; for they were hypocrites, and introduced strange doctrines and corrupted the servants of God, and especially those who have sinned, not suffering them to repent, but persuading them with their foolish doctrines. These, then, have hope of repentance. 6. And you see that many of them have repented since I
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αφ' ἢς ἐλάλησα 1 αὐτοῖς τὰς ἐντολὰς μου· καὶ ἔτι μετανοήσουσιν. ὅσοι δὲ οὗ μετανοήσουσιν, ἀπώλεσαν τὴν ζωὴν αὐτῶν. ὅσοι δὲ μετενόησαν ἐξ αὐτῶν, ἀγαθοὶ ἐγένετο, καὶ ἐγένετο ἡ κατοικία αὐτῶν εἰς τὰ τείχη τὰ πρῶτα· τινὲς δὲ καὶ εἰς τὸν πύργον ἀνέβησαν. βλέπεις οὖν, φησίν, ὅτι ἡ μετάνοια τῶν ἁμαρτίων ζωὴν ἔχει, τὸ δὲ μὴ μετανοῆσαι θάνατον.

VII

1. "Οσοὶ δὲ ἡμιξήρους ἐπέδωκαν καὶ ἐν αὐταῖς σχισμάς εἶχον, ἀκούε καὶ περί αὐτῶν. ὅσων ἦσαν αἱ βάθοι ἡμιξηροὶ, 2 διψυχοὶ εἰσίν οὕτε γὰρ ζωὴν οὕτε τεθνήκασιν. 2. οἱ δὲ ἡμιξηροὶ ἔχουσαν καὶ εἰν αὐταῖς σχισμάς, οὕτως καὶ διψυχοὶ καὶ κατάλαλοι εἰσί καὶ μηδέποτε εἰρηνεύοντες εἰς ἑαυτοὺς, ἀλλὰ διχοστατοῦντες πάντοτε. ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτοις, φησίν, ἐπίκειται μετάνοια. βλέπεις, φησί, τινὰς ἐξ αὐτῶν μετανοηκότας. καὶ ἔτι, φησίν, ἔστιν εἰν αὐτοῖς ἐλπίς μετανοίας. 3. καὶ οὓς, φησίν, ἐξ αὐτῶν μετανοηκαί, τὴν κατοικίαν εἰς τὸν πύργον ἐξουσίαν 4 ὅσοι δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν βραδύτερον μετανοηκαί, εἰς τὰ τείχη κατοικήσουσιν· ὅσοι δὲ οὗ μετανοοῦσιν, ἀλλ' ἐμμένουσιν ταῖς πράξεσιν αὐτῶν, θανάτῳ ἀποθανοῦνται. 4. οἱ δὲ χλωράξ ἐπιδε-

1 θέλασμα Α, θέλασας Λ, 'nuntiatum est' Ε.
2 ἡμιξηροὶ Λ2Ε1, κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ ἡμιξηροὶ Α, tantummodo semiaridae Λ1; κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ seems meaningless, and may be a misunderstood gloss taken into the text.
3 καὶ ἔτι... μετανολας om. Λ.
4 ἐξουσία Α, ἐχουσιν LE.

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told them my commandments; and they shall still repent. But as many as shall not repent have lost their lives. But as many of them as repented became good and their dwelling was within the first walls, and some of them even went up into the tower. You see then," said he, "that repentance of sins brings life, but not to repent brings death."

VII

1. "And as many as gave them up half dry and had cracks in them; listen also, concerning them:—They, whose sticks were half dry are the double-minded, for they are neither alive nor dead. 2. And those who had them half dry and with cracks, these are double-minded and evil speakers, and are never at peace among themselves; but are always making schisms; but repentance," said he, "waits also for these. You see," said he, "that some of them have repented, and there remains," said he, "still hope of repentance in them. 3. And as many of them," said he, "as have repented, shall have their dwellings in the tower, and as many of them as have repented more slowly, shall dwell on the walls. But as many as do not repent, but remain in their deeds, shall die the death. 4. And
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dōkōtes tās ῥάβδους αὐτῶν καὶ σχυσμάς ἔχοντας, πάντοτε οὕτω πιστοὶ καὶ ἀγαθοὶ ἐγένοντο, ἔχοντες δὲ ξηλῶν τινα ἐν ἄλληλοις περὶ πρωτείων καὶ περὶ δόξης τινος· ἀλλὰ πάντες οὕτω μωρῶν ἑίσιν, ἐν ἄλληλοις ἔχοντες ξηλῶν περὶ πρωτείων. 5. ἀλλὰ καὶ οὕτω ἄκουσαντες τῶν ἐντολῶν μου, ἀγαθοὶ ὄντες, ἐκαθάρισαν έαυτοὺς καὶ μετενόησαν ταχὺ. ἐγένετο οὖν ἡ κατοίκησις αὐτῶν εἰς τὸν πῦργον· ἐὰν δὲ τις πάλιν ἐπιστρέψῃ εἰς τὴν διεστάσιαν, ἐκβηθήσεται ἀπὸ τοῦ πύργου καὶ ἀπολέσει τὴν ζωὴν αὐτοῦ. 6. ἡ ξωὴ πάντων ἐστὶ τῶν τὰς ἐντολὰς τοῦ κυρίου φυλασσόντων· ἐν ταῖς ἐντολαῖς δὲ περὶ πρωτείων ἢ περὶ δόξης τινος οὐκ ἔστιν, ἀλλὰ περὶ μακροθυμίας καὶ περὶ ταπεινοφρονίσεως άνδρός. ἐν τοῖς σωτότοις οὖν ἡ ξωὴ τοῦ κύριου ἐν τοῖς διεστάταις δὲ καὶ παρανόμους θάνατος.

VIII

1. Οἱ δὲ ἐπιδεδωκότες τὰς ῥάβδους ἦμισυ μὲν χλωράς, ἦμισυ δὲ ξηράς, οὕτω εἰσὶν οἱ ἐν ταῖς πραγματείαις ἐμπεφυρμένοι καὶ μὴ κολλώμενοι τοῖς ἀγίωσι· διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἦμισυ αὐτῶν ξῆ, τὸ δὲ ἦμισυ νεκρῶν ἐστὶ. 2. πολλοὶ οὕτω ἄκουσαντες μου τῶν ἐντολῶν μετενόησαν. ὅσοι γοῦν μετενόησαν, ἡ κατοικία αὐτῶν εἰς τὸν πῦργον. τινὲς δὲ αὐτῶν εἰς τέλος ἀπέστησαν. οὕτω οὐν μετανοιαν οὐκ ἔχουσιν· διὰ γὰρ τὰς πραγματείας αὐτῶν ἐβλασφήμησαν τὸν κύριον καὶ ἀπηρνήσαντο. ἀπώλεσαν οὖν τὴν ζωὴν αὐτῶν διὰ τὴν 208
THE SHEPHERD, sim. viii. vii. 4-viii. 2

they who gave up their sticks green and with cracks, these were ever faithful and good, but had some jealousy among themselves over the first place and some question of reputation. But all these are foolish, who quarrel among themselves about the first place. 5. But these also, when they heard my commandments, because they were good, purified themselves and quickly repented; so their dwelling was in the tower. But if any of them turn again to schism he shall be cast out from the tower, and shall lose his life. 6. Life is for all those who keep the commandments of the Lord. And in the commandments there is nothing about the first place or any question of reputation, but about man's long-suffering and humility. Among such, then, is the life of the Lord, but among the schismatic and law-breakers there is death.

VIII

1. "But those who gave up their sticks half-green and half-dry these are those who are concerned with business and do not cleave to the saints; for this reason half of them is alive, and half is dead. 2. Many, then, of them, when they heard my commandments repented. As many, as repented, have their dwelling in the tower; but some of them were apostate to the end. These then have no repentance, for because of their business they blasphemed the Lord and denied him. So they lost their life because
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πονηρίαν, ἢν ἔπραξαν. 3. πολλοὶ δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐδιψύχησαν. οὕτωι ἔτι ἔχουσι μετάνοιαν, ἐὰν ταχύν μετανοήσωσι, καὶ ἔσται αὐτῶν ἡ κατοικία εἰς τὸν πύργον· ἐὰν δὲ βραδύτερον μετανοήσωσι, κατοικήσουσι εἰς τὰ τείχη· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ μετανοήσωσι, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀπώλεσαν τὴν ζωὴν αὐτῶν. 4. οἱ δὲ τὰ δύο μέρη χλωρά, τὸ δὲ τρίτον ἔηρον ἐπιδεδωκότες, οὕτωι εἰσὶν οἱ ἀρνησάμενοι ποικίλαις ἀρνήσει. 5. πολλοὶ οὖν μετενόησαν ἐξ αὐτῶν, καὶ ἀπῆλθον εἰς τὸν πύργον κατοικεῖν· πολλοὶ δὲ ἀπέστησαν εἰς τέλος τοῦ θεοῦ· οὕτωι τὸ ξῆν εἰς τέλος ἀπώλεσαν. τινὲς δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐδιψύχησαν καὶ ἐδιχοστάτησαν. τούτοις οὖν ἐστὶ μετάνοια, ἐὰν ταχύν μετανοήσωσι καὶ μὴ ἐπιμείνωσι ταῖς ἡδοναῖς αὐτῶν· ἐὰν δὲ ἐπιμείνωσι ταῖς πράξεσιν αὐτῶν, καὶ οὕτωι θάνατον ἐαυτοῖς κατεργάζονται.

IX

1. Οἱ δὲ ἐπιδεδωκότες τὰς ῥάβδους τὰ μὲν δύο μέρη ἔηρα, τὸ δὲ τρίτον χλωρόν, οὕτωι εἰσὶ πιστοὶ μὲν ἔγενοσί τε, πλουτὴσαντες δὲ καὶ γενόμενοι ἐυδοξοὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἔθνεσιν· ὑπερρημάτων μεγάλην ἐνέδυσαντο καὶ ὑψηλόφρονες ἐγένοντο καὶ κατέληψαν τὴν ἀλήθειαν καὶ οὐκ ἐκκλησίησαν τοῖς δικαίοις, ἀλλὰ μετὰ τῶν ἑθνῶν συνέχθησαν, καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ ὁδὸς ἑυτέρα αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο· ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ οὐκ ἀπέστησαν, ἀλλὰ ἐνέμειναν τῇ πίστει, μὴ ἐργαζόμενοι τὰ ἔργα τῆς πίστεως. 2. πολλοὶ οὖν ἐξ αὐτῶν μετενόησαν, καὶ ἐγένετο ἡ κατοικησίς αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ πύργῳ. 3. ἔτεροι δὲ εἰς τέλος μετὰ

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of the wickedness which they wrought. 3. And many of them were double-minded. These have still repentance if they repent quickly, and their dwelling shall be in the tower, but if they repent more slowly they shall dwell on the walls. But if they do not repent they also have lost their life. 4. And those who gave up their sticks two-thirds green, and one-third dry, these are they who have denied with manifold denials. 5. Many of them therefore repented and went to live in the tower. But many of them were apostates from God to the end; these lost their life finally. And some of them were double-minded, and were schismatic, these then have repentance, if they repent quickly, and do not remain in their pleasures; but if they continue in their deeds, these also procure death for themselves.

IX

1. And those who gave up their sticks two-thirds dry, and one-third green, these are they who were faithful, but became rich and in honour among the heathen; then they put on great haughtiness and became high-minded, and abandoned the truth, and did not cleave to the righteous, but lived together with the heathen, and this way pleased them better. But they were not apostates from God, but remained in the faith, without doing the works of the faith. 2. Many, then, of them repented, and their dwelling was in the tower. 3. But others lived to the end
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tων ἑθνῶν συζώντες καὶ φθειρόμενοι ταῖς κενοδο-
ξίαις τῶν ἑθνῶν ἀπέστησαν ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ
ἐπραξαν τὰς πράξεις τῶν ἑθνῶν. οὗτοι μετὰ τῶν
ἔθνων ἐλογίσθησαν. 4. ἔτεροι δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν
ἐδιψύχησαν μὴ ἐλπίζοντες σωθῆναι διὰ τὰς
πράξεις, ἄς ἐπραξαν ἄτεροι δὲ ἐδιψύχησαν καὶ
σχίσματα ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ἐποίησαν. τούτοις οὖν τοῖς
dιψυχήσασι διὰ τὰς πράξεις αὐτῶν μετάνοια ἔτι
ἐστὶ· ἀλλ' ἡ μετάνοια αὐτῶν ταχινὴ ὁφείλει
eἶναι, ἵνα ἡ κατοικία αὐτῶν γένηται εἰς τὸν
πύργον τῶν δὲ μὴ μετανοοῦντων, ἀλλ' ἐπιμενόντων
tαῖς ἡδοναῖς, ὁ θάνατος ἑγγύς.

Χ

1. Οἱ δὲ τὰς ῥάβδους ἐπιδεδωκότες χλωράς,
αὐτὰ δὲ τὰ ἁκρα ἔηρα καὶ σχισμᾶς ἔχοντα, οὗτοι
πάντοτε ἄγαθοι καὶ πιστοὶ καὶ ἔνδοξοι παρὰ τῷ
θεῷ ἐγένοντο, ἔλαχιστον δὲ ἐξήμαρτον διὰ μικρὰς
ἐπιθυμίας καὶ μικρὰ κατ' ἀλλήλων ἔχοντες· ἀλλ' ἀκούσαντες μοι τῶν ῥημάτων τὸ πλείστον 
μέρος ταχὺ μετενόησαν, καὶ ἐγένετο ἡ κατοικία αὐτῶν 
eἰς τὸν πύργον. 2. τινὲς δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐδιψύχησαν,
tινὲς δὲ διψυχήσατες διχοστασίαν μείζονα 
ἐποίησαν. ἐν τούτοις οὖν ἔνεστι μετανοίας ἐλπίς, ὅτι 
ἀγαθοὶ πάντοτε ἐγένοντο· δυσκόλως δὲ τῆς 
αὐτῶν ἀποθανεῖται. 3. οἱ δὲ τὰς ῥάβδους αὐτῶν
ξηρᾶς ἐπιδεδωκότες, ἔλαχιστον δὲ χλωρῶν ἔχοισας, 
οὗτοί ἔσων οἱ πιστεύσαντες μόνον, τὰ δὲ ἐργα τῆς
ἀνομίας ἐργασάμενοι· οὐδὲπετε ὅπο τοῦ θεοῦ
ἀπέστησαν καὶ τὸ ὄνομα ἢδεως ἐβάστασαν καὶ εἰς

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with the heathen, and were corrupted by the vain-glory of the heathen, and were apostates from God, and did the deeds of the heathen. These were reckoned with the heathen. 4. And others of them were double-minded, not hoping to be saved, because of the deeds which they had done. And others were double-minded, and made schisms among themselves. For these, then, who became double-minded because of their deeds there is still repentance, but their repentance must be speedy that their dwelling may be within the tower. But for those who do not repent, but remain in their pleasures, death is near.

X

1. But those who gave up their sticks green, but the tips were dry and had cracks, these were always good and faithful and glorious before God, but they sinned a little because of small lusts, and had small quarrels with one another. But when they heard my word the greater part repented quickly, and their dwelling was in the tower. 2. But some of them were double-minded, and some in their double-mindedness made a greater schism. For these then there is still hope of repentance, because they were always good, and not easily shall any of them die. 3. But those who gave up their sticks dry, but with a little green, these are they who had belief only but did the deeds of wickedness; but they were never apostates from God, and they bore
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touς οίκους αὐτῶν ἡδέως ὑπεδέξαντο τοὺς δούλους
tου θεοῦ. ἀκούσαντες οὖν ταύτην τήν μετάνοιαν
ἀδιστάκτως μετενόησαν, καὶ ἐργάζονται πάσαν
ἀρετήν καὶ δικαιοσύνην. 4. τινὲς δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν
καὶ φοβοῦνται,1 γινώσκοντες τὰς πράξεις αὐτῶν,
ἄς ἐπράξαν. τούτων οὖν πάντων ἡ κατοικία εἰς τὸν
πύργον ἔσται.

XI

1. Καὶ μετὰ τὸ συντελέσει αὐτῶν τὰς ἐπιλύσεις
πασῶν τῶν ράβδων λέγει μοι: "Ὑπαγε καὶ πᾶσιν
λέγε, ἵνα μετανοήσωσιν, καὶ ξησομίται τῷ θεῷ;
ὅτι ὁ κύριος ἐπηρεμῆ ἐπὶ σπλαγχνισθεὶς πᾶσι
δούναι τὴν μετάνοιαν, καὶ περὶ τῶν μὴ ὀντῶν
ἰέσων διὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν· ἀλλὰ μακρόθυμος ὁ θεὸς
κύριος θέλει τὴν κλήσιν τὴν γενομένην διὰ τοῦ
νιῶν αὐτοῦ σώζεσθαι. 2. λέγω αὐτῶ: Κύριε,
ἐλπίζω, ὅτι πάντες ἀκούσαντες αὕτα μετανοή-
σουσί· πείθομαι γὰρ, ὅτι εἰς ἐκαστὸς τὰ ἱδία ἔργα
ἐπιγνώσοι καὶ φοβηθεῖς τὸν θεὸν μετανοήσει. 3.
ἀποκριθείς μοι λέγει: "Ὅσοι, φησίν, ἐξ ὅλης
καρδίας αὕτων μετανοήσωσι καὶ 2 καθαρίσωσιν
ἐαυτοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν πονηρῶν αὐτῶν τῶν προειρη-
μένων καὶ μηκέτι μηδὲν προσθῶσι ταῖς ἀμαρτίαις
αὐτῶν, λήψονται ἵσαυρα παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου τῶν
προτέρων ἀμαρτίων, εἰν μὴ διψυχήσωσιν ἐπὶ

1 καὶ φοβοῦνται A, aliqui vero eorum morte obierunt et
libenter patiuntur L₁, aliī vero compressi libenter patiuntur
L₂, et quidam ex iis seipsum affixerunt E; it is probable that
something has dropped out from the Greek. Funk suggests
καὶ [παθεῖν οὖ] φοβοῦνται. 2 μετανοήσωσι καὶ LE, om. A.

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THE SHEPHERD, sim. viii. x. 3–xi. 3

the name gladly, and they gladly received into their houses the servants of God. When they heard, then, of this repentance, they repented without doubting, and are accomplishing all virtue and righteousness. 4. But some of them are also afraid, knowing the deeds which they had done. All these, then, shall have their dwelling in the tower.”

XI

1. And after he had finished the explanations of all the sticks he said to me: “Go and tell all men to repent and live to God, for the Lord sent me in his mercy to give repentance to all, although some are not worthy because of their deeds. But the Lord, being long-suffering, wishes those who were called through his Son to be saved.” 2. I said to him: “Sir, I hope that all who hear them will repent. For I am persuaded that each one who recognizes his own deeds and fears God will repent.” 3. “And he answered me and said: “As many,” said he, “as repent with all their hearts, and purify themselves from the wickednesses which have been mentioned before, and no longer add anything to their sins, shall receive healing from the Lord for their former sins, if they are not double-minded as

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taĩs ἐντολαῖς ταῦταις, καὶ ζήσονται τῷ θεῷ. ὡσοὶ δὲ, φησίν, προσθῶσι ταῖς ἀμαρτίαις αὐτῶν καὶ πορευθῶσιν ἐν ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου, θανάτῳ ἐαυτοῖς κατακρινοῦσιν. 4. σὺ δὲ πορεύου ἐν ταῖς ἐντολαῖς μου, καὶ ζήσῃ τῷ θεῷ καὶ ὁσοὶ ἂν πορευθῶσιν ἐν αὐταῖς καὶ ἐργάσωνται ὀρθῶς, ζήσονται τῷ θεῷ. 5. ταῦτα μοι δεῖξαι καὶ λαλῆσας πάντα λέγει μοι. Τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ἐπιδείξω μετ' ολίγας ἡμέρας.

Παράβολή θ'

I

1. Μετὰ τὸ γράψαι με ταῖς ἐντολαῖς καὶ παραβολὰς τοῦ ποιμένος, τοῦ ἀγγέλου τῆς μετανοίας, ἠλθεῖ πρὸς με καὶ λέγει μοι. Θέλω σοι δεῖξαι, οὐσα σοι ἐδείξε τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἀγιον τὸ λαλῆσαν μετά σοῦ ἐν μορφῇ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας· ἔκειν γὰρ τὸ πνεῦμα ὁ νῦς τοῦ θεοῦ ἔστιν. 2. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἀσθενέστερος τῇ σαρκί ἤς, οὐκ ἐδηλώθη σοι δὲ ἀγγέλου. ὅτε ὦν ἐνεδυναμώθης διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος καὶ ἠσχύσας τῇ ἱσχύϊ σου, ὥστε δύνασθαί σε καὶ ἀγγελον ἵδειν, τότε μὲν ὦν ἐφανερώθη σοι διὰ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ἡ οἰκοδομή τοῦ πύργου· καλῶς καὶ σεμνῶς πάντα ὡς ὑπὸ παρθένου ἑώρακας. νῦν δὲ ὑπὸ ἀγγέλου βλέπεις διὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μὲν πνεύματος. 3. δεῖ δὲ σε παρ' ἐμοὶ ἀκριβέστερον

1 ὁσοὶ . . . κατακρινοῦσιν, retranslated from LE, om. A (qui vero adiercet, inquit, ad delicta sua et conversati fuerint in desideriis saeculi huius, damnabunt se ad mortem L₃).

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to these commandments, and they shall live to God. But as many," said he, "as add to their sins, and live in the lusts of this world shall condemn themselves to death. 4. But do you walk in my commandments and you shall live to God, and as many as walk in them and do rightly, shall live to God." 5. When he had showed me these things and had told me everything, he said to me: "And the rest I will show you after a few days."

Parable 9

I

1. After I had written the commandments and parables of the shepherd, the angel of repentance, he came to me and said to me: "I wish to show you what the Holy Spirit which spoke with you in the form of the Church showed you, for that Spirit is the Son of God. 2. For since you were too weak in the flesh, it was not shown you by an angel. But when you were strengthened by the spirit, and made strong in your strength, so that you could also see an angel, then the building of the tower was shown to you by the Church. You saw all things well and holily as if from a virgin. But now you see them from an angel, yet through the same Spirit. 3. But

1 The point is that the form of the vision was accommodated to Hernas' powers. It was at first sent in the form of a human being (the emphasis is on the humanity, not on the Virginity) and afterwards when he was stronger spiritually in the form of an angel.
πάντα μαθεῖν. εἰς τούτο γὰρ καὶ ἐδόθην ὑπὸ τοῦ εὐδόξου ἀγγέλου εἰς τῶν οἰκῶν σου κατοικήσαι, ἵνα δύνατός πάντα ὑδης, μηδὲν δειλαιόμενος καὶ ὡς τὸ πρῶτον. 4. καὶ ἀπήγαγε ἐμὲ εἰς τὴν Ἀρκαδίαν, εἰς ὅρος τι μαστῶδες καὶ ἐκάθισέ με ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον τοῦ ὄρους καὶ ἐδείξε μοι πεδίων μέγα, κύκλῳ δὲ τοῦ πεδίου ὅρη δῶδεκα, ἀλλην καὶ ἀλλην ἱδέαν ἔχοντα τὰ ὅρη. 5. τὸ πρῶτον ἦν μέλαν ὡς ἀσβόλη. τὸ δὲ δεύτερον ψηλὸν, βοτάνας μὴ ἔχουν· τὸ δὲ τρίτον ἀκανθῶν καὶ τριβόλων πληρὲς. 6. τὸ δὲ τέταρτον βοτάνας ἔχουν ἡμιξήρουδεν, τὰ μὲν ἐπάνω τῶν βοτανῶν χλωρά, τὰ δὲ πρὸς ταῖς ρίζαις ἤηραι· τινὲς δὲ βοτάναι, ὅταν ὁ ἤλιος ἐπικεκαίκεται, ἤηραι ἐγίνοντο. 7. τὸ δὲ πέμπτον ὅρος ἔχουν βοτάνας χλωρᾶς καὶ πραξὺ ὅν. τὸ δὲ ἐκτὸς ὅροι σχισμῶν ὅλως ἔγεμεν, δὲν μὲν μικρῶν, δὲν μεγάλων· εἰχον δὲ βοτάνας αἱ σχισμαί, οὐ λιαν δὲ ἦσαν εὐθαλεῖς αἱ βοτάναι, μᾶλλον δὲ ὡς μεμαραμμέναι ἦσαν. 8. τὸ δὲ ἔβδομον ὅρος εἰχε βοτάνας Ἴλαρας, καὶ ὅλον τὸ ὅρος εὐθηνοῦν ἦν, καὶ πᾶν γένος κτηνῶν καὶ ὄρνεον ἐνέμοντο εἰς τὸ ὅρος ἔκεινο· καὶ ὅσον ἐβόσκοντο τὰ κτήνη καὶ τὰ πετεινά, μᾶλλον καὶ μᾶλλον αἱ βοτάναι τοῦ ὅρους ἐκείνου ἔθαλλον. τὸ δὲ ὅγδοον ὅρος πηγῶν πλῆρες ἦν, καὶ πᾶν γένος τῆς κτίσεως τοῦ κυρίου ἑπτάξθεν, εἰς τῶν πηγῶν τοῦ ὅρους ἐκείνου. 9. τὸ δὲ ἐννατον ὅρος ὅλως ὅδωρ ὅπερ εἰχεν καὶ ὅλος ἑρμῶδες ἦν. εἰχε δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ θηρία καὶ ἐρπτετά θανάσιμα διαφθείροντα ἀνθρώπους. τὸ δὲ δέκατον

1 A addς τὸ δὲ ὅρος πραξὺ λίαν ἦν βοτάνας ἔχον ἐηρᾶς.

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you must learn everything more accurately from me. For, for this reason too, I was given by the glorious angel, to live in your house, that you might see all things with power and fear nothing, as you did formerly. 4. And he took me away to Arcadia,¹ to a breast-shaped mountain, and set me on top of the mountain, and showed me a great plain and round the plain twelve mountains, and each mountain had a different appearance. 5. The first was black as pitch, the second was bare without herbs, and the third was full of thorns and thistles. 6. And the fourth had half-dried herbage; the tops of the herbs were green, but the parts by the roots were dry. And some of the herbs, when the sun had burnt them, were becoming dry. 7. And the fifth mountain had green herbs and was steep. And the sixth mountain was altogether full of cracks, some small and some great. And the cracks had herbage, but the herbage was not very flourishing, but rather as if it were fading. 8. And the seventh mountain had vigorous herbage, and the whole mountain was flourishing, and all kinds of cattle and birds were feeding on that mountain. And the more the cattle and birds were feeding, the more the herbage of that mountain flourished. And the eighth mountain was full of springs, and every kind of creature of the Lord was given to drink from the springs of that mountain. 9. But the ninth mountain had no water at all, and was quite desert. But it had in it wild beasts and deadly reptiles destroying men. And the tenth moun-

¹ Arcadia is found in all the authorities; but it plays no further part in the story. Zahn emends to Aricia; but Aricia is a village, and Monte Cavo, which might be intended, is not specially near to it
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όρος εἴχε δένδρα μέγιστα καὶ ὅλουν κατάσκιον ἡν, καὶ ὑπὸ τὴν σκέπην τῶν δένδρων πρόβατα κατέκειτο ἀναπαυόμενα καὶ μαρυκωμένα. 10. τὸ δὲ ἐνδέκατον όρος λιᾶν σύνδενδρον ἡν, καὶ τὰ δένδρα ἐκεῖνα κατάκαρπα ἡν, ἄλλοις καὶ ἄλλοις καρποῖς κεκοσμημένα, ἵνα ἰδών τις αὐτὰ ἔπιθυμήσῃ φαγεῖν ἐκ τῶν καρπῶν αὐτῶν. τὸ δὲ δωδέκατον όρος ὅλον ἡν λευκόν, καὶ ἡ πρόσοψις αὐτοῦ ἰλαρὰ ἡν· καὶ εὐπρεπέστατον ἡν ἐν αὐτῷ τὸ όρος.

II

1. Εἰς μέσον δὲ τοῦ πεδίου ἔδειξε μοι πέτραν μεγάλην λευκὴν ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου ἀναβεβηκυῖαν. ἡ δὲ πέτρα ύψηλοτέρα ἡν τῶν ὀρέων, τετράγωνος, ὥστε δύνασθαι ὅλον τὸν κόσμον χωρῆσαι. 2. παλαιὰ δὲ ἡ πέτρα ἐκείνη, πῦλην ἐκκομμένην ἔχουσα· ὡς πρὸσφατος δὲ ἐδόκει μοι εἶναι ἡ ἐκκολαγχὴς τῆς πῦλης. ἡ δὲ πῦλη οὕτως ἐστιλβεῖ ὑπὲρ τὸν ἵλιον, ὧστε μὲ θαυμάζειν ἐπὶ τῇ λαμπηδόνυ τῆς πῦλῆς. 3. κύκλῳ δὲ τῆς πῦλης εἰστήκεισαν παρθένοι δώδεκα. αἱ οὖν τέσσαρες αἱ εἰς τὰς γωνίας ἐστηκυῖαι ἐνδοξύτεραι μοι ἐδόκουν εἶναι· καὶ αἱ ἄλλαι δὲ ἐνδοξεῖ φησαν. εἰστήκεισαν δὲ εἰς τὰ τέσσαρα μέρη τῆς πῦλης, ἀνὰ μέσον αὐτῶν ἀνὰ δύο παρθένου. 4. ἐνδεδυμέναι δὲ

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tain had great trees and was full of shady places, and under the shade of the trees sheep were lying resting and ruminating. 10. And the eleventh mountain was full of trees and those trees had fruit, and were each adorned with different fruits, so that whoever saw them desired to eat of their fruits. And the twelfth mountain was all white, and its appearance was joyful, and the mountain was in itself very beautiful.

II

1. In the middle of the plain he showed me a great white rock, which had risen out of the plain, and the rock was higher than the hills, four-square, so that it could hold the whole world. 2. And that rock was old, and had a door hewn out of it. But it seemed to me that the cutting of the door was recent. And the door glistened so in the sun, that I marvelled at the brightness of the door. 3. And round the door there stood twelve maidens; the four who stood at the corner, seemed to me to be the more glorious, but the others also were glorious, and they stood at the four parts of the door, each with two other maidens on each side.\(^1\) 4. And they were clothed in linen mantles,

\[
\begin{array}{c}
A \ b \ b \ A \\
\ b & \ b \\
A & b & b & A
\end{array}
\]

\(^1\) The arrangement meant is \(A b b A\), so that the 'door' must have been a sort of porch, cut out of the rock, and the tower was built directly above it.
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ὁσαν λυνοὺς χιτῶνας καὶ περιεξωσμέναι ἦσαν ἐνπρεπῶς, ἐξω τοὺς ὥμους ἔχουσαι τοὺς δεξιοὺς ὡς μέλλουσαι φορτίων τι βαστάζειν. οὕτως ἑτοιμοὶ ἦσαν· λέαν γὰρ ἰλαραί ἦσαν καὶ πρόθυμοι.

5. μετὰ τὸ ἰδεῖν με ταύτα ἐθαύμαζον ἐν ἐμαυτῷ, ὅτι μεγάλα καὶ ἐνδοξα πράγματα βλέποι. καὶ πάλιν διηπόρουν ἐπὶ ταῖς παρθένοις, ὅτι τρυφερά ὦτως οὕσαν ἀνδρείως εἰστήκεισαν ὡς μέλλουσαι ὅλον τὸν οὐρανὸν βαστάζειν. 6. καὶ λέγει μοι ὁ ποιμὴν· Τί ἐν σεαυτῶ διαλογίζῃ καὶ διαπορῆ καὶ σεαυτῷ λύτην ἐπιστάσαι; ὅσα γὰρ οὐ δύνασαι νοήσαι, μὴ ἐπιχείρεις, συνετὸς ὦν, ἀλλ' ἐρώτα τὸν κύριον, ἵνα λαβῶν σύνεσιν νοῆς αὐτά. 7. τὰ ὅπισώ σου ἰδεῖν οὐ δύνη, τὰ δὲ ἐμπροσθέν σου βλέπεις. ἢ οὖν ἰδεῖν οὐ δύνασαι, ἔασον, καὶ μὴ στρέβλου σεαυτὸν ἢ δὲ βλέπεις, ἐκείνων κατακυρίευε καὶ περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν μὴ περιεργάζου· πάντα δὲ σοι ἔγω δηλώσω, ὅσα ἂν σοι δειξο. ἐμβλέπε σοι τοῖς λοιποῖς.

III

1. Εἰδον ἐξ ἀνδρας ἐληλυθότας ὑψηλοὺς καὶ ἐνδόξους καὶ ὅμοιος τῇ ἱδέᾳ καὶ ἐκέλευσαν πλῆθος τι ἀνδρῶν. κάκεινοι δὲ οἱ ἐληλυθότες ὑψηλοὶ ἦσαν ἄνδρες καὶ καλοὶ καὶ δυνατοὶ καὶ ἐκέλευσαν αὐτοὺς οἱ ἐξ ἀνδρας οἰκοδομεῖν ἐπάνω τῆς πέτρας 2 πύργον τινά. ἦν δὲ θόρυβος τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκεῖνων μέγας τῶν ἐληλυθότων οἰκοδομεῖν τὸν πύργον ὥδε κάκεισε περιτρε-

1 ἦσαν P̅Ambi, om. A.
2 πέτρας Α̅F, πέτρας καὶ ἐπάνω τῆς πύλης I.
and were beautifully girded, and had their right shoulders outside, as if they were going to carry a load. Thus they were ready, for they were very joyful and eager. 5. After I had seen these things I wondered in myself, for I was seeing great and glorious things. And again I was perplexed at the maidens, that though they were so delicate, they stood bravely as though they would carry the whole heaven. 6. And the shepherd said to me: "Why do you reason in yourself and are perplexed, and give yourself sorrow? For what things you cannot comprehend,—be prudent, do not attempt them, but ask the Lord that you may receive understanding and comprehend them. 7. What is behind you you cannot see, but you see what is before you. Let go what you cannot see, and do not trouble yourself. But what you see, master that, and do not be curious about the rest, and I will explain everything to you, whatever I show you. Look then at the rest.

III

1. I saw six men who came, tall and glorious, and alike in appearance, and they summoned a multitude of men, and they too who came were tall men and beautiful and strong, and the six men commanded them to build a certain tower above the rock. And there was a great throng of those men who had come to build the tower,
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χόντων κύκλω τής πύλης. 2. αἱ δὲ παρθένοι ἐστηκώνα τὸν πύργον ὁμοιόμοιον· ἐκπε-πετάκειαν δὲ τὰς χεῖρας αἱ παρθέναι ὡς μέλ-λονταί τι λαμβάνειν παρὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν. 3. οἱ δὲ ξὶ ἄνδρες ἐκέλευσαν ἐκ βυθοῦ τῶν λίθων ἀναβαίνειν καὶ ὑπάγειν εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν τοῦ πύργου. ἀνέβησαν δὲ λίθοι δέκα τετράγωνοι λαμπροὶ, μὴ 1 λελατομημένοι. 4. οἱ δὲ ξὶ ἄνδρες ἐκάλουν τὰς παρθένους καὶ ἐκέλευσαν αὐτὰς τοὺς λίθους πάντας τοὺς μέλλουσας εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν ὑπάγειν τοῦ πύργου βαστάζειν καὶ διαπερνέσθαι διὰ τῆς πύλης καὶ ἐπιδιδόναι τοὺς ἀνδράς τοῖς μέλλονσιν οἰκοδομεῖν τὸν πύργον. 5. αἱ δὲ παρθέναι οὓς δέκα λίθους οὓς πρῶτους οὓς ἐκ τοῦ βυθοῦ ἀναβαίνατε ἐπετίθεν εἰς τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ κατὰ ἐνα λίθον ἐβάσταζαν ὁμοὶ.

IV

1. Καθὼς δὲ ἐστάθησαν ὁμοὶ κύκλῳ τῆς πύλης, οὕτως ἐβάσταζαν αἱ δοκοῦσαι δυνατὰ εἶναι καὶ ὑπὸ τὰς γωνίας τοῦ λίθου ὑποδευκούν ἂς. αἱ δὲ ἄλλαι ἐκ τῶν πλευρῶν τοῦ λίθου ὑποδεύκεισαν καὶ οὕτως ἐβάσταζαν πάντας τοὺς λίθους· διὰ δὲ τῆς πύλης διέφερον αὐτοῖς, καθὼς ἐκελεύσθησαν, καὶ ἐπεδίδουν τοὺς ἀνδρᾶς εἰς τὸν πύργον· ἐκεῖνοι δὲ ἔχοντες τοὺς λίθους φιλοκόμουν. 2. ἡ

1 μὴ om. AEI, but the addition seems to be made necessary by the reference in Sim. ix. 5, 3, where these stones are described as μὴ λελατομημένοι.

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running here and there round the tower. 2. And the maidens stood round the tower, and told the men to make speed with building the tower. And the maidens held out their hands as if they were going to take something from the men. 3. And the six men commanded stones to come up from a certain deep place, and to go into the building of the tower. And there came up ten square stones, beautiful and not hewn. 4. And the six men called the maidens and commanded them to take all the stones which were to come for the building of the tower, and to go through the gate, and give them to the men who were going to build the tower. 5. And the maidens put the ten stones, which first came out of the deep place, on one another, and they carried them together like a single stone.

IV

1. And just as they had stood together round the gate, so the maidens who seemed to be strong were carrying, and they were stooping under the corners of the stone. But the others were stooping by the sides of the stone, and so they were carrying all the stones. And they brought them through the gate as they had been commanded, and gave them to the men in the tower, and they took the stones and went on building. 2. Now, the building of the tower

1 The meaning is that the four maidens kept to their original formation, with the four strongest at the corners, and the others in the middle of each side of the stone which they carried.
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οἰκοδομὴ δὲ τοῦ πύργου ἐγένετο ἐπὶ τὴν πέτραν τὴν μεγάλην καὶ ἐπάνω τῆς πύλης. ἤρμόσθησαν ὡνὶ οἱ δέκα λίθοι ἐκεῖνοι καὶ ἐνέπλησαν ὅλην τὴν πέτραν καὶ ἐγένοντο ἐκεῖνοι ¹ θεμέλιος τῆς οἰκο-
dομῆς τοῦ πύργου. ἦ δὲ πέτρα καὶ ἡ πύλη ἦν βασ-
tιξουσα ὅλον τὸν πύργον. 3. μετὰ δὲ τοὺς δέκα
λίθους ἄλλοι ἀνέβησαν ἐκ τοῦ βυθοῦ εἰκοσὶ ² λίθοι
καὶ οὔτοι ἤρμόσθησαν εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν τοῦ
πύργου, βασταζόμενοι ὑπὸ τῶν παρθένων καθὼς
καὶ οἱ πρότεροι. μετὰ δὲ τούτους ἀνέβησαν λέ,
καὶ οὔτοι ὁμοίως ἤρμόσθησαν εἰς τὸν πύργον.
μετὰ δὲ τούτους ἔτεροι ἀνέβησαν λίθοι μ', καὶ
οὔτοι πάντες ἐβλήθησαν εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν τοῦ
πύργου. ἐγένοντο οὖν στοῖχοι τέσσαρες ἐν τοῖς
θεμελίοις τοῦ πύργου. ⁴ 4. καὶ ἐπαύσαντο ἐκ τοῦ
βυθοῦ ἀναβαίνοντες ἐπαύσαντο δὲ καὶ οἱ οἰκοδο-
μοῦντες μικρὸν. καὶ πάλιν ἐπέταξαν οἱ ἕξ ἄνδρες
τῷ πλῆθει τοῦ ὀχλοῦ ἐκ τῶν ὀρέων παραφέρειν
λίθους εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν τοῦ πύργου. 5. παρε-
φέροντο οὖν ἐκ πάντων τῶν ὀρέων χρώσις ποικίλαις
λελατομημένοι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ ἐπεδίδοντο
tαῖς παρθένοις· αἱ δὲ παρθένοι διέφερον αὐτοὺς
dιὰ τῆς πύλης καὶ ἐπεδίδοσαν εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν τοῦ
πύργου. καὶ ὅταν εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν ἔτέθησαν οἱ
λίθοι οἱ ποικίλοι, ὁμοίως ἐγένοντο λευκοὶ καὶ τὰς
χρώσις τὰς ποικίλας ἠλλασσον. 6. τινὲς δὲ λίθοι
ἐπεδίδοντο ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν καὶ
οὐκ ἐγένοντο λαμπροί, ἀλλ' ὁδοὶ ἔτεθησαν, τοιοῦτοι
καὶ εὑρέθησαν· οὐ γὰρ ἦσαν ὑπὸ τῶν παρθένων

¹ καὶ ἐνέπλησαν . . . ἐκεῖνοι retranslated from LE, om. A.
² κ' Α, viginti quinque L, quindecim E.
³ ἐγένοντο . . . πύργου retranslated from LE, om. A.

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was raised on the great rock, and above the gate. So those ten stones were fitted in, and they filled the whole rock. And they were the foundation of the building of the tower, and the rock and the gate were supporting the whole tower. 3. And after the ten stones, twenty other stones came up out of the deep place, and these were fitted into the building of the tower and were carried by the maidens like the former stones. And after these there came up thirty-five, and these likewise were fitted into the tower. And after these there came up forty other stones, and all these were placed into the building of the tower; so there became four tiers in the foundations of the tower. 4. And they ceased to come up from the deep place, and the builders also stopped for a little. And again the six men commanded the mass of the multitude to bring stones for the building of the tower from the mountains. 5. Therefore there were brought from all the mountains stones of different colours, hewn out by the men, and they were given to the maidens, and the maidens carried them through the gate and gave them over for the building of the tower. And when the various stones were put into the building they became all alike white and changed their various colours. 6. But some stones were given by the men for the building, which did not become bright but proved to remain as they were when they were put in. For they had not been given by the maidens, and had
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ἐπιδεδομένῳ οὐδὲ διὰ τῆς πύλης παρενηγομένωι. οὕτωι ὦν οἱ λίθοι ἀπρεπεῖς ἦσαν ἐν τῇ οἰκοδομῇ τοῦ πύργου. 7. ἦδοντες δὲ οἱ ἕξ ἀνδρες τῶν λίθους τους ἀπρεπεῖς ἐν τῇ οἰκοδομῇ ἐκέλευσαν αὐτοὺς ἀρθῆναι καὶ ἀπαχθῆναι κάτω εἰς τὸν ἵδιον τόπον, ὅθεν ἦνεχθήσαν. 8. καὶ λέγουσι τοῖς ἀνδράσι τοῖς παρεμφέρουσι τοὺς λίθους. "Ολοκω ὡμεῖς μὴ ἐπιδίδοτε εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν λίθους· τίθετε δὲ αὐτοὺς παρὰ τὸν πύργον, ἵνα αἱ παρθένοι διὰ τῆς πύλης παρενέγκωσιν αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐπιδιδόσιν εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν. ἦν γὰρ, φασί, διὰ τῶν χειρῶν τῶν παρθένων τούτων μὴ παρενεχθῶσι διὰ τῆς πύλης, τὰς χρόνις αὐτῶν ἀλλάξαις οὐ δύνανται μὴ κοπιάτε οὐν, φασίν, εἰς μάτην.

V

1. Καὶ ἐτελέσθη τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ ἡ οἰκοδομή, οὖν ἀπετελέσθη δὲ ὁ πύργος· ἐμελλε γὰρ πάλιν ἐπικοδομεῖσθαι· καὶ ἐγένετο ἁνοχὴ τῆς οἰκοδομῆς. ἐκέλευσαν δὲ οἱ ἕξ ἀνδρες τοὺς οἰκοδομοῦντας ἀναχωρῆσαι μικρῷ πάντας καὶ ἀναπαυθῆναι· ταῖς δὲ παρθένοις ἐπέταξαν ἀπὸ τοῦ πύργου μὴ ἀναχωρῆσαι. ἐδοκεὶ δὲ μοι τὰς παρθένους καταλειφθῆναι τοῦ φυλάσσειν τοῦ πύργου. 2. μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἀναχωρῆσαι πάντας καὶ ἀναπαυθῆναι λέγω τῷ ποιμένι. Τί ὅτι, φησί, κύριε, οὐ συνετελέσθη ἡ οἰκοδομὴ τοῦ πύργου· Οὐπω, φησί, δύναται ἀποτελεσθῆναι ἡ πύργος, ἐὰν μὴ ἔλθῃ ὁ κύριος αὐτοῦ καὶ δοκιμάσῃ τὴν οἰκοδομὴν ταύτην, ἵνα, εἰν τινὲς λίθοι σαπροὶ
not been brought in through the door. Therefore these stones were unseemly in the building of the tower. 7. And when the six men saw the unseemly stones in the building they commanded them to be taken away and to be brought down to their own place, whence they had been taken. 8. And they said to the men who were bringing the stones in: "You must on no account put stones into the building, but put them by the side of the tower, that the maidens may bring them in through the gate, and give them over for the building. For if," said they, "they are not brought in by the hands of these maidens through the gate they cannot change their colours; do not then," said they, "labour in vain."

V

1. And on that day the building was finished, but the tower was not completed, for it was going to be built on to, and there was a pause in the building. And the six men commanded all the builders to retire a little and rest, but they commanded the maidens not to go away from the tower. And it seemed to me that the maidens had given up looking after the tower. 2. But after they had all gone away and were resting I said to the shepherd: "Why, Sir," said I, "was the building of the tower not completed?" "The tower," said he, "cannot yet be completed unless its lord come and test this building, in order that if some stones prove to be
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εὑρεθώσων, ἀλλάξῃ αὐτοῦς· πρὸς γὰρ τὸ ἑκεῖνου θέλημα οἰκοδομεῖται ὁ πύργος. 3. Ὑθελον, φημί, κύριε, τούτου τοῦ πύργου γνωσώ τι ἐστὶν ἡ οἰκοδομὴ αὐτῆ, καὶ περὶ τῆς πέτας καὶ πύλης καὶ τῶν ὅρεων καὶ τῶν παρθένων καὶ τῶν λίθων τῶν ἐκ τοῦ βυθοῦ ἀναβεβηκότων καὶ μὴ λελατομμένων, ἀλλά οὕτως ἀπελθόντων εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομήν. 4. καὶ διατεί πρῶτον εἰς τὰ θεμέλια ἕκεν ἐτέθησαν, εἰτα κ', εἰτα λέ', εἰτα μ', καὶ περὶ τῶν λίθων τῶν ἀπεληλυθότων εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομήν καὶ πάλιν ἡρμένων καὶ εἰς τὸ πότον ἱδιον ἄποτεθηκένων· περὶ πάντων τούτων ἀνάπαυσον τὴν ψυχήν μου, κύριε, καὶ γνώρισον μοι αὐτά. 5. Ἐὰν, φησὶ, κενό-σπουδος μή εὑρεθῆς, πάντα γνώση μετ' ὅλιγας γὰρ ἡμέρας ἐλευσόμεθα ἐνθάδε, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ὅψει τὰ ἐπερχόμενα τῷ πύργῳ τούτῳ καὶ πᾶσας τὰς παραβολὰς ἀκριβῶς γνώση. 6. καὶ μετ' ὅλιγας ἡμέρας ἡλθομεν εἰς τὸν τόπον, οὐ κεκαθίκαμεν, καὶ ἄρα ἤγατε μοι. Ἀγωμεν πρὸς τὸν πύργον· ὁ γὰρ αὐθέντης τοῦ πύργου ἔρχεται κατανοῆσαι αὐτῶν καὶ ἡλθομεν πρὸς τὸν πύργον· καὶ ὅλως συνέχει ἢν πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰ μὴ αἱ παρθέναι μόναι. 7. καὶ ἐπιρροτά ὁ ποιμὴν τὰς παρθένους, εἰ ἄρα παρεγέγονε ὁ δεσπότης τοῦ πύργου. αἱ δὲ ἐφησαν μέλλειν αὐτὸν ἔρχεσθαι κατανοῆσαι τὴν οἰκοδομήν.

VI

1. Καὶ ἵδον μετὰ μικρὸν βλέπω παράταξιν πολλῶν ἄνδρῶν ἐρχομένων· καὶ εἰς τὸ μέσον ἀνὴρ

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1 ἐλευσόμεθα . . ἡμέρας retranslated from LE, om. A.

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THE SHEPHERD, sim. ix. v. 2–vi. 1

rotten, he may change them, for the tower is being built according to his will.” 3. “I should like, Sir,” said I, “to know what is this building of the tower, and concerning the rock, and the gate, and the mountains and the maidens, and the stones which came up from the deep place, and were not hewn, but went as they were into the building. 4. And why ten stones were first laid for the foundation, then twenty, then thirty-five, then forty, and concerning the stones which went into the building, and were taken away again and put back in their own place. Give my soul rest concerning all these things, Sir, and let me know them.” 5. “If,” said he, “you are not found to be vainly zealous, you shall know all things. For after a few days we will come here, and you shall see the rest of what happens to this tower, and you will know all the parables accurately.” 6. And after a few days we came to the place where we had sat, and he said to me: ‘Let us go to the tower, for the master of the tower is coming to examine it.” And we came to the tower, and there was nobody by it at all, except only the maidens. 7. And the shepherd asked the maidens if the Lord of the tower had come. And they said that he was about to come, to examine the building.

VI

1. And lo, after a little time I saw an array of many men coming, and in the middle there was
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tis ἤψηλος τοῦ μεγέθει, ὡστε τὸν πύργον ὑπερέχειν. 2. καὶ οἱ ἔξ ἄνδρες οἱ εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν ἐφεστῶτες ἐκ δεξιῶν τε καὶ ἀριστερῶν περιπατήσαντες μετ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ πάντες οἱ εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν εἴρηγασάμενοι μετ' αὐτοῦ ἦσαν καὶ ἔτεροι πολλοὶ κύκλῳ αὐτοῦ ἐνδοξοί. αἱ δὲ παρθένοι αἱ τηροῦσαι τὸν πύργον προσδραμοῦσαι κατεφίλησαν αὐτὸν καὶ ἤρξαντο ἐγγὺς αὐτοῦ περιπατεῖν κύκλῳ τοῦ πύργου. 3. κατενώει δὲ ὁ ἄνηρ ἐκεῖνος τὴν οἰκοδομὴν ἀκριβῶς, ὡστε αὐτὸν καθ’ ἑνα λίθου ψηλαφῶν. κρατῶν δὲ τινα ράβδου τῇ χείρι κατὰ ἑνα λίθον τῶν φιλοδομημένων ἔτυπτε. 4. καὶ ὅταν ἐπάτασσεν, ἐγένοντο αὐτῶν τινὲς μέλανες ὤσει ἀσβόλη, τινὲς δὲ ἐψωριακότες, τινὲς δὲ σχισμᾶς ἔχοντες, τινὲς δὲ κολοβοῦντο, τινὲς δὲ οὔτε λευκοὶ οὔτε μέλανες, τινὲς δὲ τραχεῖς καὶ μὴ συμφωνοῦντες τοῖς ἐτέρους λίθοις, τινὲς δὲ σπίλους πολλοὺς ἔχοντες. αὐτοὶ ήσαν αἱ ποικιλία τῶν λίθων τῶν σαπρῶν εὐρεθέντων εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομήν. 5. ἐκέλευσεν οὖν πάντας τούτους ἐκ τοῦ πύργου μετενεχθῆναι καὶ τεθῆναι παρὰ τὸν πύργον καὶ ἐτέρους ἐνεχθῆναι λίθους καὶ ἐμβληθῆναι εἰς τὸν τόπον αὐτῶν. 6. καὶ ἐπηρώτησαν αὐτὸν οἱ οἰκοδομοῦντες, ἐκ τίνος ὀρῶν θέλη ἐνεχθῆναι λίθους καὶ ἐμβληθῆναι εἰς τὸν τόπον αὐτῶν. 3 καὶ ἐκ μὲν τῶν ὀρέων οὐκ ἐκέλευσεν ἐνεχθῆναι, ἐκ δὲ τῶν πεδίου ἐγγὺς ὄντος ἐκέλευσεν ἐνεχθῆναι. 4 7. καὶ ὠρυγῆ τὸ

1 Retranslated from EL, om. A.
2 ἔτυπτε LE, τρίς ἔτυπτε A.
3 Retranslated from EL, om. A.
4 Retranslated from EL, om. A.
a man so tall, that he overtopped the tower. The coming of the Lord of the Tower

2. And the six men, who had been in charge of the building, were walking with him on the right hand and on the left, and all who had worked at the building were with him, and there were many other glorious beings around him. And the maidens who kept the tower ran to him and kissed him, and began to walk near him round the tower. 3. And that man examined the building carefully, so that he felt each stone, and he held a staff in his hand and hit each individual stone used in the building. 4. And when he struck, some of them became as black as pitch, and some rotten, and some with cracks, and some short, and some neither white nor black, and some rough and not fitting in with the other stones, and some with many stains. These were the varieties of the rotten stones which were found in the building. 5. Therefore he commanded all these to be taken away from the tower, and to be put beside the tower, and other stones to be brought and laid in their place. 6. And the builders asked him from which mountains he wished stones to be brought and laid in their place, and he commanded them not to be brought from the mountains, but he commanded them to be brought from a certain plain near at hand. 7. And the plain
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πεδίου, καὶ εὐρέθησαν λίθοι λαµµπροὶ τετράγωνοι, τινὲς δὲ καὶ στρογγύλοι. ὤσοι δὲ ποτε ἦσαν λίθοι ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ ἐκείνῳ, πάντες ἠνέχθησαν καὶ διὰ τῆς πύλης ἐβαστάζοντο ὑπὸ τῶν παρθένων. 8. καὶ ἑλατομήθησαν οἱ τετράγωνοι λίθοι καὶ ἐτέθησαν εἰς τὸν τόπον τῶν ἡρμέων οἱ δὲ στρογγύλοι οὐκ ἐτέθησαν εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν, ὅτι σκληροὶ ἦσαν εἰς τὸ λατομηθῆναι αὐτοὺς καὶ βραδέως εγένοντο. ἐτέθησαν δὲ παρὰ τὸν πύργον, ὡς μελλόντων αὐτῶν λατομεῖσθαι καὶ τίθεσθαι εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν λίαν γὰρ λαμπρὸν ἦσαν.

VII

1. Ταύτα οὖν συνιτελέσας ὁ ἀνήρ ὁ ἐυδοξὸς καὶ κύριος ὅλου τοῦ πύργου προσεκαλέσατο τὸν ποιμένα καὶ παρέδωκεν αὐτῷ τοὺς λίθους πάντας τοὺς παρὰ τὸν πύργον κειμένους, τοὺς ἀποβεβλημένους ἐκ τῆς οἰκοδομῆς, καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ: 2. Ἐπιμελῶς καθάρισον τοὺς λίθους τούτους καὶ θέσ αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν τοῦ πύργου, τοὺς δυναμένους ἀρμόσαι τοὺς λοιποὺς· τοὺς δὲ μὴ ἀρμόζοντας ἥψων μακρὰν ἀπὸ τοῦ πύργου. 3. ταύτα κελεύσας τῷ ποιμένι ἀπήκου ἀπὸ τοῦ πύργου μετὰ πάντων, μεθ' ὅν ἐληλύθει· αἱ δὲ παρθένοι κύκλῳ τοῦ πύργου εἰστήκεισαν τηροῦσαι αὐτῶν. 4. λέγω τῷ ποιμένι· Πῶς οὖν οἱ λίθοι δύνανται εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν τοῦ πύργου ἅπελθεῖν ἀποδεδοκιμασμένοι· ἀποκριθείς μοι λέγει· Βλέπεις, φησί, τοὺς λίθους τούτους; Βλέπω, φημί, κύριε. Ἔγώ, φησί, 1 Retranslated from LE, om. A.

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was quarried, and splendid square stones were found, but some were also round. And all the stones that were found in that plain were brought and carried through the door by the maidens. 8. And the square stones were hewn and put into the place of those which had been taken out, but the round stones were not put into the building, because they were hard to hew, and it took a long time; but they were put beside the tower, as if they were going to be hewn and put into the building; for they were very splendid.

VII

1. When the glorious man, the Lord of all the tower, had finished these things, he called the shepherd and gave over to him all the stones which were lying by the tower which had been taken out of the building, and said to him: 2. “Clean these stones carefully, and put into the building of the tower those which can fit in with the rest, and throw far away from the tower those which do not fit.” 3. With these commands to the shepherd he went away from the tower, with all those with whom he had come. But the maidens stood round the tower guarding it. 4. I said to the shepherd: “How can these stones come again into the building of the tower after they have been rejected?” He answered and said to me: “Do you see these
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tο πλείστον μέρος τῶν λίθων τούτων λατομήσω καὶ
βαλῶ εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομήν, καὶ ἀρμόσουσι μετὰ τῶν
λοιπῶν λίθων. 5. Πῶς, φημὶ, κύριε, δύνανται
περικοπέντες τὸν αὐτὸν τόπον πληρῶσαι; ἀπο-
κριθεῖς λέγει μοι ὁ Θεός μικρὸι εὑρέθησονται, εἰς
μέσην τὴν οἰκοδομήν βληθῆσονται, δόσι δὲ μεί-
ζονες, ἐξωτεροί τεθῆσονται καὶ συγκρατήσουσι
αὐτοὺς. 6. ταῦτα μοι λαλήσας λέγει μοι ὁ Θεό-
μεν καὶ μετὰ ἡμέρας δύο ἔλθομεν καὶ καθαρίσωμεν
tοὺς λίθους τούτους καὶ βάλωμεν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν
οἰκοδομήν τὰ γάρ κύκλω τοῦ πύργου πάντα
καθαρισθήναι δεῖ, μήποτε ὁ δεσπότης ἐξάπτων
ἐλθῇ καὶ τὰ περὶ τοῦ πύργου ἑκατορὰ εὕρῃ καὶ
προσοχθῇ, καὶ οὔτοι οἱ λίθοι οὐκ ἀπελεύσονται
εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομήν τοῦ πύργου, καγὼ ἀμελῆς δόξῳ
εἶναι παρὰ τῷ δεσπότῃ. 7. καὶ μετὰ ἡμέρας δύο
ἔλθομεν πρὸς τὸν πύργον καὶ λέγει μοι. Κατα-
νόησομεν τοὺς λίθους πάντας καὶ ἐδώμεν τοὺς
dυναμένους εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομήν ἀπελθεῖν. λέγω
αὐτῷ. Κύριε, κατανόησομεν.

VIII

1. Καὶ ἀρξάμενοι πρῶτον τοὺς μέλανας κατενο-
οῦμεν λίθους. καὶ οὐσι ἐκ τῆς οἰκοδομῆς έτέθησαν,
toiootoi kai euereithsain. kai ekelenuse aoutous o
poimhn ek tou pyrgou metenekeithnai kai xoristh-
nai. 2. eita katenose toous efworikotasa, kai
labwv efatoimhse pollovs ex autovn kai ekelenuse
tas parthenous arai aoutous kai balein eis thn
oikodomhn. kai hran aoutous ai parthenoi kai
ethkan eis tihn oikodomhn tou pyrgou meson. touvs
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stones?" said he. "Yes, Sir, I see them," said I. "I will hew," said he, "the greater part of these stones, and put them into the building, and they will fit in with the rest of the stones." 5. "How, Sir," said I, "can they fill the same room after they have been hewn?" He answered and said to me: "Those which turn out to be little will be put into the middle of the building, and such as are bigger will be put outside and will hold them together." 6. When he had said this he said to me: "Let us go, and after two days let us come and cleanse these stones and put them into the building, for everything round the tower must be cleansed lest the Master come suddenly and find it dirty round the tower and he will be angry, and these stones will not go into the building of the tower, and I shall seem to be careless before the Master." 7. And after two days we came to the tower, and he said to me: "Let us look at all the stones, and let us see which are able to come into the building." I said to him: "Sir, let us look."

VIII

1. And when we began we first looked at the black stones, and these were found to be the same as when they were put out of the building. And the shepherd commanded them to be removed from the tower and sent away. 2. Then he looked at those which were rotten and he took and hewed many of them and commanded the maidens to take them and put them into the building, and the maidens took them and put them into the building in the middle of the tower. And the rest he commanded to
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dè λοιποὺς ἐκέλευσε μετὰ τῶν μελάνων τεθῆναι· καὶ γὰρ καὶ οὔτοι μέλανες εὐρέθησαν. 3. εἶτα κατενόει τοὺς τὰς σχισμὰς ἔχοντας· καὶ ἐκ τούτων πολλοὺς ἐλατόμησε καὶ ἐκέλευσε διὰ τῶν παρθένων εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν ἀπενεχθῆναι· ἐξώτεροι δὲ ἐτέθησαν, ὅτι ὑγιέστεροι εὐρέθησαν. οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν σχισμάτων οὐκ ἠδυνήθησαν λατομηθῆναι· διὰ ταύτην οὖν τὴν αὐτίαν ἀπεβλήθησαν ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκοδομῆς τοῦ πύργου. 4. εἶτα κατενοεῖ τοὺς κολοβούς, καὶ εὐρέθησαν πολλοὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς μέλανες, τινῖς δὲ σχισμᾶς μεγάλας πεποιηκότες· καὶ ἐκέλευσε καὶ τούτους τεθῆναι μετὰ τῶν ἀποβεβλημένων. τοὺς δὲ περισσεύοντας αὐτῶν καθαρίσας καὶ λατομήσας ἐκέλευσεν εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν τεθῆναι· ἀποθενεστεροί γὰρ ἦσαν. 5. εἶτα κατενοεῖ τοὺς ἡμίσεις λευκοὺς, ἡμίσεις δὲ μέλανας· καὶ πολλοὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν εὐρέθησαν μέλανες. ἐκέλευσε δὲ καὶ τούτους ἀρθῆναι μετὰ τῶν ἀποβεβλημένων. οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ πάντες ἠρθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν παρθένων· λευκοὶ γὰρ ὄντες ἡμῶσθησαν ὑπ’ αὐτῶν τῶν παρθένων εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν· ἐξώτεροι δὲ ἐτέθησαν, ὅτι ὑγιεὶς εὐρέθησαν, ὡστε δύνασθαι αὐτοὺς κρατεῖν τοὺς εἰς τὸ μέσον τεθέντας· ὀλοκληρώσας γὰρ ἐξ αὐτῶν οὖν ἑκολοθώθη· 6. εἶτα κατενοεῖ τοὺς τραχείς, καὶ σκληροὺς καὶ ὁλγοὺς ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀπεβλήθησαν διὰ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι λατομηθῆναι· σκληροὶ γὰρ ἦσαν εὐρέθησαν. οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ αὐτῶν ἐλατομήσαν καὶ ἠρθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν παρθένων καὶ εἰς μέσην τὴν οἰκοδομὴν τοῦ πύργου ἠμῶσθη·
be put with the black ones, for these also were found to be black. 3. Then he began to look at those which had cracks, and of these he hewed many, and commanded them to be brought back by the maidens into the building. But they were put on the outside because they were found to be stronger. But the rest could not be hewn because of the number of the cracks. For this cause, therefore, they were thrown away from the building of the tower. 4. Then he began to look at those which were short, and many among them were found black, and some with great cracks, and he commanded these also to be put with the rejected. But the majority of them he cleaned and hewed and commanded to be put into the building. And the maidens took them, and fitted them into the middle of the building of the tower, for they were too weak. 5. Then he began to look at those which were half white, and half black, and many of them were found to be black, and these also he commanded to be put away with the rejected. But the rest were all taken up by the maidens, for they were white and were fitted by the maidens themselves into the building. And they were put on the outside because they were found to be sound, so that they could support those that were put in the middle, for in no way were they too short. 6. Then he began to look at those which were hard and difficult, and a few of them were rejected, because they could not be hewn, for they proved to be very hard. But the rest of them were hewn, and were taken by the maidens and fitted into the middle of the building of the

1 i.e. to endure the strain of the outside.
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σαν ἀσθενέστεροι γὰρ ἦσαν. 7. εἶτα κατενώει τοὺς ἔχοντας τοὺς σπίλους, καὶ ἐκ τοῦτων ἐλή-
χιστοὶ εμελάνησαν καὶ ἀπεβλήθησαν πρὸς τοὺς λοιποὺς. οἱ δὲ περισσεύοντες λαμπροὶ καὶ ὑγιεῖς
εὑρέθησαν καὶ οὕτω ἡμῶν θησάμεν ὑπὸ τῶν παρθένων εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν, ἐξώτεροι δὲ ἐτέθησαν
diὰ τὴν ἰσχυρότητά αὐτῶν.

IX

1. Εἶτα ἦλθε κατανοήσαι τοὺς λευκοὺς καὶ
στρογγύλους λίθους καὶ λέγει μοι. Τι ποιοῦμεν
περὶ τούτων τῶν λίθων; Τι, φημί, ἐγὼ γνώσκω,
κύριε; Οὐδὲν οὖν ἐπινοεῖς περὶ αὐτῶν; 2. Ἑγὼ,
φημί, κύριε, ταύτην τὴν τέχνην οὐκ ἔχω, οὐδὲ
λατόμος εἰμὶ οὐδὲ δύναμαι νοῆσαι. Οὐ βλέπεις
αὐτοὺς, φησί, λίαν στρογγύλους ὄντας; καὶ ἐὰν
αὐτοὺς θελήσω τετραγώνους ποιήσαι, πολὺ δὲὶ ἀπ
αὐτῶν ἀποκοπῆναι. δεὶ δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐξ ἀνάγκης
τινὰς εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν τεθήσαι. 3. Εἰ οὖν, φημί,
κύριε, ἀνάγκη ἐστί, τί σε αὐτῶν βασανίζεις καὶ οὐκ
ἐκλέγεις εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν οὓς θέλεις καὶ ἀρμόζεις
εἰς αὐτὴν; ἐξελέξατο ἐξ αὐτῶν τοὺς μείζονας καὶ
λαμπροὺς καὶ ἐλατόμησεν αὐτοὺς. αἱ δὲ παρθένοι
ἀρασαι ἡμῶν εἰς τὰ ἐξώτερα μέρη τῆς οἰκοδο-
μῆς. 4. οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ οἱ περισσεύοντες ἦρθησαν
καὶ ἀπετέθησαν εἰς τὸ πεδίον, ὅθεν ἤνεχθησαν
οὐκ ἀπεβλήθησαν δὲ, "Ὅτι, φησί, λέει περὶ τῷ πύρῳ
ἐτὶ μικρόν οἰκοδομηθήηαι. πάντας δὲθέλει ὁ

1 ὑγιεῖς L, ἤκεινοι A, om. E.
2 πάντας A (probably, but it is difficult to read), ‘forsitan’ L which in Sim. vii. 4 seems to represent πάντως.

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tower; for they were too weak. 7. Then he began to look at those which had stains, and of these a very few were turned black, and were rejected with the rest, but most of them were found to be bright and sound, and these were fitted by the maidens into the building, but they were put on the outside because of their strength.

IX

1. Next he came to look at the white and round stones, and said to me: "What do we do with these stones?" "How should I know, Sir?" said I. "Then do you not notice anything about them?" 2. "I, Sir," said I, "have not this art, I am neither a stone-cutter, nor can I understand." "Do you not see," said he, "that they are very round, and if I wish to make them square, a great deal must be cut away from them? Yet some of them must of necessity be put into the building." 3. "If then, Sir," said I, "it is necessary, why do you worry yourself, and not choose for the building those which you wish and fit them into it?" He chose out from them the largest and bright ones and hewed them, and the maidens took and fitted them into the outside of the building. 4. And the rest which remained over were taken up and put back into the plain from which they had been brought. But they were not rejected, "Because," said he, "there remains still a little to be
THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

despótēs toû púrygon toûtous ārmossthēnai toûs lîthous eîs tîn oíkodômîn, òti lamprôi eîsî liân.
5. ēkhlîthēsan de yunaikeis diwdeka, euieidēstatai tî w xaraktîri, mêlanâ éndeduménaî, periexwos-
ménaî kai ἕξω toûs òmous ἔχουσαι 1 kai tâs trîkhas leêménaî. ἔδοκουσαν de moi aî yunaikeis
aîtaî âgriaî eînai. ἐκέλευσε de aîtaîs o poimîn
årai toûs lîthous toûs âpobebelhménaîs ek tîs
oíkodômîs kai âpenegeîkeîn aîtaîs eîs tâ òrē, òthe
kai ēnêchthēsan. 6. aî de ilaraî ñran kai âpînveg-
kav pântas toûs lîthous kai êthkan, òthein ēlîfthet-
san. kai metâ tî ârthēnai pântas toûs lîthous
kai ìkakîti keîsai lîthon kûklo toû pûrygon,
ângei moi o poimîn. Kuklôswomeîn toû pûrygon kai
îdomeî, mî ti elâttomâ estin en aûthî kai
êkûkleunon êgô met' aûtou. 7. ìdouv de o poimîn
toû pûrygon éntrapēî ñonta tî oíkodômî lîan ìlaros
în. o gâr pûrygos òutous òn òkodomhmenîos, òste
me ìdonta èpîtheîmeîn tîn oíkodômîn aîtaîs òutos
gâr òn òkodomhmenîos, òsàn ê ëxos lîthou mî
êxouî ìnâr ārmogîn ân ìnunîfâ. èfâineto de o lîdos
ûs èk tîs pêtraîs êkkêkolammênôn. monîlîthsos gâr
moi êdôkei eînai.

X

1. Kûgô peripatôn met' aûtou ìlaros ìmîn
toûtaîa ìgathâ blêpòn. ìnèigei de moi o poimîn
"îpanē kai fêrê âsbêstou kai ìstrakon leptôn,
ûna toûs tûpous tîn lîthon tîn ārmênôn kai

1 Retranslated from Le'E, om. A.
THE SHEPHERD, sim. ix. ix. 4–x. 1

built of the tower, and the master of the tower wishes that all these stones should be fitted into the building because they are very bright. 5. And there were called twelve women, very beautiful to look at, clothed in black, girded, and their shoulders bare, and their hair loose. And these women looked to me to be cruel. And the shepherd commanded them to take the stones which were rejected from the building, and take them back to the mountains, from which also they had been brought. 6. And they were glad and took them up, and took away all the stones, and put them whence they had been taken. And after all the stones had been taken up, and there no longer remained a stone round the tower, the shepherd said to me: "Let us go round the tower and see if there is any defect in it." And I went round it with him. 7. And when the shepherd saw that the tower was beautifully built, he was very joyful; for the tower was so built that when I saw it, I envied its building, for it was so built, as if it were all one stone, without a single joint in it, and the stone appeared as if it had been hewn out of a rock, for it seemed to me to be a single stone.

X

1. And I also walked with him and was glad when I saw such good things. And the shepherd said to me: "Go and bring lime and a light clay, that I may fill up the marks of the stones which have

1 Apparently the meaning is that the holes left in the ground where stones had been taken out were to be filled up and levelled.
eis tēn oikodomēnēn βεβλημένων 1 ἀναπληρώσων, δεί γὰρ τοῦ πύργου τὰ κύκλῳ πάντα ὀμαλὰ γενέσθαι. 2. καὶ ἐποίησα καθὼς ἐκέλευσε, καὶ ήνεγκα πρὸς αὐτὸν. Ἡπηρετεί μοι, φησί, καὶ ἔγγυς τὸ ἐργον τελεσθῆσεται. ἐπλήρωσεν ὦν τοὺς τύπους τῶν λίθων τῶν εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν ἀπελθῆσοντων καὶ ἐκέλευσε σαρωθῆναι τὰ κύκλῳ τοῦ πύργου καὶ καθαρὰ γενέσθαι: 3. αἱ δὲ παρθένοι λαβοῦσαι σάρος ἐσάρωσαν καὶ πάντα τὰ κόπρια ἦραν ἐκ τοῦ πύργου καὶ ἔρραν τὸ ὕδωρ, καὶ ἐγένετο ὁ τόπος ἱλαιρὸς καὶ εὐπρεπέστερος τοῦ πύργου. 4. λέγει μοι ὁ ποιμὴν. Πάντα, φησί, κεκαθάρται ἕως ἐλθῇ ο ἱερός ἐπισκέψασθαι τὸν πύργον, οὐκ ἔχει ἡμῖν οὐδὲν μέμψασθαι. ταῦτά εἰπὼν ἦθελεν ὑπάγειν. 5. ἔγω δὲ ἐπελαθόμην αὐτοῦ τῆς πήρας καὶ ἡρξάμην αὐτῶν ὅρκίζειν κατὰ τοῦ κυρίου, ἵνα μοι ἐπιλύσῃ, ὁ ἐδείξε μοι. λέγει μοι. Μικρῶν ἔχω ἀκαρεθήναι καὶ πάντα σοὶ ἐπιλύσω· ἐκδεξάι με ὧδε, ἔως ἐρχομαι. 6. λέγω αὐτῷ. Κύριε, μόνος ὃν ὧδε ἔγω τί ποιήσω; Οὐκ εἰ, φησί, μόνος· αἱ γὰρ παρθένοι αὐταί μετὰ σοῦ εἰσί. Παράδος οὖν, φημί, αὐταῖς με. προσκαλεῖται αὐτὰς ὁ ποιμὴν καὶ λέγει αὐταῖς· Παρατίθεμαι ὑμῖν τοῦτον ἔως ἐρχομαι· καὶ ἀπῆλθεν. 7. ἔγω δὲ ἡμῶν μόνος μετὰ τῶν παρθένων ἤσαν δὲ ἱλαρωτεραί καὶ πρὸς ἐμὲ εὐ ἐγὼ μάλιστα δὲ αἱ τέσσαρες αἱ ἐνδοξότεραι αὐτῶν.

1 ἡμεῖς... βεβλημένων ΛΕ, ἡμιοσμένων εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν καὶ βεβλημένων Α.
been taken up, and put into the building. For all the ground round the tower must be level.” 2. And I did as he commanded and brought them to him. “Serve me,” said he, “and the work will soon be completed.” So he filled up the marks of the stones which had gone into the building, and commanded all round the tower to be swept, and be made clean. 3. And the maidens took brooms and swept, and they took away all the dirt from the tower and sprinkled water, and the place of the tower became joyful and very beautiful. 4. The shepherd said to me: “Everything,” said he, “has been made clean. If the lord come to visit the tower, he has nothing with which to blame us.” When he had said this he wished to go away. 5. But I took him by his wallet, and began to adjure him by the Lord to explain to me what he had shown me. He said to me: “I am busy for a little and then I will explain everything to you. Wait for me here till I come.” 6. I said to him: “Sir, what shall I do here alone?” “You are not alone,” he said, “for these maidens are here with you.” “Give me then,” said I, “into their charge.” The shepherd called them and said to them: “I entrust him to you till I come,” and he went away. 7. And I was alone with the maidens, and they were merry and gracious towards me, especially the four more glorious of them.
XI

1. Δέγνουσι μοι αἱ παρθένοι. Σήμερον ὁ ποιμὴν ὄδε οὐκ ἔρχεται. Τὶ οὖν, φημὶ, ποιήσω ἐγὼ; Μέχρις ὄψε, φασίν, περίμεινον αὐτῶν καὶ εἀν ἔλθῃ, λαλήσει μετὰ σοῦ, εἀν δὲ μὴ ἔλθῃ, μενεῖς μὲθ' ἡμῶν ὄδε ἐως ἔρχεται. 2. Λέγω αὕταις: Ἐκδέξομαι αὐτῶν ἐως ὄψε: εἀν δὲ μὴ ἔλθῃ, ἀπελεύσομαι εἰς τὸν οἶκον καὶ προῖ ἑπανήξω. αἱ δὲ ἀκοκριθεῖσαι λέγουσι μοι. Ἡμῖν παρεδόθης· οὐ δύνασαι ἀφ' ἡμῶν ἀναχωρῆσαι. 3. Ποῦ οὖν, φημὶ, μενῶ; Μεθ' ἡμῶν, φασί, κοιμηθήσῃ ὡς ἄδελφός, καὶ οὐχ ὡς ἄνηρ· ἡμέτερος γὰρ ἄδελφός εἰ, καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ μέλλομεν μετὰ σοῦ κατοικεῖν, λίαν γὰρ σε ἀγαπῶμεν. ἔγω δὲ ἡσυχινόμην μετ' αὐτῶν μένειν. 4. καὶ ἡ δοκοῦσα πρώτῃ αὐτῶν εἶναι ἠρξατό με καταφιλεῖν καὶ περιπλέκεσθαι. αἱ δὲ ἀλλαὶ ὁρῶσαι ἐκείνην περιπληκομένην μοι καὶ αὐταὶ ἠρξαντό με καταφιλεῖν καὶ περιάγειν κύκλῳ τοῦ πύργου καὶ παίζειν μετ' ἐμοῦ. 5. καὶ γὰρ ὠσεὶ νεότερος ἐγεγόνει καὶ ἠρξάμην καὶ αὐτὸς παίζειν μετ' αὐτῶν· αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐχόμενοι, αἱ δὲ ὦρ- χοῦτο, αἱ δὲ ἥδω· ἔγω δὲ σιγὴν ἔχων μετ' αὐτῶν κύκλῳ τοῦ πύργου περιποιήματον καὶ ἔλαρος ἡμῶν μετ' αὐτῶν. 6. ὄψιας δὲ γενομένης ἠθέλον εἰς τὸν οἶκον ὑπάγειν· αἱ δὲ οὐκ ἀφῆκαν, ἀλλὰ κατέ- σχον με. καὶ ἔμεινα μετ' αὐτῶν τὴν νύκτα καὶ ἐκοιμήθην παρὰ τὸν πύργον. 7. ἔστρωσαν γὰρ αἱ παρθένοι τοὺς λινοὺς χιτώνας ἐαυτῶν χαμάλα καὶ ἐμὲ ἀνέκλιναν εἰς τὸ μέσον αὐτῶν, καὶ οὗδεν ἄλως ἐποίοιν εἰ μὴ προσηύχοντο· καίγω μετ' αὐτῶν.
1. The maidens said to me: "To-day the shepherd is not coming here." "What then," said I, "shall I do?" "Wait for him," said they, "until the evening, and if he come he will speak with you; and if he come not you shall remain here with us until he come." 2. I said to them: "I will wait for him till evening, but if he come not I will go away home and return in the morning." But they answered and said to me: "You were given to our charge; you cannot go away from us." 3. "Where shall I stay then?" said I. "You shall sleep with us," said they, "as a brother and not as a husband, for you are our brother and for the future we are going to live with you, for we love you greatly." But I was ashamed to stay with them. 4. And she who seemed to be the first of them began to kiss and embrace me, and the others seeing her embracing me began to kiss me themselves, and to lead me round the tower, and to play with me. 5. I, too, had, as it were, become young again, and began to play with them myself, for some were dancing, others were gavotting, others were singing, and I walked in silence with them round the tower, and was merry with them. 6. But when evening came I wished to go home but they did not let me go, but kept me, and I stayed the night with them and slept by the tower. 7. For the maidens spread their linen tunics on the ground, and they made me lie down in the midst of them, and they did nothing else but pray, and I also prayed with
THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

1. Πρῶτον, φημί, πάντων, κύριε, τούτο μοι διήλωσον· ἡ πέτρα καὶ ἡ πύλη τῆς ἐστίν; Ἡ πέτρα, φησίν, αὐτὴ καὶ ἡ πύλη ὁ νῖος τοῦ θεοῦ ἐστὶ. Πῶς, φημί, κύριε, ἡ πέτρα παλαιά ἐστιν, ἢ δὲ πύλη καὶ ἡ καὶ ἡ πύλη καὶ ἡ κυριακή· Ἀκούειν, φησί· καὶ σύνεια ἁσύνετε. 2. ὁ μὲν νῖος τοῦ θεοῦ πᾶσας τῆς κτίσεως αὐτοῦ προγενέστερος ἐστιν, ὡστε σύμβουλον αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι τῷ πατρὶ τῆς κτίσεως αὐτοῦ· διὰ τούτο καὶ παλαιά ἡ πέτρα. 1 Ἡ δὲ πύλη διατί καὶ κυρίη, φημί, κύριε; 3. Ὡστε, φησίν· ἐπὶ ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν τῆς συντελείας φανερὸς ἐγένετο, διὰ τούτο

XII

1 παλαιὰ ἡ πέτρα Παρπ παλαιὸς ἐστὶ Α, ὁμ. Λ.
them unceasingly and not less than they, and the maidens rejoiced when I was praying thus, and I stayed there until the morrow until the second hour with the maidens. 8. Then the shepherd came and said to the maidens: "Have you done him any despite?" "Ask him," said they. I said to him: "Sir, I rejoiced at remaining with them." "On what," said he, "did you sup?" "I supped, Sir," said I, "on the words of the Lord the whole night." "Did they receive you well?" said he, "Yes, Sir," said I. 9. "Now," said he, "what do you wish to hear first?" "Even as, Sir," said I, "you showed me from the beginning; I ask you, Sir, to declare things to me even as I ask them of you." "Even as you desire," said he, "so I will interpret to you, and hide from you nothing at all."

XII

1. "First of all, Sir," said I, "tell me this: What is the rock and the door?" "This rock and the door," said he, "is the Son of God." "How is it," said I, "Sir, that the rock is old, but the gate is new?" "Listen," said he, "and understand, foolish man. 2. The Son of God is older than all his creation, so that he was the counsellor of his Creation to the Father, therefore the rock is also old." "But why is the gate new, Sir?" said I. 3. "Because," said he, "He was manifested in the last days of the end."

1 The Greek means 'the consummation,' the time when this age or world-period is finished, and a new age will begin. (Cf. Mt. 13, 40.)
THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

ξιδαλείπτως προσηνχόμην καὶ ἐκεῖνων. καὶ ἔχαριον αἱ παρθέναι προσενχομένου. καὶ ἐμείνα ἐκεῖ μὲν ἔως ὃς δεύτερα μετὰ τῶν παρθένων παρῆν ὁ ποιμήν, καὶ λέγει ταῖς παρθέναις αὐτῶν ὑβρίν πεποίηκατε; Ἑρωθὺς αὐτῶν. λέγω αὐτῷ: Κύριε, εὑρεθήσομαι αὐτῶν μείναις. Τί, φησίν, ἐδείπνησα πυνῆσα, φημί, κύριε, ῥήματα κυρίου νῦκτα. Καλῶς, φησίν, ἔλαβόν σε; κύριε. 9. Νῦν, φησί, τί θελεῖς πρῶτον. Καθὼς, φημί, κύριε, ἀπ' ἀρχής ἐδειξόμενον σε, κύριε, ἵνα, καθὼς ἀν σε ἐπερωτήσῃς καὶ δηλώσῃς. Καθὼς βούλεις, φησίν, καὶ ἐπιλύσω, καὶ οὐδὲν ἄλως ἀποκρύψω.

XII

1. Πρῶτον, φημί, πάντων, κύριε, τι δήλωσον ἡ πέτρα καὶ ἡ πύλη τῆς ἡ πέτρα, φησίν, αὐτή καὶ ἡ πύλη ὁ νιός ἐστί. Πῶς, φημί, κύριε, ἡ πέτρα παλαιὰ ἡ δὲ πύλη καινή; Ἄκοινε, φησί, καὶ σύνιε. 2. ὁ μὲν νιός τοῦ θεοῦ πάσης τῆς κτίσεως προγενέστερος ἐστιν, ὡστε σύμβουλον γενέσθαι τῷ πατρὶ τῆς κτίσεως αὐτοῦ; διὸ καὶ παλαιὰ ἡ πέτρα. 1 Ἑνὶ δὲ πύλῃ διατίθεται φημί, κύριε; 3. Ὁτι, φησίν, ἐπ' ἐσχάτως ἡμερῶν τῆς συντελείας φανερὸς ἐγένετο, διὰ τὸν

1 παλαιὰ ἡ πέτρα Παντὶ παλαιὸς ἐστὶ Λα. οὐ. Λ., 248

Prov. 8, 27-30

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3. By this reason you see that the solid stone with the rock.  

6. Why, Sir,” said the rejected stones rejected? For they sat and were put into the hands of the maidens.”

8. After some time, then, sent by the women whom reiement, who had their hair loose, and were them they desired them, put off the clothing and. They were therefore God and were handed those who were not women remained in here,” said he, “the rejected.”
THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

καὶνὴ ἐγένετο ἡ πύλη, ἵνα οἱ μέλλοντες σώζεσθαι
dι’ αὐτής εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν εἰσέλθωσι τοῦ θεοῦ.
4. εἰδε, φησίν, τῶν λίθων τοὺς διὰ τῆς πύλης
eἰσελθηκότας εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν τοῦ πύργου
βεβλημένους, ι τοὺς δὲ μὴ εἰσελθηκότας πάλιν
ἀποβεβλημένους εἰς τὸν ἰδίον τόπον; Εἰδον, φησί,
kύριε. Οὕτω, φησίν, εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ
οὐδές εἰσελεύσεται, εἰ μὴ λάβοι τὸ ὅνομα τὸ
ἄγιον ι αὐτοῦ. 5. Ἆν γὰρ εἰς τὰς βασιλείας εἰσελ-
θεῖν τινα κάκεινη ἡ πόλις περιτετειχίσμενη κύκλῳ
cαι μίαν ἕχει πύλην, μνή δύνῃ εἰς ἐκείνην τὴν
πόλιν εἰσελθεῖν, εἰ μὴ διὰ τῆς πύλης ἐχὲι;
Pῶς γὰρ, φημί, κύριε, δύναται γενέσθαι ἄλλως;
Εἰ οὖν εἰς τὴν πόλιν οὐ δύνη εἰσελθεῖν εἰ
μὴ διὰ τῆς πύλης ἐχὲι, οὕτω, φησί, καὶ
eἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ ἄλλως εἰσελθεῖν
οὐ δύναται ἀνθρώπος εἰ μὴ διὰ τοῦ ὅνομα-
tος τοῦ ἱεροῦ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἡγαπημένου ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ.
6. Εἰδε, φησί, τὸν ἄγιον τὸν οἰκοδομοῦντα τὸν
πύργον; Εἰδον, φημί, κύριε. Ἐκεῖνοι, φησί,
pάντες ἄγγελοι ἐνδοξοί εἰσιν τούτοις οὐν περιτε-
tειχίσται ὁ κύριος. ἢ δὲ πύλη ὁ νῖος τοῦ θεοῦ
ἔστιν αὐτὴ μία ἐξοδός ἐστι πρὸς τὸν κύριον. ἄλλως
οὐν οὐδές εἰσελεύσεται πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰ μὴ
dιὰ τοῦ νῖος αὐτοῦ. 7. Εἰδε, φησί, τοὺς ἄνδρας καὶ
τῶν μέσων αὐτῶν ἐνδοξοὺς καὶ μέγαν ἄνδρα τὸν
περιτετοῦντα περὶ τὸν πύργον καὶ τοὺς
λίθους ἀποδοκιμάζοντα ἐκ τῆς οἰκοδομῆς; Εἰδον,
φημί, κύριε. 8. ὁ ἐνδοξος, φησίν, ἀνὴρ ὁ νῖος
tοῦ θεοῦ ἔστι, κάκεινοι οἱ ἕξ οἱ ἐνδοξοὶ ἄγγελοι

1 βεβλημένους om. A.
2 τὸ ἄγιον A, τοῦ νῖοι αὐτοῦ E, τοῦ νῖοι τοῦ θεοῦ L.
of the world, for this reason the gate is new, that those who are to be saved may ‘enter’ through it ‘into the kingdom of God.’ 4. Do you see,” said he, “the stones which entered through the gate, were put into the building of the tower, but those which did not enter through it were put back again into their own place?” “I see, Sir,” said I. “So,” said he, “no man ‘shall enter into the Kingdom of God,’ except he take his holy name. 5. For if you wish to enter into a city, and that city has been walled round, and has one gate, can you enter into that city except through the gate which it has?” “No, Sir,” said I, “for how is it possible otherwise?” “If then you are not able to enter into the city except through the gate which it has, so,” said he, “a man ‘cannot’ otherwise ‘enter into the kingdom of God,’ except through the name of his Son, who was beloved by him. 6. Do you see,” said he, “the crowd which is building the tower?” “Yes, Sir,” said I, “I see it.” “They,” said he, “are all glorious angels; by these then the Lord has been walled round. But the gate is the Son of God, this is the only entrance to the Lord. No man can enter in to him otherwise, than through his Son. 7. So you see,” said he, “the six men, and the glorious and great man in their midst, who is walking round the tower and rejected the stones from the building?” “Yes, Sir,” said I, “I see him.” 8. “The glorious man,” said he, “is the Son of God, and

1 It is noteworthy that here the Lord is for the moment identified with the tower.
THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

εἰσὶ δεξιὰ καὶ εὐώνυμα συγκρατοῦντες αὐτῶν. τούτων, φησί, τῶν ἀγγέλων τῶν ἐνδόξων οὔδεὶς εἰσελεύσεται πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἄτερ αὐτῶν· ὅσα ἂν τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ μὴ λάβῃ, οὐκ εἰσελεύσεται εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ.

XIII

1. Ὁ δὲ πύργος, φημί, τίς ἐστιν; Ὁ πύργος, φησίν, οὗτος ἡ ἐκκλησία ἐστίν. 2. Αἱ δὲ παρθένοι αὐταί τίνες εἰσίν; Ἀὐταί, φησίν, ἀγια πνεῦματα εἰσὶν καὶ ἁλλὰς ἀνθρώπους οὐ δύναται εὐρεθῆναι εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ, ἕαν μὴ αὐταὶ αὐτῶν ἐνδύσωσι τὸ ἔνδυμα αὐτῶν· ἐὰν γὰρ τὸ ὄνομα μόνον λάβῃς, τὸ δὲ ἔνδυμα παρὰ τούτων μὴ λάβῃς, οὐδὲν ὁφελήσῃ αὐταὶ γὰρ αἱ παρθένοι δυνάμεις εἰσὶ τοῦ νῦν τοῦ θεοῦ. ἔαν τὸ ὄνομα φορῆς, τὴν δὲ δύναμιν μὴ φορῆς αὐτοῦ, εἰς μάτην ἔση τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ φορῶν. 3. τοὺς δὲ Λήσους, φησίν, οὐς εἶδες ἀποβεβλημένους, οὕτως τὸ μὲν ὄνομα ἑφόρησαν, τὸν δὲ ἰματισμὸν τῶν παρθένων οὐκ ἑνεδύσαντο. Ποίος, φημί, ἰματισμὸς αὐτῶν ἐστι, κύριε; Ἀὐτὰ τὰ ὄνοματα, φησίν, ἰματισμὸς ἐστὶν αὐτῶν. ὅσα δὲ ἄν τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ νῦν τοῦ θεοῦ φορῆ, καὶ τούτων ὁφείλει τὰ ὄνοματα φορεῖν καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς ὁ νῦς τὰ ὄνοματα τῶν παρθένων τοῦ των φορεῖ. 4. ὅσος, φησί, λήσος εἶδες εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν τοῦ πύργου εἰσελθεῖν τος ὑπὼς ἐπιδεδομένους διὰ τῶν χειρῶν αὐτῶν καὶ μείναντας εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν,1 τούτων τῶν παρθένων τὴν δύνα-

1 Retranslated from LE, om. A.

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those six are glorious angels supporting him on the
right hand and on the left. None of these glorious
angels," said he, "can enter into God's presence
without him. Whoever receives not his name
'shall not enter into the kingdom of God.'"

XIII

1. "But," said I, "what is the tower? "This The Tower
tower," said he, "is the Church." 2. "And what are these maidens?" "They," said he, "are holy
spirits. And a man cannot be found in the kingdom
of God in any other way, except they clothe him
with their clothing. For if you receive the name
alone but do not receive the clothing from them,
you will benefit nothing, for these maidens are the
powers of the Son of God. If you bear the name,
but do not bear his power you will be bearing his
name in vain. 3. And the stones," said he, "which
you saw rejected, these are they who bore the name,
but were not clothed with the raiment of the
maidens." "What," said I, "is their raiment, Sir?"
"Their' names themselves," said he, "are their
raiment. Whoever bears the name of the Son of
God must also bear their names; for even the Son
himself bears the names of these maidens.1 4. All
the stones," said he, "which you saw enter into the
building of the tower, given by their hands and
remaining in the building, had put on the power of

1 The explanation is given in Sim. ix. 15.

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μν ἐνδεδυμένοι εἰσὶ. 5. διὰ τοῦτο βλέπεις τὸν πῦργον μονόλιθον γεγονότα μετὰ τῆς πέτρας· οὕτω καὶ οἱ πιστεύσαντες τῷ κυρίῳ διὰ τοῦ νιὸν αὐτῶν καὶ ἐνδιδυσκόμενοι τὰ πνεύματα ταῦτα ἔσονται εἰς ἐν πνεύμα, ἐν σώμα, καὶ μία χρόα τῶν ἰματίων αὐτῶν. τῶν τοιούτων δὲ τῶν φοροῦσσων τὰ ὑλικὰ τῶν παρθένων ἔστιν ή κατοικία εἰς τὸν πῦργον. 6. Οἱ οὖν, φησί, κύριε, ἀποβεβλημένοι λίθοι διατὶ ἀπεβλήθησαν; διήλθον γὰρ διὰ τῆς πύλης, καὶ διὰ τῶν χειρῶν τῶν παρθένων ἐτέθησαν εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν τοῦ πῦργου. Ἐστιν τὰ πάντα σοι, φησί, μέλει, καὶ ἀκριβῶς ἐξετάζεις, ἂν ἀπερί τῶν ἀποβεβλημένων λίθων. 7. οὖν, φησί, πάντες τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ νιὸν τοῦ θεού ἔλαβον, ἔλαβον δὲ καὶ τὴν δύναμιν τῶν παρθένων τούτων. λαβόντες οὖν τὰ πνεύματα ταῦτα ἐνε- δυμάμωθησαν καὶ ἦσαν μετὰ τῶν δούλων τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ ἦν αὐτῶν ἐν πνεύμα καὶ ἐν σώμα καὶ ἐν ἐνυμα· τὰ γὰρ αὐτὰ ἐφρόνουν καὶ δικαιοσύνην εἰργάζοντο. 8. μετὰ οὖν χρόνου τινὰ ἀνεπει- σθηκαν ὑπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν ἄν εἶδες μέλανα ἰμάτια ἐνδεδυμένων, τοὺς ὄμοις ἔξω ἔχουσιν καὶ τὰς τρίχας λευμένας καὶ εὐμόρφους ταύτας ἑδύνετε ἐπεθύμησαν αὐτῶν καὶ ἐνεδύσαστο τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῶν, τῶν δὲ παρθένων ἀπεδύσατο τὸ ἐνυμα καὶ τὴν δύναμιν. 1 9. οὖν οὖν ἀπεβλήθησαν ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἐκεῖναις παρεδόθησαν· οἱ δὲ μὴ ἀπατηθέντες τῷ κάλλει τῶν γυναικῶν τούτων ἔμειναν ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ τοῦ θεοῦ. ἔχεις, φησί, τὴν ἐπίλυσιν τῶν ἀποβεβλημένων.

1 τὴν δύναμιν ΑΛ, τὸ ἐνυμα Ι, τὸ ἐνυμα καὶ τὴν δύναμιν Δ.
these maidens. 5. For this reason you see that the
tower has become one solid stone with the rock.
So also those who believe on the Lord through his
Son, and put on these spirits will become 'one spirit
and one body,' and the colour of their raiment will be
one. And the dwelling of such as bear the names
of the maidens is in the tower." 6. "Why, Sir," said
I, "were the rejected stones rejected? For they
came in through the gate and were put into the
building of the tower by the hands of the maidens."
"Since," said he, "you care for everything, and
enquire accurately, listen concerning the rejected
stones. 7. These," said he, "all bore the name of
the Son of God, and they also received the power of
these maidens. By receiving these spirits, then, they
were strengthened and were with the servants of
God, and they had 'one spirit and one body,' and
one raiment, for they 'had the same mind' and
'wrought righteousness.' 8. After some time, then,
they were made disobedient by the women whom
you saw clothed in black raiment, who had their
shoulders bare, and their hair loose, and were
beautiful. When they saw them they desired them,
and put on their power, and put off the clothing and
power of the maidens. 9. They were therefore
rejected from the house of God and were handed
over to those women. But those who were not
deceived by the beauty of these women remained in
the house of God. You have here," said he, "the
explanation of those who were rejected."
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XIV

1. Tί οὖν, φημί, κύριε, ἐὰν οὗτοι οἱ ἀνθρώποι, τοιούτοι ὄντες, μετανοήσωσι καὶ ἀποβάλωσι τάς ἐπιθυμίας τῶν γυναικῶν τούτων, καὶ ἐπανακάμψωσιν ἐπὶ τάς παρθένους καὶ ἐν τῇ δυνάμει αὐτῶν καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτῶν πορευθῶσιν, οὐκ εἰσελεύσονται εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ θεοῦ; 2. Εἰσελεύσονται, φησὶν, ἐὰν τούτων τῶν γυναικῶν ἀποβάλωσι τά ἔργα, τῶν δὲ παρθένων ἀναλάβωσι τὴν δύναμιν καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτῶν πορευθῶσιν. Διὰ τούτο γὰρ καὶ τῆς οἰκοδομῆς ἀνοχῆ ἐγένετο, ἵνα, ἐὰν μετανοήσωσιν οὕτω, ἀπέλθωσιν εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν τοῦ πύργου. ἐὰν δὲ μὴ μετανοήσωσι, τότε ἄλλοι εἰσελεύσονται, καὶ οὕτω εἰς τέλος ἐκβληθήσονται. 3. Ἐπὶ τούτως πάσιν ἡχορίστησα τῷ κυρίῳ, οὕτω ἐσπλαγχνίσθη ἐπὶ πάσιν τοῖς ἐπικαλουμένοις τῷ ὅνοματι αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔξαπέτευθε τὸν ἄγγελον τῆς μετανοίας εἰς ἣμᾶς τοὺς ἀμαρτήσαντας εἰς αὐτὸν καὶ ἀνεκαίνισαν ἡμῶν τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ ἡ ἄνω διακοθημένων ἡμῶν καὶ μὴ ἐχόντων ἐλπίδα τοῦ ζῆν ἀνενέωσε τὴν ζωὴν ἡμῶν. 4. Νῦν, φημὶ, κύριε, δήλωσόν μοι, διάτι ο πύργος χαμαὶ οὐκ ἰκοδομηθήθηκεν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὴν πέτραν καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν πύλην. Ἔτι, φησίν, ἄφρων εἰ καὶ ἀσύνετος; Ἀνάγκην ἔχω, φημί, κύριε, πάντα ἐπερωτῶν σε, ὅτι οὐδ' ὅλως οὐδὲν δύναμαι νοῆσαι· τὰ γὰρ πάντα μεγάλα καὶ ἐνδοξά ἐστι καὶ δυσνόητα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. 5. Ἀκούει, φησὶ· τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ νιότο τοῦ θεοῦ μέγα ἐστὶ καὶ ἀχώρητον καὶ τὸν κόσμον ὅλον βαστάζει.

1 εἰσελεύσονται LE, ἀπελεύσονται A.

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THE SHEPHERD, SIM. IX. XIV. 1-5

XIV

1. "How will it then be, Sir," said I, "if these men, such as they are, repent and put away the lusts of these women, and return to the maidens and walk in their power and in their deeds? Will they not enter into the house of God?"

2. "They will enter," said he, "if they put away the works of these women, and take back the power of the maidens and walk in their deeds. For this cause also there was a pause in the building, in order that, if they repent, they may go away into the building of the tower. But if they do not repent then others will enter and they will be finally rejected."

3. I thanked the Lord for all these things, that he had mercy on all who call upon his name, and sent the angel of repentance to us who have sinned against him, and renewed our spirit, even when we were already corrupted, and restored our life, when we had no hope of living.

4. "Now, Sir," said I, "explain to me why the tower was not built on the ground but on the rock and on the gate."

"Are you still," said he, "silly and foolish?" "I need, Sir," said I, "to ask everything from you, because I am wholly without power of understanding anything. For all things great and glorious are also difficult for men to understand."

5. "Listen," said he, "the name of the Son of God is great and incomprehensible, and supports the whole world. If
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εἰ ὁμ πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις διὰ τοῦ νόμου τοῦ θεοῦ βαστάζεται, τί δοκεῖς τοὺς κεκλημένους ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ ὄνομα φοροῦντας τοῦ νόμου τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πορευομένους ταῖς ἐντολαῖς αὐτοῦ; 6. βλέπεις οὖν, ποίους βαστάζει; τοὺς ἐξ ὅλης καρδίας φο- ροῦντας τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ. αὐτὸς οὖν θεμέλιος αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο καὶ ἥδεως αὐτοὺς βαστάζει, ὅτι οὐκ ἐπαισχύνονται τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ φορεῖν.

XV

1. Δήλοσών μοι, φημί, κύριε, τῶν παρθέ- νων τὰ ὄνοματα καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν τῶν τὰ μέλαια ἵματια ἐνδεδυμένων. ᾧ Ἀκουε, φησίν, τῶν παρθέ- νων τὰ ὄνομα τῶν ἵσχυροτέρων, τῶν εἰς τὰς γυναικὲς σταθερῶν. 2. ἢ μὲν πρώτη Πίστις, ἢ δὲ δευτέρα Ἑγκράτεια, ἢ δὲ τρίτη Δύναμις, ἢ δὲ τετάρτη Μακροθυμία· αἱ δὲ ἔτεραι ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦτων σταθεῖσαι ταῦτα ἔχουσι τὰ ὄνοματα· Ἀπλότης, Ἀκακία, Ἀγνεία, Ἑλαρότης, Ἀλήθεια, Σύνεσις, Ὄμονοια, Ἀγάπη. ταῦτα τὰ ὄνοματα ὁ φορῶν καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ νόμου τοῦ θεοῦ δυνάμεται εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ εἰσελθεῖν. 3. Ἀκουε, φησί, καὶ τὰ ὄνοματα τῶν γυναικῶν τῶν τὰ ἱμάτια μέλαινα ἔχουσών. καὶ ἐκ τοῦτων πέσσαρες εἰςι δυνατώτεραι. ἢ πρώτη Ἀπιστία, ἢ δευτέρα Ἀκ- ρασία, ἢ δὲ τρίτη Ἀπείθεια, ἢ δὲ τετάρτη Ἀπάτη. αἱ δὲ ἄκολουθοι αὐτῶν καλοῦνται Δύναμις, Πονηρία, Ἀσέλγεια, Ἀξιομαχία, Ψεύδος, Ἀφροσύνη, Καταλαλία, Μίσος. ταῦτα τὰ ὄνοματα ὁ φορῶν τοῦ

1 τὰ ὄνομα... παρθένων, retranslated from LE, om. Δ.
then the whole creation is supported by the Son of God, what do you think of those who are called by him, and bear the name of the Son of God, and walk in his commandments? 6. Do you see then whom he supports? Those who bear his name with their whole heart. He then was their foundation and he supports them joyfully, because they are not ashamed to bear his name."

XV

1. "Explain to me, Sir," said I, "the names of the maidens, and of the women who are clothed in black raiment." "Listen," said he, "to the names of the stronger maidens who stand at the corners. 2. The first is Faith, the second is Temperance, the third is Power, the fourth is Long-suffering, and the others who stand between them have these names:—Simplicity, Guilelessness, Holiness, Joyfulness, Truth, Understanding, Concord, Love. He who bears these names and the name of the Son of God, 'shall be able to enter into the Kingdom of God.' 3. Hear also," said he, "the names of the women who have black raiment. Of these also four are more powerful. The first is Unbelief, the second Impurity, the third Disobedience, and the fourth Deceit; and those who follow them are called Grief, Wickedness, Licentiousness, Bitterness, Lying, Foolishness, Evil-speaking, Hate. The servant of God who bears
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θεοῦ δούλος τὴν βασιλείαν μὲν ὦστει τοῦ θεοῦ,
εἰς αὐτὴν δὲ οὐκ εἰσελεύσεται. 4. Οἱ λίθοι δὲ,
φημὶ, κύριε, οἱ ἐκ τοῦ βυθοῦ ἡμοσμένοι εἰς τὴν
οἰκοδομὴν τίνες εἰσίν; Οἱ μὲν πρῶτοι, φησίν, οἱ 'ι
οἱ εἰς τὰ θεμέλια τεθείμενοι, πρῶτη γενεὰ; οἱ δὲ
κε'1 δευτέρα γενεὰ ἀνδρῶν δικαίων· οἱ δὲ λέ προ-
φῆται τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ διάκονυ αὐτοῦ; οἱ δὲ μ'
ἀπόστολοι καὶ διδάσκαλοι τοῦ κηρύγματος τοῦ
νιὸ τοῦ θεοῦ. 5. Διατὶ οὖν, φημὶ, κύριε, αἱ
παρθένοι καὶ τούτους τοὺς λίθους ἐπέδωκαν εἰς
τὴν οἰκοδομὴν τοῦ πύργου, διενέκασαι διὰ τῆς
πύλης; 6. Οὗτοι γὰρ, φησὶ, πρῶτοι ταῦτα τὰ
πνεύματα ἐφόρεσαν καὶ ὅλως ἀπ' ἀλλήλων οὐκ
ἀπέστησαν, οὔτε τὰ πνεύματα ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων
οὔτε οἱ ἀνθρωποὶ ἀπὸ τῶν πνευμάτων, ἀλλὰ παρέ-
μειναν τὰ πνεύματα αὐτοῖς μέχρι τῆς κοιμήσεως
αὐτῶν. καὶ εἰ μὴ ταῦτα τὰ πνεύματα μετ' αὐτῶν
ἐσχήκεισαν, οὐκ ἂν εἶ χρηστοὶ γεγονεῖσαν τῇ
οἰκοδομῇ τοῦ πύργου τούτου.

XVI

1. Ἐτι μοι, φημί, κύριε, δῆλωσον. Τί, φησίν,
ἐπιζητεῖς; Διατι, φημί, κύριε, οἱ λίθοι ἐκ τοῦ
βυθοῦ ἀνέβησαν καὶ εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν τοῦ
πύργου2 ἔτεθησαν, πεφορηκότες τὰ πνεύματα
tαῦτα; 2. Ἀνάγκην, φησίν, εἶχον δὲ ὑδατος ἀνα-
βῆναι. ἵνα ζωοποιηθῶσιν· οὐκ ἢδύναντο γὰρ ἄλλως

Jo. 3, 5

1 κε’ AL, xν E. 2 τοῦ πύργου LE, om. A.

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these names shall see the Kingdom of God, but shall not enter into it.” 4. “But, Sir,” said I, “what are the stones which were fitted into the building from the deep?” “The first,” said he, “the ten which were placed in the foundation, are the first generation; and the twenty-five are the second generation of righteous men; and the thirty-five are the prophets of God and his servants, and the forty are prophets and teachers of the preaching of the Son of God.” 5. “Why, then, Sir,” said I, “did the maidens give these stones also for the building of the tower, and brought them through the gate?” 6. “Because,” said he, “these first bore these spirits, and they did not depart from one another at all; neither the spirits from the men nor the men from the spirits, but the spirits remained with them until they fell asleep. And if they had not had these spirits with them they would not have been useful for the building of this tower.”

XVI

1. “Explain to me, Sir,” said I, “still more.” “What,” said he, “are you asking further?” “Why Sir,” said I, “did the stones come up from the deep and were put into the building of the tower, after they had borne these spirits?” 2. “They had need,” said he, “to come up through the water that they might be made alive, for ‘they could not’

1 It must be noted that the numbers given here do not quite agree with those in Sim. ix. 4, and no satisfactory hypothesis has ever been suggested as to any hidden meaning which the numbers may conceal.
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eisgelthein eis tēn basilileian tou theou, ei mē tēn
nēkrōsion apṭethento tēs ζωῆς autōn tēs pro-
tēras. 1 Jo. 8, 5
3. ἔλαβον οὖν καὶ οὗτοι οἱ κεκοιμημένοι
tēn σφραγίδα τοῦ νιὸν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ εἰσῆλθον
eis tēn basilileian tōn theou. 2 ἵνα γὰρ, φησι, φορέσαι τὸν ἀνθρωπὸν τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ νιὸν τοῦ
θεοῦ, νεκρὸς ἐστίν ὅταν δὲ λάβῃ τὴν σφραγίδα,
ἀποτίθεται τῆς νεκρόσις καὶ ἀναλαμβάνει τὴν
ζωῆν. 4. ἡ σφραγίς οὖν τὸ ὕδωρ ἐστίν εἰς τὸ
ὕδωρ οὖν καταβαίνουσι νεκροὶ καὶ ἀναβαίνουσι
ζῴντες. κάκεινοι οὖν ἐκηρύχθη ἡ σφραγίς αὐτῆς
καὶ ἐκχήσαντο αὐτῇ, ὡς εἰσῆλθοσιν εἰς τὴν
basilileian tōn theou. 5. Διατὶ, φησι, κύριε, καὶ
οἱ μ’ λίθοι μετ’ αὐτῶν ἀνέβησαν ἐκ τοῦ βυθοῦ,
ἥδη ἐσχηκότες τὴν σφαγίδα; "Ὅτι, φησιν, οὗτοι
οἱ ἀπόστολοι καὶ οἱ διδάσκαλοι οἱ κηρύξαντες τὸ
ὄνομα τοῦ νιὸν τοῦ θεοῦ, κομμηθέντες ἐν δυνάμει
καὶ πίστει τοῦ νιὸν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκήρυξαν καὶ τῶν
προκεκοιμημένων καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔδωκαν αὐτοῖς τὴν
σφραγίδα τοῦ κηρύγματος. 6. κατέβησαν οὖν
μετ’ αὐτῶν εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ πάλιν ἀνέβησαν.
ἀλλ’ οὗτοι μὲν ζῴντες κατέβησαν καὶ ζῴντες
ἀνέβησαν ἐκεῖνοι δὲ οἱ προκεκοιμημένοι νεκροὶ
κατέβησαν, ζῴντες δὲ ἀνέβησαν. 4 7. διὰ τούτων
οὖν ἐξωσποιήσασαν καὶ ἐπέγνωσαν τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ
νιὸν τοῦ θεοῦ. διὰ τούτο καὶ συνανέβησαν μετ’
αὐτῶν, καὶ συνημόσθησαν εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν τοῦ

1 τῆς προτέρας LE, om. A.
2 καὶ . . . θεοῦ retranslated from LE, om. A.
3 προκεκοιμημένοι Clem. L, E, κεκοιμημένοι ALk.
4 ἀλλ’ οὗτοι . . . ἀνέβησαν Clem. (LE) . . . , om. A.

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otherwise 'enter into the kingdom of God' unless they put away the mortality of their former life.  3. So these also who had fallen asleep received the seal of the Son of God and "entered into the kingdom of God." For before," said he, "a man bears the name of the Son of God, he is dead. But when he receives the seal he puts away mortality and receives life.  4. The seal, then, is the water. They go down then into the water dead, and come up alive. This seal, then, was preached to them also, and they made use of it 'to enter into the kingdom of God.'"  5. "Why, Sir," said I, "did the forty stones also come up with them from the deep, although they had received the seal already?" "Because," said he, "these apostles and teachers, who preached the name of the Son of God, having fallen asleep in the power and faith of the Son of God, preached also to those who had fallen asleep before them, and themselves gave to them the seal of the preaching.  6. They went down therefore with them into the water and came up again, but the latter went down alive and came up alive, while the former, who had fallen asleep before, went down dead but came up alive.  7. Through them, therefore, they were made alive, and received the knowledge of the name of the Son of God. For this cause they also came up with them and were joined into the building of the tower, and were used

1 Cf. 1, Pet. 3, 19, Gospel of Peter ix. and the Descensus ad inferos in the Acta Pilati. The idea that hearing the gospel and baptism is necessary for the salvation of the righteous dead of pre-Christian times is common, but it is more usually the Christ himself who descends to Hades for the purpose.
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πύργου, καὶ ἀλατόμητοι συνφιλοδομήθησαν ἐν
dικαιοσύνη γὰρ ἐκοιμήθησαν καὶ ἐν μεγάλῃ ἀγρείᾳ·
μόνον δὲ τὴν σφραγίδα ταῦτην οὐκ εἶχον. ἔχεις
οὐν καὶ τὴν τούτων ἐπίλυσιν. Ἕχω, φημὶ,
kύριε.

XVII

1. Νῦν οὖν, κύριε, περὶ τῶν ὁρέων μοι δῆλωσον·
dιατὶ ἄλλα καὶ ἄλλα εἰσὶν αἱ ἱδεαὶ καὶ ποι-
κίλαι; Ἀκούει, φησί· τὰ ὅρη ταῦτα τὰ δώδεκα
φυλαὶ́ εἰσίν αἱ κατοικοῦσαι ὅλον τὸν κόσμον.
ἐκπράξῃ οὖν εἰς ταῦτα δὲ νῦν τοῦ θεοῦ διὰ τῶν
ἀποστόλων. 2. Διατὶ δὲ ποικίλα καὶ ἄλλη καὶ
ἄλλη ἱδεα ἐστὶ τὰ ὅρη, δῆλωσον μοι, κύριε.
Ἀκούει, φησίν· αἱ δώδεκα φυλαὶ αὐτὶ αἱ κατοι-
κοῦσαι ὅλον τὸν κόσμον δώδεκα ἔθνη εἰσὶ· ποικίλα
dὲ εἰσὶ τῇ φρονήσει καὶ τῷ νοὶ οἷα οὖν εἰδε τὰ
ὅρη ποικίλα, τοιαῦτα εἰσὶ καὶ τούτων αἱ ποικίλαι
tοῦ νοὸς τῶν εὐθὺν καὶ ἡ φρόνησις. δηλώσω δὲ
σοι καὶ ἐνὸς ἐκάστου τὴν πράξιν. 3. Πρῶτον,
φημί, κύριε, τούτο δῆλωσον, διατὶ οὕτω ποικίλα
οὕτα τὰ ὅρη, εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν ὅταν ἐτέθησαν ὁι
λίθοι αὐτῶν, μᾶ χρόα ἐγένοντο λαμπροί, ὡς καὶ
οἱ ἐκ τοῦ βυθοῦ ἀναβεβηκότες λίθοι; 4. Ὁτι,
φησί, πάντα τὰ ἔθνη τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν οὐρανῶν κατοι-
κοῦσα, ἀκούσαντα καὶ πιστεύσαντα ἐπὶ τῷ
ὄνομας ἐκλήθησαν τοῦ νικοῦ 2 τοῦ θεοῦ. λαβόντες
οὗν τὴν σφραγίδα μίαν φρόνησιν ἔσχον καὶ ἔνα

1 φυλαὶ Α, φυλαὶ δώδεκα L. E connects δώδεκα with φυλαὶ, but omits it with ὅρη. The original text may have been τὰ ὅρη ταῦτα δώδεκα φυλαὶ eto.
2 τοῦ νικοῦ ΛΕ, om. Α.
together with them for the building without being hewn. For they had fallen asleep in righteousness and in great purity, only they had not received this seal. You have then the explanation of these things also.” “Yes, Sir,” said I, “I have.”

XVII

1. “Now therefore, Sir, explain to me about the mountains. Why is their appearance different from one another and various?” “Listen,” said he, “these twelve mountains are the tribes which inhabit the whole world. The Son of God, then, was preached to them by the Apostles.”

2. “But tell me, Sir,” said I, “why the appearance of the mountains differs one from another and is various.” “Listen,” said he, “these twelve tribes which inhabit the whole world are twelve nations, but they are various in understanding and mind. Just as, then, you saw that the mountains are various, so also are there varieties in the mind and understanding of the nations. And I will explain to you the action of each one.”

3. “First of all, Sir,” said I, “explain this to me, why though these mountains were so various, when the stones from them were put into the building they became bright with a single colour, like the stones which had come up from the deep.”

4. “Because,” said he, “all the nations which dwell under heaven, when they heard and believed were called after the name of the Son of God. So then when they received the seal they
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νοῦν, καὶ μία πίστις αὐτῶν ἐγένετο καὶ μία ἀγάπη, καὶ τὰ πνεύματα τῶν παρθένων μετὰ τοῦ ὄνοματος ἐφόρεσαν· διὰ τούτο ἡ οἰκοδομὴ τοῦ πύργου μὴ χρῶ ἐγένετο λαμπρὰ ὡς ὁ ἥλιος. 5. μετὰ δὲ τὸ εἰσελθεῖν αὐτοὺς ἔπληκτο τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ γενέσθαι ἐν σῶμα, τινὲς ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐμάναι ἑαυτοὺς καὶ ἐξεβλήθησαν ἐκ τοῦ γένους τῶν δικαίων καὶ πάλιν ἐγένοντο, οἷοι πρὸ τερον ἦσαν, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ χειρονείς.

XVIII

1. Πῶς, φημί, κύριε, ἐγένοντο χειρονεῖς, θεοῦ ἐπεγνωκότες; Ὁ μὴ γυνώσκων, φησί, θεοῦ καὶ πονηρεύμενος ἔχει κολασίν τινα τῆς πονηρίας αὐτοῦ, ὁ δὲ θεὸν ἐπιγνοῦν ὁυκέτα ὁφείλει πονηρεύεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἀγαθοποιεῖν. 2. εὰν οὖν ὁ ὁφεΐλων ἀγαθοποιεῖν πονηρεύῃ τινα, οὐ δοκεῖ πλείονα πονηρίαν ποιεῖν παρὰ τὸν μὴ γυνώσκοντα τὸν θεοῦ; διὰ τούτο οἱ μὴ ἐγνωκότες θεοῦ καὶ πονηρεύμενοι κεκριμένοι εἰσὶν εἰς θάνατον, οἱ δὲ τὸν θεὸν ἐγνωκότες καὶ τὰ μεγαλεία αὐτοῦ ἑωρακότες καὶ πονηρεύμενοι δισσῶς κολασθήσονται καὶ ἀποθανοῦνται εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα. οὕτως οὖν καθαρισθήσεται ἡ ἐκκλησία τοῦ θεοῦ. 3. ὡς δὲ εἶδες ἐκ τοῦ πύργου τοὺς λίθους ἡρμένους καὶ παραδεδομένους τοὺς πνεύμασι τοῖς πονηροῖς καὶ ἐκείθεν ἐκβληθέντας· καὶ ἔσται ἐν σώμα τῶν κεκαθαρμένων, ὡσπερ καὶ ὁ πύργος ἐγένετο ὡς ἐξ ἕνος λίθου γεγονὼς μετὰ τὸ καθαρισθήναι αὐτῶν· οὕτως ἔσται καὶ ἡ ἐκκλησία τοῦ θεοῦ μετὰ τὸ καθαρισ-
had one understanding and one mind, and their faith became one, and their love one, and they bore the spirits of the maidens together with the name. For this cause the building of the tower became bright with one colour like the sun. 5. But after they entered in together and became one body, some of them defiled themselves and were cast out from the family of the righteous, and became again what they had been before, or rather even worse.”

XVIII

1. “How, Sir,” said I, “did they become worse, after they had attained to the knowledge of God?” Why the backsliders are worse than the unconverted

“He who does not know God,” said he, “and does wickedly, incurs some punishment for his wickedness, but he who has knowledge of God, is bound no more to do wickedly, but to do good. 2. If then he who is bound to do good do wickedly, does he not seem to do more wickedly than he who does not know God? For this reason, those who have no knowledge of God and do wickedly, are condemned to death, but those who have knowledge of God and have seen his great deeds, and do wickedly, shall be punished doubly, and shall die for ever. Thus therefore the Church of God shall be cleansed. 3. But just as you saw that the stones were taken from the tower, and handed over to the evil spirits and cast out from it (and there shall be one body of those who are purified, just as also the tower became as if it were made of a single stone, after it was purified), so the Church of God also shall be, after it

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θήναι αὐτὴν καὶ ἀποβληθήναι τοὺς πονηροὺς καὶ
ὑποκριτὰς καὶ βλάσφημους καὶ διψύχους καὶ
πονηρευομένους ποικίλαις πονηρίαις. 4. μετὰ τὸ
tοῦτος ἀποβληθῆναι ἔσται ἡ ἐκκλησία τοῦ θεοῦ
ἐν σώμα, μία φρονήσις, εἰς νοῦς, μία πίστις, μία
ἀγάπη· καὶ τότε ὁ νῦν τοῦ θεοῦ ἀγαλλιάστεται καὶ
εὐφρανθήσεται ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀπειληφός τὸν λαὸν
αὐτοῦ καθαρῶν. Μεγάλως, φημὶ, κύριε, καὶ ἐνδο-
ξως πάντα ἔχει. 5. Ἕστε, φημὶ, κύριε, τῶν ὁρέων
ἐνὸς ἐκάστου δήλωσον μοι τὴν δύναμιν καὶ τὰς
πράξεις, ἵνα πᾶσα ψυχὴ πεποιθώ σὺ πρὸς τὸν
κύριον ἀκούσασα δοξάσῃ τὸ μέγα καὶ θανμαστὸν
καὶ ἐνδοξὸν ὄνομα αὐτοῦ. Ἀκον, φησί, τῶν
ὁρέων τὴν ποικιλίαν καὶ τῶν δώδεκα ἑβδομάδων.

XIX

1. Ἐκ τοῦ πρῶτου ὁροῦ τοῦ μέλανος οἱ πιστεύ-
οντες τοιοῦτοι εἶσιν· ἀποστάται καὶ βλάσφημοι
eἰς τὸν κύριον καὶ προδόται τῶν δούλων τοῦ θεοῦ.
tοῦτος δὲ μετάνοια ὅπως ἡ ἡμέρα, θάνατος δὲ ἡ ἡμέρα, καὶ
dia τοῦτο καὶ μέλανες εἰς καὶ γὰρ τὸ γένος
αὐτῶν ἄνουμόν ἔστιν. 2. ἐκ δὲ τοῦ δευτέρου ὁροῦ
τοῦ ψυλλοῦ οἱ πιστεύοντες τοιοῦτοι εἰσὶν ὑπο-
κριται καὶ διδάσκαλοι πονηρίας. καὶ οὕτως ὅπως
τοῦτος ὁμοίως εἰσὶ, μὴ ἔχοντες καρπὸν δικαιο-
σύνης· ὡς γὰρ τὸ ὄρος αὐτῶν ἀκαρπὸν, οὕτω καὶ
οἱ ἀνθρωποὶ οἱ τοιοῦτοι ὄνομα μὲν ἔχουσιν, ἀπὸ δὲ
τῆς πίστεως κενοὶ εἰσὶ καὶ οὐδὲς ἐν αὐτοῖς καρπὸς
ἀληθεῖας. τοῦτος οὖν μετάνοια κεῖται, ἔν ταχὺ
μετανοήσωσιν· ἐὰν δὲ βραδύνωσι, μετα τῶν
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THE SHEPHERD, sim. ix. xviii. 3–xix. 2

has been purified, and the wicked and hypocrites and blasphemers and double-minded, and doers of various wickedness, have been rejected from it. 4. After these have been rejected the Church of God shall be one body, one mind, one spirit, one faith, one love, and then the Son of God shall rejoice and be glad in them, when he has received his people in purity.” “All this, Sir,” said I, “is great and wonderful. 5. Yet, Sir,” said I, “explain to me the power and the action of each one of the mountains, that every soul that has believed on the Lord, may hear and glorify His great and wonderful and glorious name.” “Listen,” said he, “to the variety of the mountains and the twelve nations.

XIX

1. “From the first mountain, the black one, are such believers as these: apostates and blasphemers against the Lord, and betrayers of the servants of God. For these there is no repentance, but there is death, and for this cause they also are black, for their race is lawless. 2. And from the second mountain, the bare one, are such believers as these: hypocrites and teachers of wickedness. These then also are like unto the first, having no ‘fruit of righteousness,’ for just as their mountain is unfruitful, so also such men have the name, but are devoid of faith, and there is no fruit of truth in them. For these then repentance is ready if they repent quickly, but if they delay their death will be with the former ones.”

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προτέρων ἦσται ὁ θάνατος αὐτῶν. 3. Διατί, φησι, κύριε, τούτοις μετάνοια ἐστὶ, τοῖς δὲ πρώτοις οὐκ ἦστι; παρὰ τι γὰρ αἱ αὐταὶ αἱ πράξεις αὐτῶν εἰσὶ. Διὰ τούτο, φησί, τούτοις μετάνοια κεῖται, ὅτι οὐκ ἔβλασφήμησαν τὸν κύριον αὐτῶν οὐδὲ ἐγένοντο προδόται τῶν δούλων τοῦ θεοῦ; διὰ δὲ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν τοῦ λήμματος ὑπεκρίθησαν καὶ ἑδίδαξεν ἐκαστὸς κατὰ ἕτεροις τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἁμαρτανόντων. ἀλλὰ τίσουσι δίκης τινὰς κεῖται δὲ αὐτοῖς μετάνοια διὰ τὸ μὴ γενέσθαι αὐτοῖς βλασφήμως μηδὲ προδότας.

XX

1. Ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ὄρους τοῦ τρίτου τοῦ ἔχοντος ἁκάνθας καὶ τριβόλους οἱ πιστεύσαντες τοιούτοι εἰσίν. ἐξ αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν πλοῦσιοι, οἱ δὲ πραγματείαις πολλαῖς ἐμπεφυρμένοι. οἱ μὲν τρίβολοι εἰσίν οἱ πλοῦσιοι, αἱ δὲ ἀκανθαί οἱ ἐν ταῖς πραγματείαις ταῖς ποικίλαις ἐμπεφυρμένοι. 2. οὕτω ὁδὲν, οἱ ἐν πολλαῖς καὶ ποικίλαις πραγματείαις ἐμπεφυρμένοι, οὐ κολλῶνται τοῖς δούλοις τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀλλὰ ἀποπλανῶνται πυγμέονι ὑπὸ τῶν πράξεων αὐτῶν. οἱ δὲ πλοῦσιοι δυσκόλως κολλῶνται τοῖς δούλοις τοῦ θεοῦ, φοβούμενοι, μὴ τι αἰτιοθῶσιν ὑπ’ αὐτῶν οἱ τοιούτοι οὖν δυσκόλως εἰσελεύσονται εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ. 3. ὁσπερ γὰρ ἐν τριβόλοις γυμνοῖς ποσὶ περιπατεῖν δύσκολον ἐστὶν, ο➨ῶτῳ καὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις

Mt. 13, 22 ; Mc. 4, 18, 19

Mt. 19, 23 ; Mc. 10, 23 ; Luk. 18, 24

1 κατὰ LE, om. A.
2 οὖν . . . οὐ retranslated from LE, om. A.

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3. "Why, Sir," said I, "is there repentance for these but not for the first, for their deeds are almost the same?" "For this reason," said he, "there is repentance for these, because they did not deceive their Lord and were not betrayers of the servants of God; but because of the lust of gain, they played the hypocrite, and each taught according to the lusts of sinful men. But they will be punished in some way, yet repentance is open to them because they did not become blasphemers or traitors.

XX

1. "And from the third mountain, which has thorns and thistles, are such believers as these. Of them are those who are rich and are mixed up with many affairs of business, for the thistles are the rich, and the thorns are those who are mixed up with various affairs of business. 2. These then who are engaged in many and various businesses do not cleave to the servants of God, but are choked by their work and go astray. And the rich cleave with difficulty to the servants of God, fearing that they will be asked for something by them. Such then 'will enter with difficulty the kingdom of God.' 3. For just as it is difficult to walk with naked feet among thistles, so it is
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Mc. 10, 24 δύσκολόν ἐστιν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ εἰσελθεῖν. 4. ἀλλὰ τούτοις πᾶσι μετάνοια ἐστὶ, ταχυνῇ δὲ, ὦ τοῖς προτέροις χρόνοις οὐκ εἰργάσαντο νῦν ἀναδράμωσιν ταῖς ἡμέραις καὶ ἀγαθὸν τι ποιῆσωσιν. ἔὰν οὖν μετανόησοσι καὶ ἀγαθὸν τι ποιήσωσιν, ἕξουσίωσι τῷ θεῷ· ἕὰν δὲ ἐπιμείνωσι ταῖς πράξεσιν αὐτῶν, παραδοθήσονται ταῖς γυναιξὶν ἐκείναις, αὕτινες αὐτοῖς θανατώσουσιν.

XXI

1. Ἐκ δὲ τοῦ τεταρτοῦ ὄρους τοῦ ἔχοντος βοτάνας πολλάς, τὰ μὲν ἐπάνω τῶν βοτανῶν χλωρᾶ, τὰ δὲ πρὸς ταῖς ρίζαις ἔχρα, τινὲς δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου ἡπαρώμωναι, οἱ πιστεύσαντες τοιούτοι εἰσίν· οἱ μὲν διψυχοι, οἱ δὲ τῶν κύριον ἔχοντες ἐπὶ τὰ χεῖλη, ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν δὲ μὴ ἔχοντες. 2. διὰ τοῦτο τὰ θεμέλια αὐτῶν ἔχρα ἐστὶ καὶ δύναμιν μὴ ἔχοντα, καὶ τὰ ῥήματα αὐτῶν μόνα ξώσι, τὰ δὲ ἔργα αὐτῶν νεκρά ἔστιν. οἱ τοιούτοι οὔτε ξόσιν οὔτε τεθνήκασιν. ὅμοιοι οὖν εἰσὶ τοῖς διψύχοις· καὶ γὰρ οἱ διψυχοὶ οὔτε χλωροὶ εἰσίν οὔτε ἔχροι· οὔτε γὰρ ξώσιν οὔτε τεθνήκασιν. 3. ὁσπερ γὰρ αὕται οἱ βοτάναι ἡλιον ἱδοῦσαι ἐξηράνθησαν, οὔτω καὶ οἱ διψυχοὶ, ὅταν θλήσων ἄκουσαν, διὰ τὴν δειλίαν αὐτῶν εἰδωλολατροῦσι καὶ τὸ ὄνομα ἐπαισχύνονται τοῦ κυρίου αὐτῶν. 4. οἱ τοιούτοι οὖν οὔτε ξώσιν οὔτε

1 ἔὰν . . . - ποιήσωσι retranslated from LE, καὶ Ἀ.
2 οὔτε ξώσιν, οὔτε LE, om. Ἀ.
3 αὕται LE, αὐτῶν Ἐ.
4 οὔτε ξώσιν LE, om. Ἀ.

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also 'difficult' for such men 'to enter into the Kingdom of God.' 4. But for all these there is repentance, but it must be speedy, that they may now retrace their days and the omissions of former years, and do some good. If then they repent and do some good they will live to God, but if they remain in their deeds they will be delivered to those women, and they will put them to death.

XXI

1. "And from the fourth mountain which has many herbs, with the top of the herbs green but the parts by the roots dry, and some dried up by the sun, are such believers as these: the double-minded, and those who have the Lord on their lips but do not have him in their hearts. 2. For this cause their foundations are dry and have no power, and only their words are alive but their deeds are dead. Such are neither alive nor dead. Therefore they are like the double-minded, for the double-minded are neither green nor dry, for they are neither alive nor dead. 3. For just as these herbs, when they saw the sun, were dried up, so also the double-minded when they hear of affliction, become idolators through their cowardice, and they are ashamed of the name of their Lord. 4. Such men
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teθνήκασιν. ἀλλὰ καὶ οὗτοι ἐὰν ταχὺ μετανοήσωσιν, δυνήσονται ξῆσαι· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ μετανοήσωσιν, ἤ ἤ παραδεδομένοι εἰσὶ ταῖς γυναιξὶ ταῖς ἀποφερομέναις τὴν ζωὴν αὐτῶν.

XXII

1. Ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ὄρους τοῦ πέμπτου τοῦ ἔχοντος βοτάνας χλωρᾶς καὶ τραχέος ὄντος οἱ πιστεύ- σαντες τοιούτοι εἰσί· πιστοὶ μέν, δυσμαθεῖς δὲ καὶ αὐθάδεις καὶ ἐαυτοῖς ἀρέσκοντες, θέλοντες πάντα γινώσκειν, καὶ οὐδὲν ὅλως γινώσκουσιν.
2. διὰ τὴν αὐθάδειαν αὐτῶν ταύτην ἀπέστη ἄπ' αὐτῶν ἡ σύνεσις, καὶ εἰσῆλθεν εἰς αὐτοὺς ἀφρο- σύνη μωρά. ἔπαινοῦσι δὲ ἐαυτοὺς ὡς σύνεσιν ἔχοντας καὶ θέλουσιν ἐθελοδιδάσκαλοι ἡ εἶναι, ἀφρονεῖς ὄντες. 3. διὰ ταύτην οὖν τὴν ψηλο- φροσύνην πολλοὶ ἐκενώθησαν ὑψοῦντες ἑαυτοὺς· μέγα γὰρ δαμόνιον ἐστὶν ἡ αὐθάδεια καὶ ἡ κενὴ πεποίθησι· ἐκ τούτων οὖν πολλοὶ ἀπεβλήθησαν, τινὲς δὲ μετενόησαν καὶ ἐπίστευσαν καὶ ὑπέταξαν ἑαυτοὺς τοῖς ἔχουσι σύνεσιν, γυνάτες τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀφροσύνην. 4. καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς δὲ τοῖς τοιού- τοῖς κεῖται μετάνοια· οὐκ ἐγένοντο γὰρ πονηροί, μᾶλλον δὲ μωροὶ καὶ ἀσύνετοι. οὗτοι οὖν ἐὰν ἡ μετανοήσωσι, ξῆσονται τῷ θεῷ· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ μετα- νοήσωσι, κατοικήσουσι μετὰ τῶν γυναικῶν τῶν πονηρευμένων εἰς αὐτοὺς.

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1 δυνήσονται... μετανοήσωσιν retranslated from LE, om. A.
2 ἐθελοδιδάσκαλοι A, but LE seem to represent διδάσκαλοι.
3 μωροὶ καὶ... ἐὰν retranslated from LE. A is illegible, but seems to read τονηρ(ήστοι ?) instead of μωροὶ.

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THE SHEPHERD, sim. ix. xxi. 4–xxii. 4

therefore are neither alive nor dead; but these also will be able to live if they repent quickly, but if they do not repent they have already been given over to the women who take away their life.

XXII

1. "And from the fifth mountain, which has green herbage and is rough, are such believers as these: believers, but slow to learn and presumptuous, and pleasing themselves, wishing to know everything, and yet they know nothing at all. 2. Because of this presumption of theirs understanding has departed from them, and senseless folly has entered into them, and they praise themselves for having understanding and they wish to be teachers⁴ in spite of their folly. 3. For this high-mindedness therefore many have been made worthless by exalting themselves,² for presumption and vain confidence is a great demon. Many therefore of these were rejected, but some repented and believed, and submitted themselves to those who have understanding, recognising their own folly. 4. And for the rest of such men repentance is waiting, for they were not wicked, but rather foolish and without understanding. If therefore these repent they will live to God, but if they do not repent they will dwell with the women who devise evil against them.

¹ ἐθελοδιδάσκαλος is not found elsewhere. If it be right it must mean a teacher who unduly magnifies his office. Cf. ἐθελοδρησσέλα in Col. 2, 23.
² There may be here a reference to Philipp. 2, 9 in which κένωσις and δύσωσις are contrasted: the point being that as the κένωσις of Christ led to his δύσωσις, so the δύσωσις of these men results in their ultimate κένωσις.

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1. Οἱ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ ὄρους τοῦ ἑκτοῦ τοῦ ἔχοντος σχισμᾶς μεγάλας καὶ μικρὰς καὶ ἐν ταῖς σχισμαῖς βοτάνας μεμαραμμένας πιστεύσαντες τοιοῦτοι εἰσίν. 2. οἳ μὲν τὰς σχισμὰς τὰς μικρὰς ἔχοντες, οὕτως εἰσίν οἴκεται ἀλλήλων ἔχοντες, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν καταλαλιῶν ἐαυτῶν μεμαραμμένοι εἰσίν ἐν τῇ πίστει· ἀλλὰ μετενόησαν ἐκ τούτων πολλοὶ. καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ δὲ μετανοήσαντες, ὅταν ἄκουσοι μον τὰς ἐντολάς· μικρὰ γὰρ αὐτῶν εἰσὶν αἱ καταλαλιαῖ, καὶ ταῖς μετανοήσαντες. 3. οἱ δὲ μεγάλας ἔχοντες σχισμὰς, οὕτως παρὰμονοὶ εἰσὶ ταῖς καταλαλιαῖς αὐτῶν καὶ μησίκαικοι γίνονται μησίκαικοι· οὕτως εἰναι ἃπό τοῦ πύργου ἀπερρίφθησαν καὶ ἀπεδοκιμάσθησαν τῇ οἰκοδομῇ αὐτοῦ. οἱ τοιοῦτοι οὖν δυσκόλως ξήσονται. 4. εἰ ὁ θεὸς καὶ ὁ κύριος ἦμιν ὁ πάντων κυριεύων καὶ ἔχων πάσης τῆς κτίσεως αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐξουσίαν οὐ μησίκαικεῖ τοὺς ἐξομολογούμενους τὰς ἀμαρτίας αὐτῶν, ἀλλ’ ἑλεος γίνεται, ἀνθρωπος φθαρτὸς ὁ πλήρης ἀμαρτίων ἀνθρώπῳ μησίκαικεῖ ὡς δυνάμενος ἀπολέσαι ἢ σώσαι αὐτὸν; 5. λέγω δὲ ύμῖν, ὃ ἄγγελος τῆς μετανοίας· ὅσοι ταύτην ἔχετε τὴν αἰρέσιν ἀπόθεσθε αὐτὴν καὶ μετανοήσατε, καὶ ὁ κύριος ἴκασται ύμῶν τὰ πρότερα ἀμαρτήματα, ἣν καθαρισθῇ ἐαυτοὺς ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ δαμονίου· εἰ δὲ μὴ, παραδοθήσεσθε αὐτῷ εἰς θάνατον.
XXIII

1. "And those of the sixth mountain which has cracks, great and small, and withered plants in the cracks, are such believers as these. 2. Those who have the small cracks are those who have quarrels with one another, and are withered in the faith from their evil speaking. But many of these repented, and the rest shall also repent when they hear my commandments, for their evil-speaking was small and they will quickly repent. 3. But those who have great cracks are those who are persistent in their evil-speaking, and are become malicious in their rage against one another. These then were cast away from the tower and were rejected from its building. Such men then will live with difficulty. 4. If God and our Lord who rules over all and has power over all his creation bear no malice against those who confess their sins, but is merciful, shall man who is mortal and full of sin bear malice against man, as though he were 'able to destroy or to save him'? 5. And I, the angel of repentance, say to you, do all you, who have this heresy, put it aside and repent, and the Lord will heal your former sins, if you cleanse yourselves from this demon. But if not you shall be delivered to him to death.
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XXIV

1. Εκ δὲ τοῦ ἐβδόμου ὅρους, ἐν φῇ βοτάναι χλωραί καὶ ἰλαραί, καὶ ὅλον τὸ ὄρος εὐθηνοῦν καὶ πᾶν γένος κτηνῶν καὶ τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἐνέμοντο τὰς βοτάνας ἐκ τούτῳ τῷ ὁρεί, καὶ αἱ βοτάναι, ἀς ἐνέμοντο, μᾶλλον εὐθαλείς ἐγίνοντο, οἱ πιστεύσαντες τοιούτοι εἰσὶ. 2. πάντοτε ἀπλοὶ καὶ ἀκακοὶ καὶ μακάριοι ἐγίνοντο, μηδὲν κατ’ ἀλλήλων ἔχοντες, ἀλλὰ πάντοτε ἀγαλλιώμενοι ἐπὶ τοῖς δούλοις τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἐνδεδυμένοι τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἁγιον τούτων τῶν παρθένων καὶ πάντοτε σπλάγχνου ἔχοντες ἐπὶ πάντα ἀνθρώπων, καὶ ἐκ τῶν κόσμων αὐτῶν παντὶ ἀνθρώπῳ ἔχοντας ἀνυπνοία καὶ ἀδιστάκτως. 3. ο οὕν κύριος ἄδων τὴν ἀπλότητα αὐτῶν καὶ πᾶσαν νηπιότητα ἐπλήθυνεν αὐτοὺς ἐν τοῖς κόσμοι τῶν χειρῶν αὐτῶν καὶ ἐκαρτιῶσεν αὐτοὺς ἐν πάσῃ πράξει αὐτῶν. 4. λέγω δὲ ύμῖν τοὺς τοιούτοις οὕσων ἐγὼ ὁ ἄγγελος τῆς μετανοίας διαμείνατε τοιούτοι, καὶ οὐκ ἐξαλειψθῆσεται τὸ σπέρμα ύμῶν ἕως αἰώνος ἐδοκίμασε γὰρ ύμᾶς ὁ κύριος καὶ ἐνέγραψεν ύμᾶς εἰς τὸν ἄριθμὸν τῶν ἡμέτερον, καὶ ὅλον τὸ σπέρμα ύμῶν κατοικήσει μετὰ τοῦ νῦν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ πνεύματος αὐτοῦ ἐλάβετε.

XXV

1. Ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ὅρους τοῦ ὄγδοον, τοῦ ἢςαν αἱ πολλαὶ πηγαὶ καὶ πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις τοῦ κυρίου ἐποτίζετο ἐκ τῶν πηγῶν, οἱ πιστεύσαντες τοιούτοι 278
XXIV

1. "And from the seventh mountain, on which were green and joyful herbs, and the whole mountain was fair and every kind of cattle and the birds of heaven were feeding on the herbs on this mountain, and the herbs on which they were feeding became yet more luxuriant, are such believers as these. 2. They were ever simple and guileless and blessed and had nothing against one another, but ever rejoiced in the servants of God and were clothed in the holy spirit of these maidens, and were ever merciful to every man, and helped every man from the fruit of their labours without upbraiding or doubting. 3. The Lord, therefore, seeing their simplicity and all their innocence, filled them with the labours of their hand, and was gracious to them in all their doings. 4. And I, the angel of repentance, say to you who are such:—Remain such as you are, and your seed shall not be blotted out for ever, for the Lord has proved you and written you in among our number, and all your seed shall dwell with the Son of God, for of his spirit have you received.

XXV

1. "And from the eighth mountain, where there were many springs and all the creation of the Lord was given to drink from the springs, are such
THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

eἰσιν 2. ἀπόστολοι καὶ διδάσκαλοι οἱ κηρύ-ξαντες εἰς ὅλον τὸν κόσμον καὶ οἱ διδάσκαντες σεμνῶς καὶ ἄγνως τὸν λόγον τοῦ κυρίου καὶ μηδὲν ὅλως νοσφισάμενοι εἰς ἐπιθυμίαν πονηράν, ἀλλὰ πάντοτε ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ ἀληθείᾳ πορευόμενες, καθὼς καὶ παρέλαβον τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον. τῶν τοιούτων οὖν ἡ πάροδος μετὰ τῶν ἀγγέλων ἐστίν.

XXVI

1. Ἔμ δὲ τοῦ ὀρους τοῦ ἐνάτου τοῦ ἐρημώδους, τοῦ τὰ ἐρπητὰ καὶ θηρία ἐν αὐτῷ ἔχουντο τὰ διαφθείροντα τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, οἱ πιστεύσαντες τοιούτοι εἰσίν· 2. οἱ μὲν τοὺς σπίλους ἔχοντες διάκονοι εἰσὶν κακῶς διακονήσαντες καὶ διαρκά-σαντες χηρῶν καὶ ὀρφανῶν τὴν ζωὴν καὶ ἔαντος περιποιησάμενοι ἐκ τῆς διακονίας ἡς ἔλαβον διακονήσαι· έἀν σὺν ἐπιμείνωσι τῇ αὐτῇ ἐπι-θυμίᾳ, ἀπέθανον καὶ οὐδεμία αὐτοῖς ἔλπις ζωῆς· έἀν δὲ ἐπιστρέψωσι καὶ ἄγνως τελεῖώσωσι τὴν διακονίαν αὐτῶν, δυνήσονται ξῆσαι. 3. οἱ δὲ ἄψωρικάτες, οὗτοι οἱ ἁρπησάμενοι εἰσίν καὶ μὴ ἐπιστρέφαντες ἐπὶ τῶν κύριων ἐαυτῶν, ἀλλὰ χερσώθεντες καὶ γενόμενοι ἐρημώδεις· μὴ κολλά-μενοι τοὺς δούλους τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀλλὰ μονάζοντες ἀπολλύουσι τὰς ἐαυτῶν ψυχὰς. 4. ὡς γὰρ ἀμπελος ἐν φραγμῷ τῷ καταλειφθεῖσα ἀμελεῖας τυγχάνουσα καταφθείρεται καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν βοτανῶν ἐρημοῦται καὶ τῷ χρόνῳ ἀγρία γίνεται, καὶ οὐκέτι

Mt. 10, 89; Luk. 6, 24; 17, 88; Joh. 12, 25

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believers as these: 2. Apostles and teachers who preached to all the world, and taught reverently and purely the word of the Lord, and kept nothing back for evil desire, but always walked in righteousness and truth, even as they had received the Holy Spirit. The passing of such is with the angels.¹

XXVI

1. "And from the ninth mountain, which was desert, and had in it creeping things and wild beasts which devour men, are such believers as these: 2. Those with spots are ministers who ministered amiss, and devoured the living of widows and orphans, and made gain for themselves from the ministry which they had received to administer. If then they remain in the same covetousness they are dead and they have no hope of life. But if they turn and fulfil their ministry in holiness they shall be able to live. 3. And those with scabs, these are they who have denied and have not turned to their Lord, but have become barren and deserted; by not cleaving to the servants of God, but keeping alone, they are destroying their own souls. 4. For just as a vine left alone within a fence and neglected is spoilt and is wasted by weeds, and in time becomes wild and is no longer

¹ That is, after death they will be with the angels. Cf. notes on Herm. Vis. ii. 2, 7 and on Martyr. Polycarp. ii. 3.
τὸν δεσπότην ἐαυτῆς, οὕτω καὶ οἱ τοιοῦτοι ἄνθρωποι ἐαυτῶς ἀπεγνώκασι καὶ γίνονται ἀχρηστοὶ τῷ κυρίῳ ἐαυτῶν ἅγιοις ἐνεργεῖσθαι. 5. τούτοις οὖν μετάνοια γίνεται, ἐάν μὴ ἐκ καρδίας εὐρεθῶσιν ἑρυμένους· ἐάν δὲ ἐκ καρδίας εὐρεθῇ ἑρυμένους τις, οὐκ οἶδα, εἰ δύναται ξῆσαι. 6. καὶ τούτῳ οὐκ εἰς ταύτας τὰς ἡμέρας λέγω, ἀλλὰ τὶς ἁρπαγματεύομενος μετάνοιαν λάβῃ· ἀδύνατον γὰρ ἐστὶ σωθῆναι τὸν μελλοντα νῦν ἀρνεῖσθαι τὸν κύριον ἑαυτῶν· ἀλλὰ ἐκεῖνοι τοῖς πάλαι ἑρυμένοις δοκεῖ, κεῖσθαι μετάνοια. εἰ τίς οὖν μέλλει μετανεών, ταχύνως γενέσθω πρὶν τὸν πύργον ἀποτελεσθῆναι· εἰ δὲ μὴ, ὑπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν καταφθαρῆσθαι εἰς θάνατον. 7. καὶ οἱ κολοβοὶ, οὗτοι δόλοι εἴσι καὶ κατάλαλοι· καὶ τὰ θηρία, δὲ εἶδες εἰς τὸ ὄρος, οὗτοί εἰσίν. ὁσπερ γὰρ τὰ θηρία διαφθείρει τῷ ἑαυτῶν ἵππῳ τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ ἀπολλυόμεθα, οὕτω καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἄνθρωπων τὰ ῥήματα διαφθείρει τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ ἀπολλύει. 8. οὗτοι οὖν κολοβοὶ εἰσίν ἀπὸ τῆς πίστεως αὐτῶν διὰ τὴν πράξειν, ἢν ἔχουσιν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς· τινὲς δὲ μετενόησαν καὶ ἐσώθησαν. καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ οἱ τοιούτοι δυναται σωθῆναι, ἐὰν μετανοήσωσιν· οὗτος δὲ μὴ μετανοήσωσιν, ἀπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν ἐκείνων, ὑπὸ τὴν δύναμιν ἔχουσιν, ἀποθανοῦνται.

XXVII

1. Ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ὄρους τοῦ δεκάτου, οὗ ἔσαν δέντρα σκέπάζοντα προβατά τινα, οἱ πιστεύσαντες
useful to its master, so also such men as these have renounced themselves and have become wild and valueless to their Lord. 5. To these then there is repentance, if they be not found to have denied from their hearts. But if one be found to have denied from his heart I do not know whether he can live. 6. And I do not speak this for these days, in order that one may deny and receive repentance, for it is impossible for him to be saved who shall now deny his Lord. But there seems to be repentance waiting for those who have denied in time past. If then any be about to repent, let him make haste before the tower be finished, otherwise he will be destroyed by the women unto death. 7. And the stunted ones, these are deceitful and evil-speaking men, and the wild beasts which you saw on the mountains are these. For just as the wild beasts destroy man by their poison and kill him, so also the words of such men destroy man and kill him. 8. These then are stunted in their faith through their conduct which they have in themselves, but some repented and were saved. And the rest who are such can be saved if they repent; but if they repent not they will be put to death by those women whose quality they have.

XXVII

1. "And from the tenth mountain, where were trees sheltering some sheep, are such believers as these:

1 Apparently ἄγνωστος, as often in later Greek, means "snake."
2 Lit. "power."

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τοιούτοι εἰσίν: 2. ἑπίσκοποι καὶ φιλόξενοι, οἵ-
tiues ἥδεως εἰς τοὺς οἶκους ἑαυτῶν πάντοτε ὑπεδέ-
ξαντο τοὺς δούλους τοῦ θεοῦ ἀτερ ὑποκρίσεως. οἱ
δὲ ἑπίσκοποι πάντοτε τοὺς ὑστερημένους καὶ τὰς
χήρας τῇ διακονίᾳ ἑαυτῶν ἀδιαλείπτως ἐσκέπασαν
καὶ ἀγνὸς ἀνεστράφησαν πάντοτε. 3. οὕτωι οὖν
πάντες σκεπασθήσονται ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου διαπαντός.
or οὐν ταῦτα ἐργασάμενοι ἐνδοξοί εἰσὶ παρὰ τῷ
θεῷ καὶ ἡ̄ ό τόπος αὐτῶν μετὰ τῶν ἀγγέλων
ἐστίν, ἐὰν ἐπιμείνωσιν ἐως τέλους λειτουργοῦντες
τῷ κυρίῳ.

XXVIII

1. Ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ὄρους τοῦ ἐνδεκάτου, οὖ ἦσαν
dένδρα καρπῶν πλῆρη, ἄλλους καὶ ἄλλους καρποὺς
κεκοσμημένα, οἱ πιστεύσαντες τοιούτου εἰσίν.
2. οἱ παθόντες υπὲρ τοῦ οἴνομας τοῦ νῦν τοῦ
θεοῦ, οἱ καὶ προθύμως ἔπαθον ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας
καὶ παρέδωκαν τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν. 3. Διατί οὖν,
φημὶ, κύριε, πάντα μὲν τὰ δένδρα καρποὺς ἔχει,
tως δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν καρποὶ εὐειδέστεροι εἰσίν;
ἀκούε, φησίν ὅσοι πτοτε ἔπαθον διὰ τὸ ὄνομα,
ἐνδοξοί εἰσι παρὰ τῷ θεῷ καὶ πάντων αἱ ἀμαρτίαι
ἀφηρέθησαν, ὅτι ἔπαθον διὰ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ νῦν τοῦ
θεοῦ. διατί δὲ οἱ καρποὶ αὐτῶν ποικίλοι εἰσίν,
tως δὲ υπερέχουντες ἀκούε. 4. ὅσοι, φησίν, ἐπ’
ἐξουσίαις ἀχθήσετε ἐξητάσθησαν καὶ οὐκ ἡμη-
σαντο, ἀλλ’ ἔπαθον προθύμως, οὕτωι μᾶλλον
ἐνδοξότεροι εἰσὶ παρὰ τῷ κυρίῳ τούτων οἱ καρποὶ
ἐστίν ὑπερέχοντες ὅσοι δὲ δειλοὶ καὶ ἐν δισταγμῷ
ἐγένοντο καὶ ἐλογίσαντο ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις αὐτῶν,
2. Bishops and hospitable men who at all times received the servants of God into their houses gladly and without hypocrisy; and the bishops ever ceaselessly sheltered the destitute and the widows by their ministration, and ever behaved with holiness.

3. These then shall all be always sheltered by the Lord. They then who have done these things are glorious with God, and their place is already with the angels, if they continue serving the Lord unto the end.

XXVIII

1. "And from the eleventh mountain, where were trees full of fruit, each adorned with different fruit, are such believers as these: 2. they who have suffered for the name of the Son of God, who also suffered readily with all their heart and 'gave up their lives.'" 3. "Why then, Sir," said I, "have all the trees fruit, but the fruit of some of them is more beautiful?" "Listen," said he, "as many as ever suffered for the name are glorious before God, and the sins of all these have been taken away because they suffered for the name of the Son of God. But listen why their fruits are different and some better than others. 4. As many," said he, "as were brought under authority and were questioned and did not deny, but suffered readily, these are especially glorious before the Lord; the fruit of these is excellent. But as many as were fearful, were in doubt, and considered
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πότερον ἀρνήσονται ἡ ὀμολογήσουσι, καὶ ἔπαθον, 
τούτων οἱ καρποὶ ἐλάττως εἰσίν, ὅτι ἀνέβη ἐπὶ 
τὴν καρδίαν αὐτῶν ἡ βουλή αὐτῆς πονηρὰ γὰρ ἡ 
βουλή αὐτῆς, ἵνα δούλος κύριον ἰδίον ἀρνήσηται.
5. βλέπετε οὖν ὡμεῖς οἱ ταῦτα βουλευόμενοι, 
μήποτε ἡ βουλή αὐτῆς διαμείνῃ ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις 
ὑμῶν καὶ ἀποθάνητε τῷ θεῷ. ὡμεῖς δὲ οἱ πάσης 
χρόνιν οὐκ ἔνεκεν τοῦ ὁνόματος δοξάζειν ὀφείλετε 
τὸν θεόν, ὅτι ἄξιος ὑμᾶς ἠγγίζετο ὁ θεός, ἵνα 
tοῦτο1 τὸ ὅνομα βαστάζητε καὶ πᾶσαι ὑμῶν 
αἱ ἀμαρτίαι ἰαθῶσιν. 6. οὐκὼν μακαρίζετε 
ἐαυτοὺς· ἀλλὰ δοκεῖτε ἐργον μέγα πεποιηκέναι, 
εἰν τις ὑμῶν διὰ τὸν θέον πάθῃ. ζωὴν ὑμῶν ὁ 
κύριος χαρίζεται, καὶ οὐ νοεῖτε· αἱ γὰρ ἀμαρτίαι 
ὑμῶν κατεβάρησαν, καὶ εἰ μὴ πεπόνθατε ἐνεκεν 
tοῦ ὁνόματος κυρίον, διὰ τὰς ἀμαρτίας ὑμῶν 
tεθνήκειτε ἀν τῷ θεῷ. 7. ταῦτα ὑμῶν λέγω 
τοῖς διατάξουσι περὶ ἀρνήσεως ἡ ὀμολογήσεως· 
ὀμολογεῖτε, ὅτι κύριον ἔχετε, μήποτε ἀρνοῦμενοι 
παραδοθήσησθε εἰς δεσμωτήριον. 8. εἰ τὰ 
ἐθνον τοὺς δούλους αὐτῶν κολάξουσιν, εἰς τὶς 
ἀρνήσηται τὸν κύριον ἑαυτοῦ, τὰ δοκεῖτε ποιῆσει 
ὁ κύριος υμῶν, ὅτε ἔχει πάντων τὴν ἐξουσίαν; 
ἀρατε τὰς βουλας ταῦτας ἀπὸ τῶν καρδιῶν υμῶν, 
ἵνα διαπαντὸς ἥσηση τῷ θεῷ.

XXIX

1. Ἕκ δὲ τοῦ ὄρους τοῦ δωδεκάτου τοῦ λευκοῦ 
oi πιστεύσαντες τοιούτοι εἰσίν· ὡς ἑπτὰ βρέφη

1 τὸῦτο Λα, τὸῦτον Α, αὐτοῦ Λ1Ε.
THE SHEPHERD, sim. ix. xxviii. 4–xxix. 1

in their hearts whether they should deny or confess, and suffered, the fruits of these are inferior because this thought entered into their hearts, for this is an evil thought, that a servant should deny his own Lord. 5. See to it, then, you who have these thoughts, lest this thought remain in your hearts and you die to God. But you who are suffering for the name, ought to glorify God, that God deemed you worthy to bear this name and that all your sins should be healed. 6. So then count yourselves blessed; but think that you have done a great deed, if any of you suffer for God's sake. The Lord is giving you life, and you do not consider it; for your sins have weighed you down, and except you had suffered for the name of the Lord you would have died to God because of your sins. 7. I say this to you who are hesitating as to denial or confession. Confess that you have a Lord, lest you deny him and be delivered into prison. 8. If the heathen punish their servants, if one deny his lord, what think you will the Lord, who has power over all, do to you? Put away these thoughts from your heart that you may live for ever to God.

XXIX

1. "And from the twelfth mountain, the white one, are such believers as these: They are as innocent
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εἰςίν, οίς ὀυδεμία κακία ἀναβάινει ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν οὐδὲ ἔγνωσαν, τί ἐστι πονηρία, ἀλλὰ πάντοτε ἐν νηπιότητι διέμειναι. 2. οἱ τοιούτοι οὐν ἀδιστάκτως κατοικήσουσιν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ, ὅτι ἐν οὐδενὶ πράγματι ἐμάναν τὰς ἐντολὰς τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀλλὰ μετὰ νηπιότητος διέμειναι πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ζωῆς αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ φρονήσει. 3. δοσι οὖν διαμενεῖτε, φησί, καὶ ἔσεσθε ώς τὰ βρέφη, κακίαν μὴ ἔχοντες, πάντων τῶν προερημένων ἐνδοξότεροι ἔσεσθε: πάντα γὰρ τὰ βρέφη ἐνδοξά ἐστι παρὰ τῷ θεῷ καὶ πρῶτα παρ' αὐτῷ. 1 μακάριοι οὖν ὑμεῖς, δοσι αὖ ἀρχητε ἀφ ἑαυτῶν τὴν πονηρίαν, ἐνδύσησθε δὲ τὴν ἀκακίαν πρῶτοι πάντων ἐνδεικτεῖ τῷ θεῷ. 4. μετὰ τὸ συντελέσας αὐτὸν τὰς παραβολὰς τῶν ὀρέων λέγω αὐτῷ. Κύριε, νῦν μοι δήλωσον περὶ τῶν λίθων τῶν ἡρμένων ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου καὶ εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν τεθειμένων ἀντὶ τῶν λίθων τῶν ἡρμένων ἐκ τοῦ πύργου, καὶ τῶν στρογγύλων τῶν τεθέντων εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν, καὶ τῶν ἐτὶ στρογγύλων ὄντων.

XXX

1. Ἀκούε, φησί, καὶ περὶ τούτων πάντων. οἱ λίθοι οἱ τοῦ πεδίου ἡρμένοι καὶ τεθειμένοι εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν τοῦ πύργου ἀντὶ τῶν ἀποθεμένων, αἱ ρίζαι εἰς τοῦ ὄρους τοῦ λευκοῦ. 2. ἐπεὶ οὖν οἱ πιστεύσαντες, ἐκ τοῦ ὄρους τοῦ λευκοῦ

1 πάντα γὰρ . . . αὐτῷ AFL₁, om. L₄.
2 λευκοῦ Pam, λευκοῦ τοῦτον AL.
babe, and no evil enters into their heart, nor have they known what wickedness is, but have ever remained in innocence. 2. Such then shall live without doubt in the kingdom of God, because by no act did they defile the commandments of God, but remained in innocence all the days of their lives in the same mind. 3. All of you, then, as many as shall continue," said he, "and shall be as babe, with no wickedness, shall be more glorious than all those who have been mentioned before, for all bабes are glorious before God, and are in the first place by him. Blessed then are you who put away evil from yourselves, and put on guiltlessness, for you shall be the first of all to live to God." 4. But after he had finished the parable of the mountains I said to him: "Sir, now explain to me about the stones which were taken out of the plain, and put into the building instead of the stones which were taken away from the tower, and the round stones which were put into the building, and those which are still round."

XXX

1. "LISTEN also," he said, "concerning all these. The stones that are taken from the plain and put into the building of the tower instead of those which are rejected, are the roots of the white mountain. 2. Since then all the believers from the white
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πάντες ἄκακοι εὐρέθησαν, ἐκέλευσεν ὁ κύριος τοῦ πύργου τοῦτου ἐκ τῶν ριζῶν τοῦ ὄρους τοῦτου βληθῆναι εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν τοῦ πύργου· ἔγνω γὰρ, ὅτι, ἐὰν ἀπελθῶσιν εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν τοῦ πύργου οἱ λίθοι οὗτοι, διαμενοῦσι λαμπρῶς καὶ οὖδεις αὐτῶν μελανήσει. 3. Quodsi de ceteris montibus adiecisset, necesse habuisset rursus visitare eam turrem atque purgare. Hi autem omnes candidi inventi sunt, πιστεύσαντες καὶ οἱ μελλοντες πιστεύειν ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ γὰρ γένους εἰσίν. μακάμοι τὸ γένος τοῦτο, ὅτι ἄκακον ἔστιν. 4. ἀκούει νῦν καὶ περὶ τῶν λίθων τῶν στρογγύλων καὶ λαμπρῶν. καὶ αὐτοὶ πάντες ἐκ τοῦ ὄρους τοῦ λευκοῦ εἰσίν. Audi autem, quare rotundi sunt reperti. Divitiae suae eos pusillum obscuraverunt a veritate atque obfuscaverunt, a deo vero non quam recesserunt, nec ullum verbum malum processit de ore eorum, sed omnis aequitas et virtus veritatis. 5. Horum ergo mentem cum vidisset dominus posse eos veritati favere, bonos quoque permanere, iussit opes eorum circumcidi, non enim in totum eorum tolli, ut possint aliquid boni facere de eo, quod eis relictum est, et vivent deo, quoniam ex bono genere sunt. Ideo ergo pusillum circumcisi sunt et positi sunt in structuram turris huius.

1 τῶν ριζῶν LE, om. A.
2 At this point A ends, as the last leaf is missing. The Latin text which follows is that of L₁. The few verses in Greek are from P₄₃. Some words have been restored as the Papyrus is in bad condition, but the reconstructions are almost certain.
THE SHEPHERD, sim. ix. xxx. 2-5

mountain were found guiltless, the lord of the tower commanded these to be brought from the roots of this mountain for the building of the tower. For he knew that if these stones go into the building of the tower they will remain bright and none of them will become black. 3. But if he had added them from the other mountains he would have been obliged to visit the tower again, and to purge it, for all these have been found white, both past and future believers, for they are of the same race. Blessed is this race, because it is innocent. 4. Listen now concerning the round and bright stones. They also are all from this white mountain. Listen then why they have been found round. Their riches have hidden them a little from the truth and darkened them, but they have never departed from God, nor has any evil word proceeded from their mouth, but all equity and virtue of truth. 5. When therefore the Lord saw their minds, that they are able to favour the truth and to remain good, he commanded their wealth to be cut down, yet not to be wholly taken away from them, that they may be able to do some good with that which was left them, and they shall live to God because they are of a good kind. Therefore they were cut down a little, and placed in the building of this tower.
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XXXI

1. Ceteri vero, qui adhuc rotundi remanserunt neque aptati sunt in eam structuram, quia nondum acceperunt sigillum, repositi sunt suo loco; valde enim rotundi reperti sunt. 2. Oportet autem circumcidi hoc saeculum ab illis et vanitates opum suarum, et tune convenient in dei regnum. Necesse est enim eos intrare in dei regnum; hoc enim genus innocuum benedixit dominus. Ex hoc ergo genere non intercidet quisquam. Etenim licet quis eorum temptatus a nequissimo diabolo alicui deliquerit, cito recurrat ad dominum suum. 3. Felices vos iudico omnes, ego nuntius paenitentiae, quicumque estis innocentes sicut infantes, quoniam pars vestra bona est et honorata apud deum. 4. Dico autem omnibus, vobis, quicumque sigillum hoc accepi; simplicitatem habere neque offensarum memores esse neque in malitia vestra permanere aut in memoria offensarum amaritudinis, in unum quemque spiritum fieri et has malas scissuras permediare ac tollere a vobis, ut dominus pecorum gaudeat de his.¹ 5. χαρῆσεται δὲ, ἐὰν πάντα ὑγιὴ εὐρεθῇ, κἀκεῖ διαπεπτωκότα ἐξ αὐτῶν. ἐὰν δὲ εὐρεθῇ τῶν ἐξ αὐτῶν διαπεπτωκότα, οὐκ τίς ποιμέσιν ἔσται. 6. ἐὰν δὲ καὶ αὐτοῖς οἱ ποιμένες εὐρεθῶσι διαπεπτωκότες, τί ἐροῦσι τῷ δεσπότῃ τοῦ ποιμνίου; ὅτι ἀπὸ τῶν προβάτων διέποισαν; οὐ πιστευθῆσονται: ἀπιστον γὰρ πρᾶγμα ἔστι ποιμένα ὑπὸ προβάτων παθεῖν τινὰ μᾶλλον δὲ κολασ-

¹ The Greek which follows is a quotation preserved in Antiochus.
XXXI.

1. "But the others which still remained round and were not fitted into the building, because they had not yet received the seal, were put back in their place, for they were found very round. 2. But this world and the vanities of their riches must be cut away from them, and then they will be meet for the kingdom of God. For they needs must 'enter into the kingdom of God'; for the Lord blessed this innocent kind. Therefore not one of this kind shall perish, for though one of them be tempted by the most wicked devil, and do some wrong, he will quickly return to his Lord. 3. I, the angel of repentance, judge you all happy who are innocent as babes, for your part is good and honourable with God. 4. But I say to you all, as many as have received the seal, keep simplicity and bear no malice, and do not remain in your guilt, or in remembrance of the bitterness of offences. Be of one spirit and put away these evil schisms, and take them away from yourselves that the lord of the sheep may rejoice over them. 5. But he will rejoice if all be found whole; but if he find some of them fallen away, it will be woe to the shepherds. 6. But if the shepherds themselves be found fallen away, what shall they answer to the Master of the flock? That they have fallen away because of the sheep? They will not be believed, for it is incredible that a shepherd should be harmed
THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

θῆσονται διὰ τὸ ψεύδος αὐτῶν. Et ego sum pastor, et validissime oportet me de vobis reddere rationem.

XXXII

1. Remediae ergo vos, dum adhuc turris aedificatur. 2. Dominus habitat in viris amantibus pacem; ei enimvero pax cara est; a litigiosis vero et perditis malitiae longe abest. Reddite igitur ei spiritum integrum, sicut accepistis. 3. Si enim dederis fulloni vestimentum novum integrum idque integrum iterum vis recipere, fullo autem scissum tibi illud reddet, recipies illud? Nonne statim scandesces\textsuperscript{1} et eum convicio perseveris, dicens: Vestimentum integrum tibi dedi; quare scidisti illud et inutile redegisti? Et propter scissuram, quam in eo fecisti, in usu esse non potest. Nonne haec omnia verba dices fulloni ergo et de scissura, quam in vestimento tuo fecerit?\textsuperscript{2} 4. Si sic igitur tu doles de vestimento tuo et quereris, quod non illud integrum recipias, quid putas dominum tibi facturum, qui spiritum integrum tibi dedit, et tu eum totum inutilem redegisti, ita ut in nullo usu esse possit domino suo? Inutilis enim esse coepit usus eius, cum sit corruptus a te. Nonne igitur dominus spiritus eius propter hoc factum tuum morte te adficiet? 5. Plane, inquam, omnes eos,

\textsuperscript{1} Scandescis L\textsubscript{1}, irasceris L\textsubscript{2}.

\textsuperscript{2} A great part of this paragraph is found in Greek in Antiochus, but he seems here to abbreviate and perhaps to paraphrase too much to render it wise to follow his text.

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by the sheep, and they will rather be punished for their lie. And I am the shepherd, and am very exceedingly bound to give account for you.

XXXII

1. "Therefore, amend yourselves while the tower is still being built. 2. The Lord dwells among men who love peace, for of a truth peace is dear to him, but he is far away from the contentious and those who are destroyed by malice. Give back then to him your spirit whole as you received it. 3. For if you give to the dyer a new garment whole, and wish to receive it back from him whole, but the dyer gives it you back torn, will you accept it? Will you not at once grow hot and pursue him with abuse, saying 'I gave you a whole garment, why have you torn it and given it me back useless? And because of the tear which you have made in it it cannot be used.' Will you not say all these things to the dyer about the rent which he has made in your garment? 4. If then you are grieved with your garment, and complain that you did not receive it back whole, what do you think the Lord will do to you, who gave you the spirit whole, and you have returned it altogether useless, so that it can be of no use to its Lord, for its use began to be useless when it had been corrupted by you. Will not therefore the Lord of that spirit punish you with death, because of this deed of yours?" 5. "Certainly," said I, "He will punish

1 Scandesco is probably a dialectic form of candesco, which is found in some MSS of L.
THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

quoscumque invenerit in memoria offensarum permanere, adficiet. Clementiam, inquit, eius calcare nolite, sed potius honorificare eum, quod tam patiens est ad delicta vestra et non est sicut vos. Agite enim paenitentiam utilem vobis.

XXXIII

all those whom he findeth keeping the memory of offences." "Do not then," said he, "trample on his mercy, but rather honour him that he is so patient to your offences and is not as you are. Repent therefore with the repentance that avails you.

XXXIII

1. "All these things which have been written above I, the shepherd, the angel of repentance, have declared and spoken to the servants of God. If then you shall believe and shall listen to my words and shall walk in them, and shall correct your ways, you shall be able to live. But if you shall remain in malice and in the memory of offences, none of such kind shall live to God. All these things that I must tell have been told to you." 2. The shepherd himself said to me, "Have you asked me about everything?" And I said: "Yes, Sir," "Why then did you not ask me about the marks of the stones which were placed in the building, why we filled up the marks?" And I said: "I forgot, Sir." 3. "Listen now," said he, "about them. These are those who heard my commandments, and repented with all their hearts. And when the Lord saw that their repentance was good and pure, and that they could remain in it, he commanded their former sins to be blotted out. For these marks were their sins, and they were made level that they should not appear."
THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

SIMILITUDO X

I


II

1. Dico ei: Interroga ipsum, domine, ex quo in domo mea est, an aliquid extra ordinem fecerim, ex
THE SHEPHERD, sim. x. i. 1–ii. 1

PARABLE 10

I

1. After I had written this book the angel who had handed me over to the shepherd came to the house in which I was, and sat on the couch, and the shepherd stood on his right hand. Then he called me and said to me: 2. "I have handed you over," said he, "and your house to this shepherd, that you may be protected by him." "Yes, Sir," said I. "If then," said he, "you wish to be protected from all vexation and all cruelty, and to have success in every good work and word, and every virtue of righteousness, walk in his commandments, which he gave you, and you will be able to overcome all wickedness. 3. For, if you keep his commandments, all the lusts and delight of this world will be subject to you, but success in every good undertaking will follow you. Take his perfection and moderation upon you, and say to all that he is in great honour and dignity with the Lord, and that he is set in great power and powerful in his office. To him alone throughout all the world is given the power of repentance. Does he not seem to you to be powerful? But you despise his perfection and the modesty which he has towards you."

II

1. I said to him: "Ask him himself, Sir, whether since he has been in my house I have done anything

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1 Literally 'ripeness.'

2 A translation either of σωφροσύνη or of εὐταξία = propriety of conduct, a word specially used by the Stoics.
THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

quo eum offenderim. 2. Et ego, inquit, scio nihil extra ordinem fecisse te neque esse facturum. Et ideo haec loquor tecum, ut perseveres. Bene enim de te hic apud me existimavit. Tu autem ceteris haec verba dices, ut et illi, qui egerunt aut acturi sunt paenitentiam, eadem quae tu sentiant et hic apud me de his bene interpretetur et ego apud dominum. 3. Et ego, inquam, domine, omni homini indico magnalia domini; spero autem, quia omnes, qui antea peccaverunt, si haec audiant, libenter acturi sunt paenitentiam vitam recuperantes. 4. Permane ergo, inquit, in hoc ministerio et consumma illud. Quicumque autem mandata huius efficiunt, habebunt vitam, et hic apud dominum magnum honorem. Quicumque vero huius mandata non servant, fugiunt a sua vita et illum adversus; nec mandata eius sequuntur, sed morti se tradunt et unusquisque eorum reus fit sanguinis sui. Tibi autem dico, ut servias mandatis his, et remedium peccatorum habeabis.

III

1. Misi autem tibi has virgines, ut habitent tecum; vidi enim eas affabiles tibi esse. Habes ergo eas adiutrices, quo magis possis huius mandata servare; non potest enim fieri, ut sine his virginibus haec mandata serventur. Video autem eas libenter esse tecum; sed ego praecipiam eis, ut omnino a domo

1 Hilgenfeld emends to "aversantur illum"

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against his command, to offend against him?” 2. “I know myself;” said he, “that you have done nothing and will do nothing against his command, and therefore I am speaking thus with you, that you may persevere; for he has given me a good account of you. But you shall tell these words to others, that they also who have repented, or shall repent, may have the same mind as you, and that he may give a good account to me of them, and I to the Lord.” 3. “I myself, Sir,” said I, “show the ‘mighty acts’ of the Lord to all men, but I hope that all who have sinned before, if they hear this, will willingly repent, and recover life.” 4. “Remain then,” said he, “in this ministry and carry it out. But whoever perform his commandments shall have life, and such a one has great honour with the Lord. But whoever do not keep his commandments, are flying from their own life and against him, and they do not keep his commandments, but are delivering themselves to death, and each one of them is guilty of his own blood. But you I bid to keep these commandments, and you shall have healing for your sins.

III

1. “But I sent these maidens to you to dwell with you, for I saw that they were courteous to you. You have them therefore to help you, in order to keep his commandments the better, for it is not possible that these commandments be kept without these maidens. I see moreover that they are with you willingly; but I will enjoin on them not to depart at all from your
THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

tua non discendat. 2. Tu tantum communda domum tuam; in munda enim domo libenter habitabunt; mundae enim sunt atque castae et industriae et omnes habentes gratiam apud dominum. Igitur si habuerint domum tuam puram, tecum permanebunt. Sin autem pusillum aliquid inquisitionis acciderit, protinus a domo tua recedent; hae enim virgines nullum omnino diligunt inquisitionem.

3. Dico ei: Spero me, domine, placitum eis, ita ut in domo mea libenter habitent semper. 

καὶ ὅσπερ οὖν, φίλοις με, οὐ μέμεντο με, οὐδὲ αὕτη μέμνησται με. 4. λέγει 

τῷ ποιμενί. Οἶδα, ὅτι ὁ δοῦλος τοῦ θεοῦ 

θέλει ξίνη καὶ τηρήσει τὰς ἐντολὰς ταῦτας 

καὶ τὰς παρθένους ἐν καθαρότητι καταστήσει. 5. ταῦτα εἰπὼν τῷ ποιμενὶ πάλιν παρέδωκεν μὲ καὶ τὰς παρθένους καλέσας . . . . 

λέγει αὐτοῖς. 1 Quoniam video vos libenter in domo huius habitare, commendo eum vobis et domum eius, ut a domo eius non recedatis omnino. Illae vero haec verba libenter audierunt.

IV

1. Ait deinde mihi: Viriliter in ministerio hoc conversare, omni homini indica magnalia domini, et habebis gratiam in hoc ministerio. Quicumque ergo in his mandatis ambulaverit, vivet et felix erit in vita sua; quicumque vero neglexerit, non vivet et erit infelix in vita sua. 2. Dic omnibus, ut non

1 The Greek is from Pox (Oxyrhynchus Papyri. 404).
house. 2. Only do you make your house pure, for in a pure house they will willingly dwell, for they are pure and chaste and industrious and all have favour with the Lord. If then they find your house pure they will remain with you. But if ever so little corruption come to it they will at once depart from your home, for these maidens love no sort of impurity.”

3. I said to him: “I hope, Sir, that I shall please them so that they may ever willingly dwell in my house. And just as he, to whom you handed me over, finds no fault in me, so they also shall find no fault in me.” 4. He said to the shepherd: “I know that the servant of God wishes to live, and will keep these commandments, and will provide for the maidens in purity.” 5. When he had said this he handed me over again to the shepherd, and called the maidens and said to them: “Since I see that you willingly dwell in his house I commend him and his house to you, that you depart not at all from his house.” But they heard these words willingly.

IV

1. Then he said to me: “Behave manfully in this ministry, show to every man the ‘mighty acts’ of the Lord, and you shall have favour in this ministry. Whoever therefore shall walk in these commandments shall live, and shall be happy in his life; but whoever shall neglect them shall not live, and shall be unhappy in his life. 2. Say to all men who are
cessent, quicumque recte facere possunt; bona opera exercere utile est illis. Dico autem, omnell hominem de incommodiis eripi oportere. Et is enim, qui eget et in cotidiana vita patitur incommoda, in magno tormento est ac necessitate. 3. Qui igitur huiusmodi animam eripit de necessitate, magnum gaudium sibi adquirit. Is enim, qui huiusmodi vexatur incommodo, pari tormento cruciatur atque torquet se qui in vincula est. Multi enim propter huiusmodi calamitates, cum eas sufferre non possunt, mortem sibi adducunt. Qui novit igitur calamitatem huiusmodi hominis et non eripit eum, magnum peccatum admittit et reus fit sanguinis eius. 4. Facite igitur opera bona, quicumque accepistis a domino, ne, dum tardatis facere, consummetur structura turris. Propter vos enim intermissum est opus aedificationis eius. Nisi festinetis igitur facere recte, consummabitur turris, et excludemini. 5. Postquam vero locutus est mecum, surrexit de lecto et apprehenso pastore et virginibus abiit, dicens autem mihi, remissurum se pastorem illum et virgines in domum meam.
THE SHEPHERD, sim. x. iv. 2–5

able to do right,¹ that they cease not; the exercise of good deeds is profitable to them. But I say that every man ought to be taken out from distress, for he who is destitute and suffers distress in his daily life is in great anguish and necessity. 3. Whoever therefore rescues the soul of such a man from necessity gains great joy for himself. For he who is vexed by such distress is tortured with such anguish as he suffers who is in chains. For many bring death on themselves by reason of such calamities when they cannot bear them. Whoever therefore knows the distress of such a man, and does not rescue him, incurs great sin and becomes guilty of his blood. 4. Therefore do good deeds, all you who have learnt of the Lord, lest the building of the tower be finished while you delay to do them. For the work of the building has been broken off for your sake. Unless therefore you hasten to do right the tower will be finished and you will be shut out.”

5. Now after he had spoken this he rose from the couch, and took the shepherd and the maidens and departed, but said to me that he would send back the shepherd and the maidens to my house.

¹ ‘recte facere’ can hardly be translated otherwise: but from the context it seems probably to represent ἱππολειφω, or some such phrase, meaning to do good in the sense of charitable acts.
THE MARTYRDOM OF POLYCARP
THE MARTYRDOM OF POLYCARP

This obviously genuine and contemporary account of the martyrdom of Polycarp, in the form of a letter from the Church of Smyrna to the Church of Philomelium, is the earliest known history of a Christian martyrdom, the genuineness of which is unquestionable, and its value is enhanced by the fact that in the extant MSS. a short account is given of the history of the text. From this it appears that Gaius, a contemporary of Irenaeus who had himself seen Polycarp when he was a boy, copied the text from a manuscript in the possession of Irenaeus. Later on Socrates in Corinth copied the text of Gaius, and finally Pionius copied the text of Socrates. Pionius, who is supposed to have lived in the 4th century, says that the existence of the document was revealed to him in a vision by Polycarp, and that when he found it the MS. was old and in bad condition.

Of the text of Pionius, the following five Greek MSS. are available and further research among hagiographical MSS. would probably reveal the existence of more, but there is no reason to suppose that such discovery would make any important addition to our knowledge of the text, which is quite good.

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m, Codex Mosquensis 159 (13th century), now in the Library of the Holy Synod at Moscow.
b, Codex Baroccianus 238 (11th century), now in the Bodleian Library at Oxford.
p, Codex Parisinus Gr. 1452 (10th century), now in the Bibliothèque nationale at Paris.
s, Codex Hierosolymitanus (10th century), now in the monastery of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem.
v, Codex Vindobonensis Gr. Eccl. iii. (11th century), at Vienna.

Of these MSS. b p s v form a group as opposed to m, which has often the better text.

We also have the greater part of the letter preserved by Eusebius in quotations in his Ecclesiastical History IV. 15, quoted as E.

Besides these authorities there exists a Latin version, quoted as L, and extracts from Eusebius in Syriac and Coptic which have obviously no independent value.

The date of the martyrdom of Polycarp is fixed by the chronicle of Eusebius as 166–7, but this date has now been almost universally abandoned, as according to the letter to the church at Smyrna, Polycarp's martyrdom was on Saturday, Xanthicus\(^1\) 2, that is Feb. 23, in the proconsulship of Statius Quadratus, and from a reference in Aelius Aristides, Waddington (Mémoire sur la chronologie de la vie du rhéteur, Aelius Aristide, Paris, 1864) showed that Quadratus became proconsul of Asia in 153–4. Now, Feb. 23 fell on a Saturday in 155. It is therefore suggested

\(^1\) The name of the spring month in the Macedonian Calendar which was commonly used in Smyrna.
THE MARTYRDOM OF POLYCARP

that Feb. 23, 155, was the date of the martyrdom. The question however is complicated by the statement in the letter that the day of the martyrdom was a great Sabbath. This may mean the Jewish feast Purim, and Purim in 155 was not on Feb. 23. Mr. C. H. Turner has argued in Studia Biblica II., pp. 105 ff. that Purim, Feb. 22, 156, is the real date and that the Roman reckoning which regards Xanthicus 2 as equivalent to Feb. 23 is a mistake due to neglect to consider fully the complicated system of intercalation in the Asian calendar. More recently Prof. E. Schwartz has argued in the Abhandlungen der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen VIII. (1905), 6, pp. 125 ff. that the ‘great Sabbath’ can only mean the Sabbath after the Passover (cf. Jo. 19, 21), and that owing to the local customs of the Jews in Smyrna this was on Feb. 22 in the year 156 A.D. He thus reaches the same result as Turner, but by a different method.
ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΟΝ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΠΟΛΥ-ΚΑΡΠΟΥ ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ ΣΜΥΡΝΗΣ ¹

'Η ἐκκλησία τοῦ θεοῦ ἡ παροικοῦσα Σμύρναν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ τῇ παροικοῦσῃ ἐν 
Φιλομηλίῳ καὶ πάσαις ταῖς κατὰ πάντα τόπον 
τῆς ἁγίας καὶ καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας παροι-
κίαις· ἔλεος, εἰρήνη καὶ ἀγάπη θεοῦ πατρὸς 
καὶ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ πληθυνθεῖν.

I

1. Ἐγράψαμεν ὑμῖν, ἀδελφοί, τὰ κατὰ τοὺς 
μαρτυρήσαντας καὶ τὸν μακάριον Πολύκαρπον, 
ὅστις ὁστὶς ἐπισφραγίσας διὰ τῆς μαρτυρίας 
αὐτοῦ κατεπαυσεν τὸν διωγμόν. σχεδὸν γὰρ 
πάντα τὰ προάγοντα ἐγένετο, ἵνα ἡμῖν ὁ κύριος 
ἀνωθεν ἐπιδείξῃ τὸ κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον μαρτύριον. 
2. περιέμενεν γὰρ, ἵνα παραδοθῇ, ὡς καὶ ὁ κύριος, 
ἵνα μιμηταί καὶ ἡμεῖς αὐτοῦ γενώμεθα, μὴ μόνον 
σκοποῦντες τὸ καθ' ἐαυτούς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ κατὰ 
τοὺς πέλας. ἀγάπης γὰρ ἀληθοῦς καὶ βεβαίας 
ἐστίν, μὴ μόνον ἐαυτὸν θέλειν σώζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ 
καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς.

¹ This title has no special support. Each MS. gives its own title and though there is a general resemblance no two are the same.

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THE MARTYRDOM OF ST. POLYCARP, BISHOP OF SMYRNA

The Church of God which sojourns in Smyrna, to the Church of God which sojourns in Philo-
melium, and to all the sojournings of the Holy Catholic Church in every place. “Mercy, peace
and love” of God the Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ be multiplied.

I

1. We write to you, brethren, the story of the martyrs and of the blessed Polycarp, who put an end to the persecution by his martyrdom as though adding the seal.¹ For one might almost say that all that had gone before happened in order that the Lord might show to us from above a martyrdom ² in accordance with the Gospel. 2. For he waited to be betrayed as also the Lord had done, that we too might become his imitators, “not thinking of ourselves alone, but also of our neighbours.” For it is the mark of true and steadfast love, not to wish that oneself may be saved alone, but all the brethren also.

¹ He was the last to suffer and thus might be regarded as being the seal to the ‘witness’ or ‘testimony’ (μαρτύριον) of the Church. It is not clear whether μαρτυρία and μαρτύριον ought to be translated ‘martyrdom’ or ‘witness’: there is an untranslatable play on the words.

² Or perhaps “witness.”
1. Μακάρια μὲν οὖν καὶ γενναία τὰ μαρτύρια 
Pάντα τὰ κατὰ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ γεγονότα. 
Δει γὰρ εὐλαβεστέρος ἡμᾶς ὑπάρχοντας τῷ θεῷ 
τὴν κατὰ πάντων ἐξουσίαν ἀνατιθέναι. 2. τὸ γὰρ 
γενναῖον αὐτῶν καὶ ὑπομονητικὸν καὶ φιλοδέσπο-
tον τίς οὖκ ἂν θαυμάσειν; οὐ μάστιξιν μὲν 
κατακαυνθέντες, ὡστε μέχρι τῶν ἔσω φλεβῶν 
καὶ ἀρτηριῶν τὴν τῆς σαρκὸς οἰκονομίαν θεω-
ρεῖσθαι, ὑπέμειναι, ὡς καὶ τοὺς περισσότερας 
ἐλεεῖν καὶ ὀδύρεσθαι τοὺς δὲ καὶ εἰς τοσοῦτον 
γενναίότητος ἐλθεῖν, ὡστε μήτε γρίξαι μήτε 
στενάξαι τινὰ αὐτῶν, ἐπιδεικνυμένους ἄπασιν 
ἡμῖν, ὅτι ἐκείνη τῇ ὁρα βασανιζόμενοι τῆς σαρκὸς 
ἀπεδήμουν οἱ γενναίότατοι 1 μάρτυρες τοῦ Χριστοῦ, 
μᾶλλον δὲ, διὶ παρεστῶς ὁ κύριος ὡμίλει αὐτοῖς. 
3. καὶ προσέχοντες τῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ χάριτι τῶν 
κοσμικῶν κατεφρόνουν βασάνων, διὰ μᾶς ὁρα 
τὴν αἰώνιον ζωὴν 2 ἐξαγοραζόμενοι. καὶ τὸ πῦρ 
ἡν αὐτοῖς ψυχρὸν τῷ τῶν ἀπηγνωσμένοι 
πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν γὰρ εἰχον φυγεῖν τὸ αἰώνιον καὶ 
μηδέποτε σβενυμένον, καὶ τοῖς οἵς καρδίας 
οφθαλμοῖς ἀνέβλεπον τὰ τηροῦμενα τοῖς ὑπο-
μείνασιν ἀγαθὰ, ἃ οὕτε οὓς ἦκουσεν οὕτε ὀφθαλ-
μοῖς εἶδεν οὕτε ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου ἀνέβη, 
ἐκείνους δὲ ὑπεδείκνυτο ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου, οἵπερ 
μηκέτε ἀνθρώποι, ἀλλ' ἥδη ἄγγελοι ἤσαν.

1 γενναίόταται: m ρ, om. bv.
2 ζωὴν m, κάλασιν bpsv. The reading of bpsv would have 
to be translated "buying off eternal punishment" and this 
rendering of ἐξαγοράζεσθαι is doubtful.

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MARTYRDOM OF POLYCARP, II. 1–3

II

1. Blessed then and noble are all the martyrdoms which took place according to the will of God; for we must be very careful to assign the power over all to God. 2. For who would not admire their nobility and patience and love of their Master? For some were torn by scourging until the mechanism of their flesh was seen even to the lower veins and arteries, and they endured so that even the bystanders pitied them and mourned. And some even reached such a pitch of nobility that none of them groaned or wailed, showing to all of us that at that hour of their torture the noble martyrs of Christ were absent from the flesh, or rather that the Lord was standing by and talking with them. 3. And paying heed to the grace of Christ they despised worldly tortures, by a single hour purchasing everlasting life. And the fire of their cruel torturers had no heat for them, for they set before their eyes an escape from the fire which is everlasting and is never quenched, and with the eyes of their heart they looked up to the good things which are preserved for those who have endured, 'which neither ear hath heard nor hath eye seen, nor hath it entered into the heart of man,' but it was shown by the Lord to them who were no longer men but already angels.¹

¹ This passage, combined with Hermas Vis. II. ii. 7 and Sim. IX. xxv. 2, shows that the identification of the dead with angels existed in the second century in Christian circles.

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4. ὀμοίως δὲ καὶ οἱ εἰς τὰ θηρία κατακριθέντες υπέμειναν δεινὰς κολάσεις, κήρυκας ὑποστρω-νύμενοι καὶ ἄλλας ποικίλων βασάνων ἰδέαις κολαξόμενοι, ἵνα, εἰ δυνηθῇ, ὁ τύραννος διὰ τὴς ἐπιμόνου κολάσεως εἰς ἄρνησιν αὐτοῦς τρέψῃ. πολλὰ γὰρ ἐμηχανάτο κατ’ αὐτῶν ὁ διάβολος.

III

1. Ἀλλὰ χάρις τῷ θεῷ κατὰ πάντων γὰρ οὐκ ἔσχυσεν. ὁ γὰρ γενναίοτάτος Γερμανικὸς ἐπερρώνυμεν αὐτῶν τὴν δειλίαν διὰ τῆς ἐν αὐτῷ ὑπομονῆς· ὑπερ εἰπιστήμως· ἐθηριομάχησεν. βουλομένου γὰρ τοῦ ἀνθυπάτου πείθειν αὐτῶν καὶ λέγοντος, τὴν ἡλικίαν αὐτοῦ κατοικτείραι, ἐαυτῷ ἐπεσπάσατο τὸ θηρίον προσβιασάμενος, τάχιον τοῦ ἄδικου καὶ ἀνόμου βίου αὐτῶν ἀπαλαγήναι βουλόμενος. 2. ἐκ τούτου οὖν πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος, θαυμάσαν τὴν γενναίότητα τοῦ θεοφίλου καὶ θεοσεβοῦς γένους τῶν Χριστιανῶν, ἐπεβόησεν· Ἀρε τοὺς ἄθεους· ζητείσθω Πολύκαρπος.

IV

1. Εἰς δὲ, ὑψόματι Κόιντος, Φρύξ προσφάτως ἐληλυθός ἀπὸ τῆς Φρυγίας, ἰδὼν τὰ θηρία ἐδειλίασεν. οὕτως δὲ ἦν ὁ παραβιασάμενος ἑαυτὸν τε καὶ τινὰς προσελθεῖν ἐκόντας. τούτων ὁ ἀνθύπατος πολλὰ ἐκλυπαρῆς ἐπείσεν ὀμόσαι καὶ ἐπιθύσαι. διὰ τούτο οὖν, ἀδελφοί, οὐκ ἐπαινοῦμεν τοὺς προδιδόντας ἑαυτούς, ἐπειδὴ οὐχ οὕτως διδάσκει τὸ εὐαγγέλιον.

Mt. 10, 23

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MARTYRDOM OF POLYCARP, II. 4–IV. 1

4. And in the same way also those who were condemned to the beasts endured terrible torment, being stretched on sharp shells and buffeted with other kinds of various torments, that if it were possible the tyrant might bring them to a denial by continuous torture. For the devil used many wiles against them.

III

1. But thanks be to God, for he had no power over Germanicus any. For the most noble Germanicus encouraged their fears by the endurance which was in him, and he fought gloriously with the wild beasts. For when the Pro-Consul wished to persuade him and bade him have pity on his youth, he violently dragged the beast towards himself, wishing to be released more quickly from their unrighteous and lawless life. 2. So after this all the crowd, wondering at the nobility of the God-loving and God-fearing people of the Christians, cried out: "Away with the Atheists; let Polycarp be searched for."

IV

1. But one, named Quintus, a Phrygian lately come from Phrygia, when he saw the wild beasts played the coward. Now it was he who had forced himself and some others to come forward of their own accord. Him the Pro-Consul persuaded with many entreaties to take the oath and offer sacrifice. For this reason, therefore, brethren, we do not commend those who give themselves up, since the Gospel does not give this teaching.
THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

V

1. Ὄ δὲ θαυμασιώτατος Πολύκαρπος τὸ μὲν πρὸτον ἀκούσας οὐκ ἐταράχθη, ἀλλ' ἐβούλετο κατὰ πόλιν μένειν. οἱ δὲ πλείους ἐπειθοῦν αὐτὸν ὑπεξελθεῖν. καὶ ὑπεξήλθεν εἰς ἁγρίδιον οὐ μακρὰν ἀπέχον ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως καὶ διέτριβεν μετ' ὀλίγων, νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν οὐδὲν ἔτερον ποιῶν ἢ προσευχόμενος περὶ πάντων καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμενήν ἐκκλησιῶν, ὅπερ ἦν σύνηθες αὐτῷ. 2. καὶ προσευχόμενος ἐν ὅπτασίᾳ γέγονεν πρὸ τριῶν ἡμερῶν τοῦ συλληφθῆναι αὐτὸν, καὶ εἶδεν τὸ προσκεφάλαιον αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ πυρὸς κατακαίωμενον καὶ στραφεὶς ἔπειν ἐπὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ. Δεὶ με ἔξωντα καθήναι.¹

VI

1. Καὶ ἐπιμενόντων τῶν ξητούντων αὐτόν μετέβη εἰς ἔτερον ἁγρίδιον, καὶ εὐθέως ἐπέστησαν οἱ ξητούντες αὐτόν καὶ μὴ εὐρότες συνελάβοντο παιδάρια δύο, ὃν τὸ ἔτερον βασανιζόμενον ῥυμολόγησαν. 2. ἦν γὰρ καὶ ἄδυνατον λαθεῖν αὐτὸν, ἔπει καὶ οἱ προδιδόντες αὐτὸν οἰκεῖοι ὑπῆρχον, καὶ ὁ εἰρήναρχος, ὁ κεκληρωμένος τὸ αὐτὸ ὄνομα, Ὁρώδης ἐπιλεγόμενος, ἐσπευδεν εἰς τὸ στάδιον αὐτοῦ εἰσαγαγεῖν, ἵνα ἔκεινος μὲν τὸν

¹ καθήναι m, καυθήναι bpsv.
MARTYRDOM OF POLYCARP, V. 1–VI. 2

V

1. But the most wonderful Polycarp, when he first heard it, was not disturbed, but wished to remain in the city; but the majority persuaded him to go away quietly, and he went out quietly to a farm, not far distant from the city, and stayed with a few friends, doing nothing but pray night and day for all, and for the Churches throughout the world, as was his custom. 2. And while he was praying he fell into a trance three days before he was arrested, and saw the pillow under his head burning with fire, and he turned and said to those who were with him: “I must be burnt alive.”

VI

1. And when the searching for him persisted he went to another farm; and those who were searching for him came up at once, and when they did not find him, they arrested young slaves,\(^1\) and one of them confessed under torture. 2. For it was indeed impossible for him to remain hid, since those who betrayed him were of his own house, and the police captain who had been allotted the very name, being called Herod,\(^2\) hastened to bring him to the arena

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\(^1\) Literally ‘children,’ but constantly used for slaves; the South African use of ‘boy’ is an almost exact parallel.

\(^2\) The writer desires to bring out the points of resemblance to the Passion of Christ. The coincidences are remarkable, but none are in themselves at all improbable.
THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

1. Ἐχοντες οὖν τὸ παιδάριον, τῇ παρασκευῇ περὶ δείπνου ὄραν ἐξῆλθον διωγμᾶται καὶ ἱπτεῖς μετὰ τῶν συνήθων αὐτοῖς ὅπλων ὡς ἐπὶ λῃστὴν τρέχοντες. καὶ ὅψε τῆς ὁρᾶς συνεπελθόντες ἐκείνου μὲν εὖρον ἐν ὑπερφόρῳ κατακείμενου· καὶ κατεθεῖον δὲ ἡδύνατο εἰς ἑτέρον χώριον ἀπελθεῖν, ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἡμουλήθη εἰπὼν. Τὸ θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ γενέσθω. 2. ἀκοῦσας οὖν παρόντας αὐτοὺς, καταβὰς διελέγθη αὐτοῖς, θαυμαζόντων τῶν παρόντων τῆς ἡμικίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ εὐσταθές, καὶ εἰ τοσαύτη σπούδῃ ἑν τοῦ συλληφθῆναι τοιοῦτον πρεσβύτην ἄνδρα. εὐθεῖας οὖν αὐτοῖς ἐκελεύσεν παρατεθῆναι φαγεῖν καὶ πιεῖν ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ὁρᾷ, ὡσον ἄν βούλωνται, ἐξητήσατο δὲ αὐτοῖς, ἴνα δῶσιν αὐτῷ ὄραν πρὸς τὸ προσεύξασθαι ἄδεως. 3. τῶν δὲ ἐπιτρεπόντων, σταθεὶς προσηύξατο πλήρης ὡς τῆς χάριτος τοῦ θεοῦ ὅτως ὡστε ἐπὶ δύο ὁρᾶς μὴ δύνασθαι συγῆσαι καὶ ἐκπλήττεσθαι τούς ἀκούοντας, πολλοὺς τε μετανοεῖν ἐπὶ τῷ ἔληλυθέναι ἐπὶ τοιοῦτον θεοπρεπὴ πρεσβύτην.

1 ἐν ὑπερφόρῳ κατακείμενον Ε, ἐν τινὶ δωματίῳ ἐν ὑπερφόρῳ κατακείμενον Ἰ, ἐν τινὶ δωματίῳ κατακείμενον ἐν ὑπερφόρῳ ἰρσν.
that he might fulfil his appointed lot by becoming a partaker of Christ, while they who betrayed him should undergo the same punishment as Judas.

VII

1. Taking the slave then police and cavalry went out on Friday\(^1\) about supper-time, with their usual arms, as if they were advancing against a robber.\(^2\) And late in the evening they came up together against him and found him lying in an upper room. And he might have departed to another place, but would not, saying, "the will of God be done." 2. So when he heard that they had arrived he went down and talked with them, while those who were present wondered at his age and courage, and whether there was so much haste for the arrest of an old man of such a kind. Therefore he ordered food and drink to be set before them at that hour, whatever they should wish, and he asked them to give him an hour to pray without hindrance. 3. To this they assented, and he stood and prayed—thus filled with the grace of God—so that for two hours he could not be silent, and those who listened were astounded, and many repented that they had come against such a venerable old man.

\(^1\) παρασκεύα is literally Preparation (i.e. for the Sabbath) and has always been used in the Greek Church for Friday.

\(^2\) "robber" is the traditional translation: but "brigand" is nearer the real meaning.
MARTYRDOM OF POLYCARP, VI. 2–VII. 3

that he might fulfil his appointed lot by becoming a partaker of Christ, while they who betrayed him should undergo the same punishment as Judas.

VII

1. Taking the slave then police and cavalry went out on Friday¹ about supper-time, with their usual arms, as if they were advancing against a robber.² And late in the evening they came up together against him and found him lying in an upper room. And he might have departed to another place, but would not, saying, “the will of God be done.” 2. So when he heard that they had arrived he went down and talked with them, while those who were present wondered at his age and courage, and whether there was so much haste for the arrest of an old man of such a kind. Therefore he ordered food and drink to be set before them at that hour, whatever they should wish, and he asked them to give him an hour to pray without hindrance. 3. To this they assented, and he stood and prayed—thus filled with the grace of God—so that for two hours he could not be silent, and those who listened were astounded, and many repented that they had come against such a venerable old man.

¹ παρασκεύη is literally Preparation (i.e. for the Sabbath) and has always been used in the Greek Church for Friday.
² “robber” is the traditional translation: but “brigand” is nearer the real meaning.
THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

VIII

1. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ποτὲ κατέπαυσεν τὴν προσευχὴν, μημονεύσας ἀπάντων καὶ τῶν πώποτε συμβεβληκότων αὐτῶ, μικρῶν τε καὶ μεγάλων, ἐνδόξων τε καὶ ἀδόξων καὶ πάσης τῆς κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας, τῆς ὀρας ἐλθούσης τού ἐξεῖναι, ὃνοι καθίσαντες αὐτὸν ἤγαγον εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ὅντος σαββάτου μεγάλου. 2. καὶ ὑπήντα αὐτῷ ὁ εἰρήναρχος Ἰωάννης καὶ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ Ἰωάννης, οἱ καὶ μεταθέντες αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν καρούχαν ἐπείθον παρακαθεδρύμενοι καὶ λέγοντες: Τί γὰρ κακῶν ἐστὶν εἰπεῖν. Κύριος καὶ σάρα, καὶ ἐπιθύμαι καὶ τὰ τοῦτοι ἀκόλουθα καὶ διασώζεσθαι; ὅ δὲ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα οὐκ ἀπεκρίνατο αὐτοῖς, ἐπιμενόντων δὲ αὐτῶν ἔφη. Οὐ μέλλω ποιεῖν, ὃ συμβουλεύεστε μοι. 3. οἱ δὲ ἀποτυχόντες τοῦ πεῖσαι αὐτῶν δεινὰ ρήματα ἔλεγον αὐτῷ καὶ μετὰ σπουδῆς καθήρουν αὐτῶν, ὡς κατιόντα ἀπὸ τῆς καρούχας ἀποσύρας τὸ ἀντικήμιον. καὶ μὴ ἐπιστραφεῖς, ὅς οὐδὲν πεποιθῶς προθύμως μετὰ σπουδῆς ἐπορεύετο, ἀγόμενος εἰς τὸ στάδιον, θορύβου τηλυκοῦτον ὅντος ἐν τῷ σταδίῳ, ὡς μηδὲ ἀκοινοθήναι τινα δύνασθαι.

IX

1. Τῷ δὲ Πολυκάρπῳ εἰσιόντι εἰς τὸ στάδιον φωνῇ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ἐγένετο: Ἰσχυρε, Πολυκάρπε, καὶ ἀνδρίζου. καὶ τὸν μὲν εἰπόντα οὐδεὶς εἶδεν,

1 καρούχα (cf. Corpus Inscr. Lat. iii. p. 835) is the Latin 'carucca,' a closed carriage used by ladies and high officials.

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MARTYRDOM OF POLYCARP, VIII. I–IX. I

VIII

1. Now when he had at last finished his prayer, after remembering all who had ever even come his way, both small and great, high and low, and the whole Catholic Church throughout the world, the hour came for departure, and they set him on an ass, and led him into the city, on a "great Sabbath day." 2. And the police captain Herod and his father Niketas met him and removed him into their carriage, and sat by his side trying to persuade him and saying: "But what harm is it to say, 'Lord Caesar,' and to offer sacrifice, and so forth, and to be saved?" But he at first did not answer them, but when they continued he said: "I am not going to do what you counsel me." 3. And they gave up the attempt to persuade him, and began to speak fiercely to him, and turned him out in such a hurry that in getting down from the carriage he scraped his shin; and without turning round, as though he had suffered nothing, he walked on promptly and quickly, and was taken to the arena, while the uproar in the arena was so great that no one could even be heard.

IX

1. Now when Polycarp entered into the arena there came a voice from heaven: "Be strong, Polycarp, and play the man." And no one saw the

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1 This may have been the Jewish feast Purim, which, according to tradition, celebrates the triumph of the Jews in Persia over their enemies, as is related in the book of Esther, or else the Sabbath in the Passover week (see p. 311).
THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

tēn de φωνήν τῶν ἡμετέρων οἱ παρόντες ἦκουσαν. καὶ λοιπὸν προσαχθέντος αὐτοῦ, θόρυβος ἦν μέγας ἁκουσάντων, ὅτι Πολύκαρπος συνείληπται. 2. προσαχθέντα οὖν αὐτὸν ἀνηρώτα δὲ ἀνθύπατος, εἰ αὐτὸς εἰς Πολύκαρπος. τοῦ δὲ ὀμολογοῦντος, ἔπειθεν ἀρνεῖσθαι λέγων: Ἀδεσθητί σου τήν ἡλικίαν, καὶ ἑτερα τούτοις ἀκόλουθα, ὡς ἔθος αὐτοῖς λέγειν. "Ομοσον τὴν Καίσαρος τύχην, 1 μετανόησον, εἰπον. Αἴρε τοὺς ἄθεους. ο δὲ Πολύκαρπος ἐμβρυθεὶς τῷ προσώπῳ εἰς πάντα τὸν ὀχλον τὸν ἐν τῷ σταδίῳ ἀνόμων ἐθνῶν ἐμβλέψας καὶ ἑπισεῖσας αὐτοῖς τὴν χείρα, στενάξας τε καὶ ἀναβλέψας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐίπεν: Αἴρε τοὺς ἄθεους. 3. ἐγκεκρέμον δὲ τοῦ ἀνθυπάτου καὶ λέγοντος. "Ομοσον, καὶ ἀπολύω σε, λοιδόρησον τὸν Χριστον, ἐφι ὁ Πολύκαρπος. ὁ ὅργον καὶ ἐξ ἐτη δουλεύω αὐτῷ, καὶ οὐδέν με ἡδίκησεν καὶ πῶς δύναμαι βλασφημῆσαι τὸν βασιλέα μου τὸν σώσαντά με;

X

1. Ἐπιμενοντος δὲ πάλιν αὐτοῦ καὶ λέγοντος: "Ομοσον τὴν Καίσαρος τύχην, ἀπεκρίνατο: Εἰ κενοδοξεῖς, ἵνα ὁμόσω τὴν καίσαρος τύχην, ὡς σὺ λέγεις, προσποιείν δὲ ἀγνοεῖν με, τὸς εἰμι, μετὰ παρρησίας ἄκουσε: Χριστιανός εἰμι. εἰ δὲ θέλεις τὸν τὸν Χριστιανισμὸν μαθεῖν λόγον, δὸς ἕμεραν

1 The customary Greek for the oath ‘per genium’ (or sometimes ‘fortunam,’ hence τύχην) Caesaris which Christians rejected. Per salutem Caesaris (σωτηρίαν) they accepted. (Cf Tertullian Apol. 32.)
speaker, but our friends who were there heard the voice. And next he was brought forward, and there was a great uproar of those who heard that Polycarp had been arrested. 2. Therefore when he was brought forward the Pro-Consul asked him if he were Polycarp, and when he admitted it he tried to persuade him to deny, saying: “Respect your age,” and so forth, as they are accustomed to say: “Swear by the genius of Caesar, repent, say: ‘Away with the Atheists’”; but Polycarp, with a stern countenance looked on all the crowd of lawless heathen in the arena, and waving his hand at them, he groaned and looked up to heaven and said: “Away with the Atheists.” 3. But when the Pro-Consul pressed him and said: “Take the oath and I let you go, revile Christ,” Polycarp said: “For eighty and six years¹ have I been his servant, and he has done me no wrong, and how can I blaspheme my King² who saved me?”

X

1. But when he persisted again, and said: “Swear by the genius of Caesar,” he answered him: “If you vainly suppose that I will swear by the genius of Caesar, as you say, and pretend that you are ignorant who I am, listen plainly: I am a Christian. And if you wish to learn the doctrine of Christianity fix a

¹ He was therefore probably a Christian born, unless we ascribe to him a quite improbable age.
² Βασιλεὺς represents ‘imperator’ not ‘rex,’ and though it can hardly be translated ‘Emperor,’ the antithesis to Caesar is clearly implied.
THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

καὶ ἀκούσαν. 2. ἔφη ὁ ἀνθύπατος. Πείσον τὸν δῆμον. ὁ δὲ Πολύκαρπος εἶπεν. Σὲ μὲν κἂν λόγον ἡξίωσα· δεδιδάγμεθα γὰρ ἀρχαῖς καὶ ἐξουσίαις ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ τεταγμέναις τιμῆν κατὰ τὸ προσήκον, τὴν μὴ βλάπτουσαν ἡμᾶς, ἀπονέ-μεν ἐκεῖνος δὲ οὐχ ἡγοῦμαι ἄξιος τοῦ ἀπολογεῖσθαι αὐτοῖς.

XI

1. ὁ δὲ ἀνθύπατος εἶπεν. Θηρία ἔχω, τούτως σε παραβαλῶ, ἐὰν μὴ μετανοήσῃς. ὁ δὲ εἶπεν. Κάλει, ἀμετάθετος γὰρ ἡμῖν ἡ ἀπὸ τῶν κρειττόνων ἐπὶ τὰ χείρω μετάνοια. καλὸν δὲ μετατίθεσθαι ἀπὸ τῶν χαλεπῶν ἐπὶ τὰ δίκαια. 2. ὁ δὲ πάλιν πρὸς αὐτὸν. Πυρὶ σε ποιήσω δαπανηθήναι, εἰ τῶν θηρίων καταφρονεῖς, ἐὰν μὴ μετανοήσῃς. ὁ δὲ Πολύκαρπος εἶπεν. Πῦρ ἀπειλεῖς τὸ πρὸς ὄραν καἰόμενον καὶ μετ’ ὀλύγον σβεννυμένον. ἄγνοεις γὰρ τὸ τῆς μελλούσης κρίσεως καὶ αἰώνιον κολά-σεως τοῖς ἀσεβείς τηρούμενον πῦρ. ἀλλὰ τὶ βραδύνεις; φέρε, ὦ βούλει.

XII

1. Ταῦτα δὲ καὶ ἔτερα πλείονα λέγων πάρσους καὶ χαρὰς ἐνεπτύμπλατο, καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ χάριτος ἐπληρώθη, ὡστε οὐ μόνον μὴ συμπέζειν ταραχθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν λεγομένων πρὸς αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ τούναντίον τὸν ἀνθύπατον ἐκκατηγορεῖ, πέμψας τε τὸν ἑαυτοῦ κήρυκα ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ σταδίου κηρύξαι 326
day and listen.” 2. The Pro-Consul said: “Persuade the people.” And Polycarp said: “You I should have held worthy of discussion, for we have been taught to render honour, as is meet, if it hurt us not, to princes and authorities appointed by God. But as for those, I do not count them worthy that a defence should be made to them.

XI

1. And the Pro-Consul said: “I have wild beasts, I will deliver you to them, unless you repent.” And he said: “Call for them, for repentance from better to worse is not allowed us; but it is good to change from evil to righteousness.” 2. And he said again to him: “I will cause you to be consumed by fire, if you despise the beasts, unless you repent.” But Polycarp said: “You threaten with the fire that burns for a time, and is quickly quenched, for you do not know the fire which awaits the wicked in the judgment to come and in everlasting punishment. But why are you waiting? Come, do what you will.”

XII

1. And with these and many other words he was filled with courage and joy, and his face was full of grace so that it not only did not fall with trouble at the things said to him, but that the Pro-Consul, on the other hand, was astounded and sent his herald into the midst of the arena to announce three
THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

τρίς: Πολύκαρπος ὁμολόγησεν ἑαυτὸν Χριστιανὸν εἶναι. 2. τοῦτον λεχθέντος ὑπὸ τοῦ κήρυκος, ἀπαν τὸ πλήθος εἴθων τε καὶ Ἰουδαίων τῶν τῆς Σμύρνας κατοικοῦντων ἀκατασχέτω θυμῷ καὶ μεγάλη φωνῇ ἐπεβοᾷ. Οὗτος ἐστιν ὁ τῆς Ἀσίας διδάσκαλος, ὁ πατὴρ τῶν Χριστιανῶν, ὁ τῶν ἠμετέρων θεῶν καθαιρέτης, ὁ πολλοὺς διδάσκαλους ἁὴθείνειν μηδὲ προσκυνεῖν. ταῦτα λέγοντες ἐπεβοῦν καὶ ἡρώτων τὸν Ἀσίάρχην Φίλιππου, ἦν ἐπαφῇ τῷ Πολυκάρπῳ λέοντα. ὁ δὲ ἔφη, μὴ εἶναι ἐξοῦν αὐτῷ, ἐπειδὴ πεπληρώκει τὰ κυνηγεῖα. 3. τότε ἐδοξεὶν αὐτοῖς ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἐπιβοήσαι, ὡστε τὸν Πολυκάρπον ξόντα κατακαύσαι. ἔδει γὰρ τὸ τῆς φανερωθείσης αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τοῦ προσκεφαλαίου ὑπετασίας πληρωθῆναι, ὅτε ἦδων αὐτὸ καιόμενον προσευχόμενος εἴπεν ἐπιστραφεὶς τοῖς σὺν αὐτῷ πιστοῖς προφητικῶς: Δεῖ με ξόντα καῦναι.

XIII

1. Ταῦτα οὖν μετὰ τοσοῦτον τάχους ἐγένετο, θάττον ἢ ἐλέγετο, τῶν ὄχλων παραχρήμα συναγόντων ἔκ τε τῶν ἐργαστηρίων καὶ βαλανείων ξύλα καὶ φρύγανα, μάλιστα Ἰουδαίων προθύμως, ὡς ἔθος αὐτοῖς, εἰς ταῦτα ὑποργοῦντον. 2. ὅτε δὲ ἡ πυρκαῖα ἡτοιμάσθη, ἀποθεμένος ἑαυτῷ πάντα τὰ ἰμάτια καὶ λύσας τὴν ζώνην ἐπειράτο καὶ ὑπολύειν ἑαυτόν, μὴ πρότερον τοῦτο ποιῶν διὰ τὸ ἀεὶ ἑκαστὸν τῶν πιστῶν σπουδάζειν, ὡστε τάχιον τοῦ χρωτὸς αὐτοῦ ἄψηται: παντὶ γὰρ καλὸ ἀγαθῆς ἐνεκεν πολιτείας καὶ πρὸ τῆς μαρτυρίας.
MARTYRDOM OF POLYCARP, xii. i–xiii. 2

times: "Polycarp has confessed that he is a Christian."
2. When this had been said by the herald, all the
multitude of heathen and Jews living in Smyrna
cried out with uncontrollable wrath and a loud
shout: "This is the teacher of Asia, the father of
the Christians, the destroyer of our Gods, who teaches
many neither to offer sacrifice nor to worship." And
when they said this, they cried out and asked Philip
the Asiarch to let loose a lion on Polycarp. But he
said he could not legally do this, since he had closed
the Sports. 3. Then they found it good to cry out
with one mind that he should burn Polycarp alive, for
the vision which had appeared to him on his pillow
must be fulfilled, when he saw it burning, while he
was praying, and he turned and said prophetically
to those of the faithful who were with him, "I must
be burnt alive."

XIII

1. These things then happened with so great speed,
quicker than it takes to tell, and the crowd came to-
gether immediately, and prepared wood and faggots
from the work-shops and baths and the Jews were
extremely zealous, as is their custom, in assisting
at this. 2. Now when the fire was ready he put off
all his clothes, and loosened his girdle and tried also
to take off his shoes, though he did not do this before,
because each of the faithful was always zealous, which
of them might the more quickly touch his flesh. For
he had been treated with all respect because of his

1 Literally 'hunting,' the Latin 'venatio.'
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ἐκκόσμητο. 3. εὐθείως οὖν αὐτῷ περιετίθετο 
tὰ πρὸς τὴν πυρὰν ἤμοσμένα ὅργανα. μελλόντων 
dὲ αὐτῶν καὶ προσήλθον, εἶπεν Ἄφετε με οὕτως· 
ὁ γὰρ δοὺς ὑπομείναι τὸ πῦρ δώσει χωρὶς τῆς 
ὑμετέρας ἐκ τῶν ἠλών ἀσφαλείας ἀσκυλτοῦ 
ἐπιμείναι τῇ πυρᾷ.

XIV

1. Οἱ δὲ οὐ καθῆλωσαν μὲν, προσέδησαν δὲ 
αὐτῶν. ὁ δὲ ὁπίσω τὰς χεῖρας ποιήσας καὶ 
προσδεθεῖς, ὃσπερ κριῶς ἐπίσημος ἐκ μεγάλου 
ποιμνίου εἰς προσφοράν, ὅλοκαυτώμα δεκτὸν τῷ 
θεῷ ἠτοιμασμένον, ἀναβλέψας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν 
ἐπιπεν. Κύριε ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ, ὁ τῶν ἁγα-
πητῶν καὶ ἐνθογιητῶν παιδῶν σου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ 
pατήρ, δι' οὗ τὴν περὶ σοῦ ἐπίγνωσιν εἰλήφαμεν,
ὁ θεὸς ἁγιόλων καὶ δυνάμεων καὶ πάσης τῆς 
κτίσεως παντὸς τοῦ γένους τῶν δικαίων, οἱ 
ξῶσιν ἑνώπιόν σου. 2. εὐλογῶ σε, ὅτι ἢξιώσας 
με τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ ἄρας ταύτης, τοῦ λαβεῖν με μέρος 
ἐν ἀριθμῷ τῶν μαρτύρων ἐν τῷ ποτηρίῳ τοῦ 
Χριστοῦ σου εἰς ἀνάστασιν ζωῆς αἰωνίου ψυχῆς 
τε καὶ σώματος ἐν ἀφθαρσίᾳ πνεύματος ἀγίου· 
ἐν οἷς προσδεκθεῖςν ἑνώπιον σου ἱμηρον ἐν 
θυσία πίνω καὶ προσδεκτῇ, καθὼς προητοίμασας


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MARTYRDOM OF POLYCARP, xiii. 2–xiv. 2

noble life,¹ even before his martyrdom. 3. Immediately therefore, he was fastened to the instruments which had been prepared for the fire, but when they were going to nail him as well he said: “Leave me thus, for He who gives me power to endure the fire, will grant me to remain in the flames unmoved even without the security you will give by the nails.”

XIV

1. So they did not nail him, but bound him, and he put his hands behind him and was bound, as a noble ram out of a great flock, for an oblation, a whole burnt offering made ready and acceptable to God; and he looked up to heaven and said: “O Lord God Almighty, Father of thy beloved and blessed Child,² Jesus Christ, through Whom we have received full knowledge of thee, the God of Angels and powers, and of all creation, and of the whole family of the righteous, who live before thee! 2. I bless thee, that Thou hast granted me this day and hour, that I may share, among the number of the martyrs, in the cup of thy Christ, for the Resurrection to everlasting life, both of soul and body in the immortality of the Holy Spirit. And may I, to-day, be received among them before Thee, as a rich and acceptable sacrifice,

¹ Lit. “citizenship,” but it is used in a special sense of Christian life.
² This use of παις as applied to Jesus is rare, and usually found in prayers; cf. Ep. ad Diogn. viii. 9, 11, ix. 1, Didache 9, 2, I Clement 59, 2 (the “Prayer”), and Acts 3, 13. 26. 4, 27. 30. Here it is clearly “Child”: in Acts it may mean “Servant” with reference to Is. 53, etc.
THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

καὶ προεφανέρωσας καὶ ἐπλήρωσας, ὁ ἀψευδής καὶ ἄληθινός θεὸς. 3. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ περὶ πάντων σὲ αἰνῶ, σὲ εὐλογῶ, σὲ δοξάζω διὰ τοῦ αἰωνίου καὶ ἐπουρανίου ἀρχιερέως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἀγαπητοῦ σου παιδός, δι’ οὗ σοι σὺν αὐτῷ καὶ πνεῦματι ἀγίῳ δόξα καὶ νῦν καὶ εἰς τοὺς μέλλοντας αἰῶνας. ἀμήν.

XV

1. Ἀναπέμψατος δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸ ἀμὴν καὶ πληρώσαντος τὴν εὐχὴν, οἱ τοῦ πυρὸς ἀνθρωποι ἔξηψαν τὸ πῦρ. μεγάλης δὲ ἐκλαμψασθεὶς φλογὸς, θαῦμα εἶδομεν, οἷς ἴδειν ἔδοθη; οἱ καὶ ἐπηρήθημεν εἰς τὸ ἀναγγείλαν τοὺς λοιποὺς τὰ γενόμενα. 2. τὸ γὰρ πῦρ καμάρας εἶδος ποιήσαν, ὥσπερ θόνη πλοῖον ὑπὸ πνεύματος πληρομένη, κύκλῳ περιετείχησεν τὸ σῶμα τοῦ μάρτυρος· καὶ ἦν μέσον οὐχ ὡς σαρξ καὶ ομομένη, ἀλλ’ ὡς ἄρτος ὑποτέμενος ἢ ὡς χρυσὸς καὶ ἀργυρός ἐν καμάρα πυροῦμενος. καὶ γὰρ εὐωδίας τοσαύτης αὐτελαβόμεθα, ὡς λιβανωτοῦ πυροῦ πνεύμως ἢ ἄλλου τινός τῶν τιμίων ἀρωμάτων.

XVI

1. Πέρας γοῦν ἰδόντες οἱ ἀνομοὶ μὴ δυνάμενοι αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς δαπανηθῆναι, ἐκέλευσαν προσελθὸντα αὐτῷ κομφέκτορα παραβύσσαι ξεφίδιον. καὶ τούτῳ ποιήσαντος, ἔξηλθεν
Martyrdom of Polycarp, xiv. 2–xvi. i

as Thou, the God who lies not and is truth, hast prepared beforehand, and shown forth, and fulfilled. 3. For this reason I also praise Thee for all things, I bless Thee, I glorify Thee through the everlasting and heavenly high Priest, Jesus Christ, thy beloved Child, through whom be glory to Thee with him and the Holy Spirit, both now and for the ages that are to come, Amen.

XV

1. Now when he had uttered his Amen and finished his prayer, the men in charge of the fire lit it, and a great flame blazed up and we, to whom it was given to see, saw a marvel. And we have been preserved to report to others what befell. 2. For the fire made the likeness of a room, like the sail of a vessel filled with wind, and surrounded the body of the martyr as with a wall, and he was within it not as burning flesh, but as bread that is being baked, or as gold and silver being refined in a furnace. And we perceived such a fragrant smell as the scent of incense or other costly spices.

XVI

1. At length the lawless men, seeing that his body could not be consumed by the fire, commanded an executioner to go up and stab him with a dagger, and when he did this, there came out a dove,\(^1\) and

\(^1\) This no doubt points to the belief that the spirit appears at death in the form of a bird. Cf. Prudentius Peristeph. Hymn. iii. 33 (other references are also given by Lightfoot).
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περιστερά καὶ ἐπάθος αἵματος, ὡστε κατασβέσαι τὸ πῦρ καὶ θαυμάσαι πάντα τὸν ἄχλον, εἰ τοσαύτῃ τις διαφόρα μεταξὺ τῶν τε ἄπιστων καὶ τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν. 2. ὡν εἰς καὶ οὕτος γεγόνει ὁ θαυμασιώτατος μάρτυς Πολύκαρπος, εὖ τοὺς καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνοις διδάσκαλος ἀποστολικὸς καὶ προφητικὸς γενόμενος, ἐπίσκοπος ὁς ἐν Σμύρνῃ καθολικὴς ἐκκλησίας. πᾶν γὰρ ρήμα, δ' ἀφίκεν ἐκ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐτελεσθῇ καὶ τελεωθῆσται.

XVII

1. ὁ δὲ ἀντίξιλος καὶ βάσκανος καὶ ποιηρός, ὁ ἀντικείμενος τῷ γένει τῶν δικαιῶν, ἵδον τὸ τε μέγεθος αὐτοῦ τῆς μαρτυρίας καὶ τὴν ἀπὶ ἀρχῆς ἀνεπίληπτον πολιτείαν, ἐστεφανωμένου τε τοῦ τῆς ἀφθαρσίας στέφανον καὶ βραβεῖον ἀναντίρρητον ἀπενηνεγμένον, ἐπετήδευσεν, ὡς μηδὲ τὸ σωμάτων αὐτοῦ ύπ' ἡμῶν ληφθήναι, καίτερ πολλῶν ἐπιθυμοῦντων τοῦτο ποιῆσαι καὶ κοινωνῆσαι τῷ ἄγιῳ αὐτοῦ σαρκίῳ. 2. ὑπέβαλεν γοῦν Νικήτην τὸν τοῦ Ἡρώδου πατέρα, ἀδελφόν δὲ Ἀλκης, ἐντυχεὶν τῷ ἀρχοντι, ὡστε μὴ δοῦναι αὐτῷ τὸ σῶμα μὴ, φησίν, ἀφέντες τὸν ἐσταυρωμένου τούτου ἀρξωται σέβεσθαι. καὶ ταῦτα εἰπον ὑποβαλλόντων καὶ ἐνσυγχώνων τῶν Ἰουδαίων, οἱ καὶ ἐτήρησαν, μελλόντων ἡμῶν ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς αὐτῶν λαμβάνειν ἀγνοοῦντες, ὅτι οὔτε τὸν Χριστὸν ποτὲ καταληπτεῖν δυνησόμεθα, τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ παντὸς κόσμου

1 περιστερά καὶ om. E, Wordsworth emends to περὶ στόμακα (round the sword-haft).

2 καθολικῆς E bs, ἁγίας (holy) m(L).

3 Δάλκης E.

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much blood, so that the fire was quenched and all
the crowd marvelled that there was such a difference
between the unbelievers and the elect. 2. And of
the elect was he indeed one, the wonderful martyr,
Polycarp, who in our days was an apostolic and
prophetic teacher, bishop of the Catholic Church in
Smyrna. For every word which he uttered from his
mouth both was fulfilled and will be fulfilled.

XVII

1. But the jealous and envious evil one who resists
the family of the righteous, when he saw the greatness
of his martyrdom, and his blameless career from the
beginning, and that he was crowned with the crown
of immortality, and had carried off the unspeakable
prize, took care that not even his poor body should
be taken away by us, though many desired to do
this, and to have fellowship with his holy flesh.
2. Therefore he put forward Niketas, the father of
Herod, and the brother of Alce, to ask the Governor
not to give his body, "Lest," he said, "they leave the
crucified one and begin to worship this man." And
they said this owing to the suggestions and pressure
of the Jews, who also watched when we were going
to take it from the fire, for they do not know that
we shall not ever be able either to abandon Christ,
who suffered for the salvation of those who are being

1 If the reading "Catholic" be right, this and the instance
on p. 322 are the earliest clear examples of this use of the
word (but cf. Ignatius, Symrn. viii.).
THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

tōn σωζομένων σωτηρίας παθόντα ἁμωμον ὑπὲρ ἀμαρτωλῶν, οὕτε ἔτερον τινα σέβεσθαι. 3. τούτον μὲν γὰρ νῦν ὄντα τοῦ θεοῦ προσκυνοῦμεν, τοὺς δὲ μάρτυρας ὡς μαθητὰς καὶ μυμητὰς τοῦ κυρίου ἀγαπῶμεν ἄξιος ἕνεκα εὐνοίας ἀνυπερβλήτου τῆς εἰς τὸν ἱδίον βασιλέα καὶ διδάσκαλον· ὅν γένοιτο καὶ ἡμᾶς κοινωνοῦς τε καὶ συμμαθητὰς γενέσθαι.

XVIII

1. Ἰδὼν οὖν ὁ κεντυρίων τὴν τῶν Ἰουδαίων γενομένην φιλονεικίαν, θεὶς αὐτὸν ἐν μέσῳ, ὡς ἔθος αὐτοῦ, ἔκαυσεν. 2. οὕτως τε ἡμεῖς ὑστερον ἀνελόμενοι τὰ τιμώτερα λίθων πολυτελῶν καὶ δοκιμώτερα ὑπὲρ χρυσίον ὅστα αὐτοῦ ἀπεθέμεθα, ὅπου καὶ ἀκόλουθον ἦν. 3. ἔνθα ὡς δυνατόν ἡμῖν συναγωμένοι ἐν ἀγαλλίασει καὶ χαρὰ παρέξει οὗ κύριος ἐπιτελείν τὴν τοῦ μαρτυρίου αὐτοῦ ἡμέραν γενέθλιον, εἰς τε τὴν τῶν προσθηληκότων μνήμην καὶ τῶν μελλόντων ἀσκησίν τε καὶ ἐτοιμασίαν.

XIX

1. Τοιαῦτα τὰ κατὰ τὸν μακάριον Πολύκαρπον, ὡς σὺν τοῖς ἀπὸ Φιλαδελφίας δωδέκατος ἐν Σμύρνῃ μαρτυρῆσας, μόνος ὑπὸ πάντων μᾶλλον μημο- νεύται, ὡστε καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἔθνων ἐν παντὶ τύπῳ λαλεῖσθαι· οὐ μόνον διδάσκαλος γενόμενος ἐπί- σημος, ἀλλὰ καὶ μάρτυς ἔξοχος, οὗ τὸ μαρτύριον

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MARTYRDOM OF POLycarp, XVII. 2—XIX. 1

saved in the whole world, the innocent for sinners, or to worship any other. 3. For him we worship as the Son of God, but the martyrs we love as disciples and imitators of the Lord; and rightly, because of their unsurpassable affection toward their own King and Teacher. God grant that we too may be their companions and fellow-disciples.

XVIII

1. When therefore the centurion saw the contentiousness caused by the Jews, he put the body in the midst, as was their custom, and burnt it. 2. Thus we, at last, took up his bones, more precious than precious stones, and finer than gold, and put them where it was meet. 3. There the Lord will permit us to come together according to our power in gladness and joy, and celebrate the birthday of his martyrdom, both in memory of those who have already contested,¹ and for the practice and training of those whose fate it shall be.

XIX

1. Such was the lot of the blessed Polycarp, who though he was, together with those from Philadelphia, the twelfth martyr in Smyrna, is alone especially remembered by all, so that he is spoken of in every place, even by the heathen. He was not only a famous teacher, but also a notable martyr,

¹ This is almost a technical term for martyrdom, cf. Ignatius’s epistle to Polycarp I, 3.
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πάντες ἐπιθυμοῦσιν μμεἴσθαι κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον Χριστοῦ γενόμενον. 2. διὰ τῆς ὑπομονῆς καταγωγεισάμενος τὸν ἅδεικν ἄρχοντα καὶ οὗτος τὸν τῆς ἀφθαρσίας στέφανον ἀπολαβὼν, σὺν τοῖς ἀποστόλοις καὶ πᾶσιν δικαίοις ἀγαλλιώμενος δοξάζει τὸν θεὸν καὶ πατέρα παντοκράτορα καὶ εὐλογεῖ τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν. 1 Ἡσσοῦν Χριστῷ, τὸν σωτῆρα τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν καὶ κυβερνήτην τῶν σωμάτων ἡμῶν καὶ ποιμένα τῆς κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας.

XX

1. Τοιαὶ μὲν ὡς ἡξιῶσατε διὰ πλειώνων δηλωθήναι ὑμῖν τὰ γενόμενα, ἡμεῖς δὲ κατὰ τὸ παρὸν ἐπὶ κεφαλαίῳ μεμημόρκαιν διὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ ἡμῶν Μαρκιῶνος. 2 μαθόντες οὖν ταῦτα καὶ τοῖς ἑπεκείναι ἀδελφοῖς τὴν ἐπιστολὴν διαπέμψασθε, ἵνα καὶ ἐκεῖνοι δοξάζωσιν τὸν κύριον τὸν ἐκλογὰς ποιοῦντα ἀπὸ τῶν ἱδίων δούλων.

2. Τῷ δὲ δυναμένῳ πάντας ἡμᾶς εἰςαγαγεῖν ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ χάριτι καὶ δόξας εἰς τὴν ἐπουράνιον ἀυτοῦ βασιλείαν διὰ τοῦ μονογενοῦς παιδὸς αὐτοῦ Ἡσσοῦ Χριστοῦ, δόξα, τιμὴ, κράτος, μεγαλωσύνη εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. προσαγορεύετε πάντας

1 ἡμῶν bps, om. m.
2 Μαρκιανὸς m, Μάρκου bps (v ends with chap. xix.), Marcianum L. Lightfoot prefers Μαρκιανοῦ
3 ποιοῦντα ἀπὸ bps, ποιοῦμενον m.
4 ἐπουράνιον m, αἰώνιον bps.
5 τοῦ μονογενοῦς αὐτοῦ παιδὸς m, παιδὸς αὐτοῦ τοῦ μονογενοῦς b, τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ τοῦ μονογενοῦς m.
6 δόξα m, ὃς δόξα bps.

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whose martyrdom all desire to imitate, for it followed the Gospel of Christ. 2. By his endurance he overcame the unrighteous ruler, and thus gained the crown of immortality, and he is glorifying God and the Almighty Father, rejoicing with the Apostles and all the righteous, and he is blessing our Lord Jesus Christ, the Saviour of our souls, and Governor of our bodies, and the Shepherd of the Catholic Church throughout the world.

XX

1. You, indeed, asked that the events should be explained to you at length, but we have for the present explained them in summary by our brother Marcion\(^1\); therefore when you have heard these things, send the letter to the brethren further on, that they also may glorify the Lord, who takes his chosen ones from his own servants.

2. And to him who is able to bring us all in his grace and bounty, to his heavenly kingdom, by his only begotten Child, Jesus Christ, be glory, honour, might, and majesty for ever. Greet all the saints. Those who are with us, and

\(^1\) Not of course to be identified with the famous heretic. If Marcianus be the right text, it is noteworthy that Irenaeus sent his treatise on the "The Apostolic Preaching" to a certain Marcianus. But this was probably forty years later than Polycarp's death.
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τοὺς ἀγίους. ὦμᾶς οἱ σὺν ἡμῖν προσαγορεύουσιν καὶ Εὐάρεστος ὁ γράψας πανοικεί.¹

XXI

1. Μαρτυρεὶ δὲ ὁ μακάριος Πολύκαρπος μηνὸς Ξανθικοῦ ² δευτέρα ἰσταμένου, πρὸ ἐπτὰ καλανδῶν Μαρτίων, σαββάτῳ μεγάλῳ, ὥρᾳ ὑγδόῃ. συνελήφθη δὲ ὑπὸ Ἡρώδου ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέως Φιλίππου Τραλλιανοῦ, ἀνθυπατεύοντος Σταυρίου Κοδράτου, βασιλεύοντος δὲ εἰς τοὺς αἰώνας Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ· ὥς ἦ δόξα, τιμή, μεγαλωσύνη, θρόνος αἰώνιος ἀπὸ γενεάς εἰς γενεάν. ἀμήν.

XXII

1. Ἡρωδιάδος δὲ ὁμᾶς εὐχόμεθα, ἀδελφοῖ, στοιχεύοντας τῷ κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον λόγῳ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, μεθ' οὗ δόξα τῷ θεῷ καὶ πατρὶ καὶ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι, ἐπὶ σωτηρία τῆς τῶν ἁγίων ἐκλεκτῶν, καθὼς ἐμαρτύρησεν ὁ μακάριος Πολύκαρπος, οὗ γένοιτο ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ πρὸς τὰ ἔχον ἐυρεθήναι ἡμᾶς.³

2. Ταύτα μετεγράφασε μὲν Γαίος ἐκ τῶν Ἐιρηναίου, μαθητοῦ τοῦ Πολυκάρπου, δὲ καὶ συνεπολεµεύσατο τῷ Ἐιρηναίῳ. ἐγὼ δὲ Σωκράτης ἐν Κορίνθῳ ἐκ τῶν Γαίου ἀντιγράφων ἔγραψα. ἡ χάρις μετὰ πάντων.

¹ This is really the end of the book. What follows is a series of notes, which have been taken into the text.
² The more correct spelling, according to inscriptions, is Ξανθικοῦ.
³ The whole of this paragraph is omitted by Lm.

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Evarestus, who wrote the letter, with his whole house, greet you.

XXI

1. Now the blessed Polycarp was martyred on the second day of the first half of the month of Xanthicus, the seventh day before the kalends of March, a great sabbath, at the eighth hour. And he was arrested by Herod, when Philip of Tralles was High Priest, when Statius Quadratus was Pro-Consul, but Jesus Christ was reigning for ever, to whom be glory, honour, majesty and an eternal throne, from generation to generation, Amen.

XXII.

1. We bid you God-speed, brethren, who walk according to the Gospel, in the word of Jesus Christ (with whom be glory to God and the Father and the Holy Spirit), for the salvation of the Holy Elect, even as the blessed Polycarp suffered martyrdom, in whose footsteps may it be granted us to be found in the Kingdom of Jesus Christ.

2. Gaius copied this from the writing of Irenaeus, a disciple of Polycarp, and he lived with Irenaeus, and I, Socrates, wrote it out in Corinth, from the copies of Gaius. Grace be with you all. 3. And I,

1 I.e. Feb. 23.
2 This phrase is pointedly inserted instead of a reference to the reigning Emperor.
THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

3. Ἕγε, δὲ πάλιν Πιόνιος ἐκ τοῦ προγεγραμμένου ἔγγραφα ἀναξητῆσας αὐτά, κατὰ ἀποκάλυψιν φανερώσαντός μοι τοῦ μακαρίου Πολυκάρπου, καθὼς δηλώσω ἐν τῷ καθεξῆς, συναγαγὼν αὐτὰ ἦδη σχέδου ἐκ τοῦ χρόνου κεκμηκότα, ἵνα καὶ συναγάγη ὁ κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς μετὰ τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν οὐράνιον βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ, ὥς ἡ δόξα σὺν τῷ πατρὶ καὶ ἀγίῳ πνεύματι εἰς τῶν αἰώνας τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν. 1

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EPILOGUS ALIUS

E CODICE MOSQUENSI DESCRIPTUS.

2. Ταῦτα μετεγράψατο μὲν Γάιος ἐκ τῶν Εἱρηναίου συγγραμμάτων, δς καὶ συνεπολιτεύσατο τῷ Εἱρηναίῳ, μαθητῇ γεγονότι τοῦ ἁγίου Πολυκάρπου. 3. οὕτως γὰρ ὁ Εἱρηναῖος, κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦ μαρτυρίου τοῦ ἐπισκόπου Πολυκάρπου γενόμενος ἐν Ῥωμῇ, πολλοὺς ἐδίδαξεν. οὐ καὶ πολλὰ συγγράμματα κάλλιστα καὶ ὀρθότατα φέρεται, ἐν οἷς μεμνηται Πολυκάρπου, ὅτι παρ’ αὐτοῦ ἐμαθεν, ἵκανὸς τε πᾶσαν αἵρεσιν ἥλεγχεν καὶ

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1 Instead of the two paragraphs ταῦτα μετεγράψατο—ἀμήν m has the alternative conclusion given below.

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MARTYRDOM OF POLYCARP, xxii. 3

again, Pionius, wrote it out from the former writings, after searching for it, because the blessed Polycarp showed it me in a vision, as I will explain in what follows,¹ and I gathered it together when it was almost worn out by age, that the Lord Jesus Christ may also gather me together with his elect into his heavenly kingdom, to whom be glory with the Father and the Holy Spirit, for ever and ever, Amen.

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ANOTHER CONCLUSION FROM THE MOSCOW MANUSCRIPT.

2. This account Gaius copied from the writings of Irenaeus, and he also had lived with Irenaeus, who was a disciple of the holy Polycarp. 3. For this Irenaeus, at the time of the martyrdom of the bishop Polycarp was in Rome, and taught many, and many most excellent and correct writings are extant, in which he mentions Polycarp,² saying that he had been his pupil, and he ably refuted every heresy, and

¹ No explanation is given: probably because the "Pionian" text was part of a larger "Acts of Polycarp." Either these Acts have entirely disappeared except for this letter of the church of Smyrna, or a fragment preserved in p may perhaps belong to them.

² Irenaeus Haer. iii. 3. 4, Ep. ad Florinum (in Eusebius H.E. v. 20) and Ep. ad Victorem (in Eusebius H.E. v. 24). The story of Marcion is in Haer. iii. 3. 4.

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tὸν ἐκκλησιαστικὸν κανόνα καὶ καθολικὸν, ὡς παρέλαβεν παρὰ τοῦ ἄγιον, καὶ παρέδωκεν.
4. λέγει δὲ καὶ τούτο: ὅτι συναντήσαντός ποτε τῷ ἄγιῳ Πολυκάρπῳ Μαρκίωνος, ἀφ' οὗ οἱ λεγό-μενοι Μαρκιανισταί, καὶ εἰπόντος, Ἐπιγινώσκε ἡμᾶς, Πολύκαρπε, εἶπεν αὐτῷ τῷ Μαρκίωνι: Ἐπιγινώσκω, ἐπιγινώσκω τὸν πρωτότοκον τοῦ σατανᾶ. 5. καὶ τούτο δὲ φέρεται ἐν τοῖς τοῦ Ἐιρηναίου συγγράμμασιν, ὅτι η ἡμέρα καὶ ὥρα ἐν Σμύρνῃ ἐμαρτύρησεν ὁ Πολύκαρπος, ἦκουσεν φωνὴν ἐν τῇ Ρωμαίῳ πόλει ὑπάρχων ὁ Ἐιρηναῖος ὡς σάλπυγγος λεγοῦσης: Πολύκαρπος ἐμαρ-τύρησεν.
6. Ἡκ τούτων οὖν, ὡς προλέλεκται, τῶν τοῦ Ἐιρηναίου συγγραμμάτων Γάϊος μεταγράφατο, ἐκ δὲ τῶν Γαίου ἀντιγράφων Ἰσοκράτης ἐν Κορίνθῳ. ἐγὼ δὲ πάλιν Πίονιος ἐκ τῶν Ἰσοκράτους ἀντιγρά-φων ἔγραψα κατὰ ἄποκάλυψιν τοῦ ἄγιον Πολυ-κάρπου ξητήσας αὐτά, συναγάγων αὐτά ἡδη σχεδὸν ἐκ τοῦ χρόνου κεκμηκότα, ἵνα κἀκεῖ συναγάγῃ ὁ κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς μετὰ τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν ἑποράνουν αὐτοῦ βασι-λείαν ὁ ἤ δόξα σὺν τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ νῷ καὶ τῷ ἄγιῳ πνεύματι εἰς τοὺς αἰὼνας τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν.
MARTYRDOM OF POLYCARP, 3-6

he also handed on the ecclesiastical and catholic rule, as he had received it from the saint. 4. And he also says this that once Marcion, from whom come the so-called Marcionites, met the holy Polycarp and said: “Recognise us, Polycarp,” and he said to Marcion, “I do recognise you, I recognise the first-born of Satan.” 5. And this is also recorded in the writings of Irenaeus, that at the day and hour when Polycarp suffered in Smyrna Irenaeus, who was in the city of Rome, heard a voice like a trumpet saying: “Polycarp has suffered martyrdom.”

6. From these papers of Irenaeus, then, as was stated above, Gaius made a copy, and Isocrates used in Corinth the copy of Gaius. And again I, Pionius, wrote from the copies of Isocrates, according to the revelation of the holy Polycarp, after searching for them, and gathering them together when they were almost worn out from age, that the Lord Jesus Christ may also gather me into his Heavenly Kingdom together with his Elect. To him be glory, with the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, for ever and ever, Amen.

Marcion was the most famous heretic of the second century. He was a native of Pontus and afterwards came to Rome. The main points of his teaching were the rejection of the Old Testament and a distinction between the Supreme God of goodness and an inferior God of justice, who was the Creator, and the God of the Jews. He regarded Christ as the messenger of the Supreme God.
THE EPISTLE TO DIOGNETUS
THE EPISTLE TO DIOGNETUS

The epistle to Diognetus is an anonymous writing of uncertain date. The Diognetus to whom it is addressed is unknown, though some scholars have sought to identify him with a Diognetus who was a teacher of Marcus Aurelius. Its claim to be included among the apostolic fathers rests on custom rather than right, for it is probably later than any of the other writings in this group, and if it were judged by the character of its contents would more probably be placed among the works of the Apologists.

Like most early apologies for Christianity it begins by expounding the foolishness of the worship of idols, and the inadequacy of the Jewish religion and then proceeds to give a short sketch of Christian belief, a panegyric on Christian character and a description of the benefit which it offers to converts. In this respect it resembles the apology of Aristides, and somewhat less closely those of Justin and Tatian, and the suggestion has been made that it may have been written by Aristides. Its style is, however, rhetorical in the extreme and it may be doubted whether it was not an academic treatise or possibly the exercise of some young theologian rather than an actual apology sent to a living person. The general impression made by the document is unfavourable to any theory of an early date and quite decisive against the tradition which seems to have been preserved in the lost MS. in which the epistle was found, attributing it to Justin Martyr. Harnack thinks that it more probably belongs to the
THE EPISTLE TO DIOGNETUS

third than to the second century, but early tradition does not mention the epistle and there is nothing in the internal evidence to justify any certainty of opinion.

The concluding chapters (xi-xii) have clearly no connection with the preceding ones, and it is generally conceded that they belong to a different document, probably an Epiphany homily, though possibly, as Otto thought, an Easter homily. Bonwetsch has shown very strong reasons for thinking that Hippolytus was the author. (Nachrichten d. Gesellschaft d. Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, 1902.)

The best authority for the text is the third edition of Otto’s Corpus Apologeticum, vol. 3, published in 1879, as the unique MS. of the epistle in the library at Strasburg was twice collated for Otto’s edition but was destroyed by fire in 1870. This MS., probably written in the thirteenth or fourteenth century, was formerly the property of Reuchlin, passed about 1560 to the Alsatian monastery of Maursmunster, and between 1793 and 1795 came to Strasburg. It was collated for the first edition of Otto by Cunitz and for the third edition by Reuss. Earlier copies were made by Stephanus in 1586 (now preserved in Leiden, Cod. Voss. Gr. 30) and about 1590 by Beurer and (a collation of this copy which is no longer extant was published by Stephanus at the end of his edition of 1592). A third copy was made by Hausius about 1580 for Martin Crucius and is now preserved in Tübingen (Cod. Misc. M.b. 17). The fullest account of these MSS. and the proof that none of them are more than copies of the Strasburg MS. is given in O. von Gebhardt’s edition of the Apostolic Fathers, vol. i., part 2, published in 1878.
ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ ΠΡΟΣ ΔΙΟΓΝΗΤΟΝ

I

Ἐπειδὴ ὅρῳ, κράτιστε Διόγνητε, ὑπερεσπουδακότα σε τὴν θεοσέβειαν τῶν Χριστιανῶν μαθεῖν καὶ πάνυ σαφῶς καὶ ἐπιμελῶς πυνθανόμενοι περὶ αὐτῶν, τίνι τε θεῷ πεποιθότες καὶ πῶς θρησκεύουστε αὐτὸν τὸν τε κόσμον ὑπερρωσίως πάντες καὶ θανάτου καταφρονοῦσι καὶ οὔτε τοὺς νομιζομένους ὑπὸ τῶν Ἕλληνων θεοῦς λογίζονται οὔτε τὴν Ἰουδαίων δεισιδαιμονίαν φυλάσσουσι, καὶ τίνα τὴν φιλοστοργίαν ἔχουσι πρὸς ἀλλήλους, καὶ τί δὴ ποτὲ καὶ ποῦ τοῦτο γένος ἢ ἐπιτήδειον εἰσήλθεν εἰς τὸν βίον νῦν καὶ οὐ πρότερον ἀποδέχομαι γε τῆς προθυμίας σε ταύτης καὶ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ, τοῦ καὶ τὸ λέγειν καὶ τὸ ἀκούειν ἡμῖν χορηγοῦντος, αὐτοῦμαι δοθήναι ἐμὸλ μὲν εἰπεῖν οὕτως, ὡς μάλιστα ἂν ἀκούσαντά σε βελτίω γενέσθαι, σοὶ τε οὕτως ἀκούσαι, ὡς μὴ λυπηθῆναι τὸν εἰπόντα.

II

1. Ἄγε δή, καθάρας σεαυτὸν ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν προκατεχόντων σου τὴν διάνοιαν λογισμῶν καὶ τὴν ἀπατώσας σε συνήθειαν ἀποσκευασάμενος καὶ
THE EPISTLE TO DIOGNETUS

I

Since I perceive, most excellent Diognetus, that you are exceedingly zealous to learn the religion of the Christians and are asking very clear and careful questions concerning them, both who is the God in whom they believe, and how they worship him, so that all disregard the world and despise death, and do not reckon as Gods those who are considered to be so by the Greeks, nor keep the superstition of the Jews, and what is the love which they have for one another, and why this new race or practice has come to life at this time, and not formerly; I indeed welcome this zeal in you, and I ask from God who bestows on us the power both of speaking and of hearing, that it may be granted to me so to speak that you may benefit so much as possible by your hearing, and to you so to hear that I may not be made sorry for my speech.

II

1. Come then, clear yourself of all the prejudice which occupies your mind, and throw aside the custom which deceives you, and become as it were...
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γενόμενος ὅσπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς καίνος ἀνθρωπός, ὡς ἂν καὶ λόγου καίνοι, καθάπερ καὶ αὐτός ὡμολογησας, ἀκροατής ἐσόμενος· ἵδε μὴ μόνον τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ φρονήσει, τίνος ὑποστάσεως ἤ τίνος εἰδους τυγχάνονσιν, οὐς ἔρειτε καὶ νομίζετε θεούς.

2. οὖχ ο μὲν τις λίθος ἐστιν, ὁμοιος τῷ πατουμένῳ, ὁ δὲ ἐστὶ χαλκός, οὐ κρείσσων τῶν εἰς τὴν χρήσιν ἡμῖν κεχαλκευμένων σκευῶν, ὁ δὲ ξύλων, ἤδη καὶ σεσηπός, ὁ δὲ ἄργυρος, χρῆσων ἀνθρώπου τοῦ φυλάξαντος, ἵνα μὴ κλαπῇ, ὁ δὲ σίδηρος, ὑπὸ ἵδιον διεφθαρμένος, ὁ δὲ δοστρακον, οὐδὲν τοῦ κατεσκευασμένου πρὸς τὴν ἀτιμοτάτην ὑπηρεσίαν εὑπεπέστερον; 3. οὐ φθαρτής ὡλης ταῦτα πάντα; οὐχ ὑπὸ σιδηροῦ καὶ πυρὸς κεχαλκευμένα; οὐχ ὁ μὲν αὐτῶν λιθοξόος, ὁ δὲ χαλκεύς, ὁ δὲ ἄργυροκόπος, ὁ δὲ κεραμεύς ἐπλασεν; οὐ πρὶν ἢ ταῖς τέχναις τοίων εἰς τὴν μορφὴν τούτων ἐκτυπωθῆναι, ἢν ἐκαστον αὐτῶν ἐκάστῳ ἐτι καὶ νῦν, μεταμεμορφώμενον; οὐ τὰ νῦν ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς ὡλης ὅντα σκεύη γένοιτ' ἂν, εἰ τύχοι τῶν αὐτῶν τεχνίτων, ὁμοια τοι-ούτοις; 4. οὐ ταύτα πάλιν, τὰ νῦν ὑφ' ὑμῶν προσκυνοῦμενα, δύνατ' ἂν ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων σκεύη ὁμοια γενέσθαι τοῖς λοιποῖς; οὐ κωφα πάντα; οὐ τυφλά; οὐκ ἄψυχα; οὐκ ἀναισθητα; οὐκ ἄκινητα; οὐ πάντα σπόμενα; οὐ πάντα φθειρόμενα; 5. ταύτα θεοὺς καλείτε; τούτοις δουλεύετε; τούτοις προσκυνείτε, τέλεον δ' αὐτοῖς ἐξομοιοῦσθε. 6. διὰ
THE EPISTLE TO DIOGNETUS, II. 1–6

a new man from the beginning, as one, as you yourself also admitted, who is about to listen to a new story. Look, not only with your eyes, but also with your intelligence, what substance or form they chance to have whom you call gods and regard as such. 2. Is not one a stone, like that on which we walk, another bronze, no better than the vessels which have been forged for our use, another wood already rotten, another silver, needing a man to guard it against theft, another iron, eaten by rust, another earthenware, not a whit more comely than that which is supplied for the most ordinary service? 3. Are not all these of perishable material? Were they not forged by iron and fire? Did not the wood-carver make one, the brass-founder another, the silversmith another, the potter another. Before they were moulded by their arts, into the shapes which they have, was it not possible and does it not still remain possible, for each of them to have been given a different shape? Might not vessels made out of the same material, if they met with the same artificers, be still made similar to such as they? 4. Again, would it not be possible, for these, which are now worshipped by you, to be made by men into vessels like any others? Are they not all dumb? Are they not blind? Are they not without souls? Are they not without feeling? Are they not without movement? Are not they all rotting? Are they not all decaying? 5. Do you call these things gods? Are these what you serve? Are these what you worship and in the end become like them? 6. Is this the reason

1 The meaning is that, given the requisite workers, the material used for ordinary vessels of wood or brass or silver might at any moment be turned into a ‘god.’

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tοῦτο μισεῖτε Χριστιανοῦς, ὅτι τούτους οὐχ ἤγονται θεοῦς; 7. ὅμως γὰρ αἰνεῖν νομίζοντες καὶ οἰόμενοι, οὐ πολὺ πλέον αὐτῶν καταφρονεῖτε; οὐ πολὺ μᾶλλον αὐτοὺς χλευάζετε καὶ ύβρίζετε, τοὺς μὲν λιθίνους καὶ ἀστρακίνους σέβοντες ἀφυλάκτους, τοὺς δὲ ἄργυρεύοις καὶ χρυσοῖς ἐγκλείοντες ταῖς νυξὶ καὶ ταῖς ἡμέραις φύλακας παρακαθιστάντες, ἵνα μὴ κλαπῶσιν; 8. αἰς δὲ δοκεῖτε τιμαίς προσφέρειν, εἰ μὲν αἰσθάνονται, κολάζετε μᾶλλον αὐτοὺς· εἰ δὲ ἀναισθητοῦσιν, ἐλέγχουτε αἵματι καὶ κνίσαις αὐτοὺς θρησκεύετε. 9. ταῦθ' ὅμως τις ὑπομεινάτω, ταῦτα ἀνασχέον τις ἕκτῳ γενέσθαι. ἀλλὰ ἁνθρωπὸς μὲν οὐδὲ εἰς ταύτης τῆς κολάσεως ἐκὼν ἀνέξεται, αἰσθησιν γὰρ ἔχει καὶ λογισμὸν· ὅ δὲ λίθος ἄνεξεται, ἀναίσθητεῖ γάρ. οὐκ οὖν τὴν αἰσθήσιν αὐτοῦ ἐλέγχετε; 10. περὶ μὲν οὖν τοῦ μὴ δεδουλώσθαι Χριστιανοῦς τοιούτως θεοῖς πολλὰ μὲν ἄν καὶ ἄλλα εἰπεῖν ἔχοιμι· εἰ δὲ τινι μὴ δοκοῖ κἂν ταύτα ἰκανά, περισσοῦ ἤγομαι καὶ τὸ πλείον λέγειν.

III

1. Ἔξῆς δὲ περὶ τοῦ μὴ κατὰ ἄυτὰ Ἰουδαίους θεοσεβεῖν αὐτοὺς οἴμαι σε μάλιστα ποθεῖν ἄκοισαι. 2. Ἰουδαίου τοίνυν, εἰ μὲν ἀπέχουνται ταύτης τῆς προερημένης λατρείας, καλῶς θεοῖς ἐνα τῶν πάντων σέβειν καὶ δεσπότην ἄξιοις φρονεῖν· εἰ δὲ τοῖς προερημένοις ὀμοστρόπως τὴν θρησκείαν προσάγουσιν αὐτῷ ταύτην, διὰ μαρτάνουσιν. 3. ἃ γὰρ τοῖς ἀναίσθητοις καὶ κωφοῖς 354
why you hate the Christians—that they do not think that these are gods? 7. For is it not you, who, though you think and believe that you are praising the gods, are much more despising them? Are you not much rather mocking and insulting them, when you worship those of stone and earthenware without guarding them; but lock up at night and in the day-time place guards over those of silver and gold, that they be not stolen away. 8. And, if they have powers of perception, by the honours which you think to pay them you are rather punishing them, and, if they are without perception, you are refuting them by worshipping them with blood and burnt fat. 9. Let one of you suffer these things, let him endure that it should be done to him. Why, there is not a single man who would willingly endure this punishment, for he has perception and reason. But the stone endures, for it has no perception. Do you not then refute its perception? 10. I could say much more as to the refusal of Christians to serve such gods, but if any one find these arguments insufficient, I think it useless to say more.

III

1. In the next place I think that you are especially anxious to hear why the Christians do not worship in the same way as the Jews. 2. The Jews indeed, by abstaining from the religion already discussed, may rightly claim that they worship the one God of the Universe, and regard him as master, but in offering service to him in like manner to those already dealt with they are quite wrong. 3. For just as the Greeks give a proof of foolishness
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προσφέροντες οἱ Ἕλληνες ἀφροσύνης δείγμα παρέχοντι, ταῦτα οὖν καθάπερ προσδεομένω τῷ θεῷ λογιζόμενοι παρέχειν μωρίαν εἰκὸς μάλ-λον ἤγοιντ’ ἂν, οὐ θεοσέβειαν. 4. ὁ γὰρ ποιήσας τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ πάσιν ἡμῖν χορηγῶν, ἃν προσδεόμεθα, οὐδὲν ἃν αὐτὸς προσδέουσαι τούτων ἃν τοῖς οἰκομένοις διδόναι παρέχειν αὐτῶς. 5. οἱ δὲ γε θυσίας αὐτῷ δι’ αἵματος καὶ κυίσις καὶ ὀλοκαυτωμάτων ἐπιτελεῖν οἰόμενοι καὶ ταῦτας ταῖς τιμαῖς αὐτῶν γεραίρειν, οὐδέν μοι δοκοῦσι διαφέρειν τῶν εἰς τὰ κοφά τὴν αὐτὴν ἑνδεικνυμένων φιλοτιμίας τῶν μὲν μὴ δυναμένως τῆς τιμῆς μεταλαμβάνειν, τῶν δὲ δοκούντων παρέχειν τῷ μηδενὸς προσδεομένῳ.

IV

1. Ἀλλὰ μὴν τὸ γε περὶ τὰς βρώσεις αὐτῶν ψυφοδεές καὶ τὴν περὶ τὰ σάββατα δεισιδαιμο- νίαν καὶ τὴν τῆς περιτομῆς ἀλαζονείαν καὶ τὴν τῆς νηστείας καὶ νομοπονίας εἰρωνείαν, καταγέλ- αστα καὶ οὐδενὸς ἄξια λόγου, οὐ νομίζω σε χρήζειν παρ’ ἐμοῦ μαθεῖν. 2. τὸ τε γὰρ τῶν ύπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ κτισθέντων εἰς χρήσιν ἀνθρώπων ἃ μὲν ὡς καλῶς κτισθέντα παραδέχεσθαι, ἃ δ’ ὡς ἀχρηστα καὶ περισσὰ παρατείσθαι, πῶς οὐκ ἀδέσμον; 3. τὸ δὲ καταψεύδεσθαι θεοῦ ὡς κωλύοντος ἐν τῇ τῶν σαββάτων ἡμέρᾳ καλῶν τι ποιεῖν, πῶς οὐκ ἄσβεσθε; 4. τὸ δὲ καὶ τὴν μείωσιν τῆς σαρκὸς μαρτύριον ἐκλογῆς ἀλαζονεύεσθαι ὡς
THE EPISTLE TO DIOGNETUS, iii. 3–iv. 4

by making offerings to senseless and deaf images, so the Jews ought rather to consider that they are showing foolishness, not reverence, by regarding God as in need of these things. 4. For “He who made heaven and earth and all that is in them,” and bestows on all of us that which we need, would not himself have need of any of these things which he himself supplies to those who think that they are giving them. 5. For after all, those who think that they are consecrating sacrifices to him by blood and burnt fat, and whole burnt offerings, and that they are reverencing him by these honours, seem to me to be in no way better than those who show the same respect to deaf images. For it seems that the one offer to those who cannot partake of the honour, the others to him who is in need of nothing.

IV

1. Moreover I do not suppose that you need to learn from me that, after all, their scruples about food and superstition about the Sabbath, and their pride in circumcision and the sham of their fasting and feast of the new moon, are ridiculous and unworthy of any argument. 2. For how can it be anything but unlawful to receive some of the things created by God for the use of man as if well created, and to reject others as if useless and superfluous? 3. And what can it be but impious falsely to accuse God of forbidding that a good deed should be done on the Sabbath day? 4. And what does it deserve but ridicule to be proud of the mutilation of the flesh as a proof of election, as if
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dià tòu òxairètws àgapiamévous ìpò òtheò, pòws òù òxhelìs àxìou; 5. tò ò de paràdèvouvàs auòus àstros kai selènì tìn paratìrìsì tòn ìmnòn kai tòn ìmèron poieìsìh kai tàs òikònomìas òtheò kai tàs tòn kairòù alalagìs katàdiasìrèín pròs tàs auòtòn òrmàs, ìs mèn eis èsòtòs, ìs de èsòs pènòthí tìs ìn òthosèbêías kai ouì èphròsìnhìs polì plèon hègòsìtìs ìdèìma; 6. tìs mèn ouì koìnhìs eikaiòtìtòs kai àpatìsì kai tìs 'Ioudaìôn polupráragamòsình kai àlaçòneías ós òròthòs àpèxhountai Xristiànòi, àrkoùntas se òmòzìs mèmèthhìsì ìs tò de tòs èiddas auòtòs òthosèbêías mìstìrìmou ììa pròsòdòshìs ìnìsòthai parà ànthròpòu ìmèbìn.

V

1. Xristiànòi gàr ouìte ìgì ouìte òfoìh ouìte èthesi diàkekrìménòi tòn lòoutàs èsìn ìnìsòtòpòw. 2. ouìte gàr pòu pòlèis èiddas katòikouìsì ouìte diàlektrò tìnì parèllagamènhì xònthti ouìte bìon paràshìmòn èskouìsìn. 3. ouì ìmèn èpìwòria tìnì kai proxìtìdì polupráragamònò ìnìsòtòpòw màtìmà tòuù auòtòs èsòtò ìuìrìmènòn, ouìde ìdòmatos ìnìsòtòpìnu pròe-

stàsìn, ìsìntì ìmèi. 4. katòikouìntes de pòlèis èllhòndas te kai bárbdàrous, ìs èkàstoffe èkli-

pòthi, kai toìs èγχòrophos èthesi àkòlhouìntes èn te èsthèti kai diàltì kai tò fò lòouà fìfì òstìmà-

stìn kai òmìloùgouìmènòs paràdòxò ìnìdèìkunntai tìn kàtàstàsì tìs èautòtòn òlòtìtòs. 5. pátrì-

dàs òikòùsìw èiddas, èllì ìs pàróikòìì metèhousì.

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they were, for this reason, especially beloved by God? 5. And their attention to the stars and moon, for the observance of months and days, and for their arbitrary distinctions between the changing seasons ordained by God, making some into feasts, and others into occasions of mourning;—who would regard this as a proof of piety, and not much more of foolishness? 6. So then I think that you have learnt sufficiently that the Christians do rightly in abstaining from the general silliness and deceit and fussiness and pride of the Jews. But do not suppose that you can learn from man the mystery of the Christians' own religion.

V

1. For the distinction between Christians and other men, is neither in country nor language nor customs. 2. For they do not dwell in cities in some place of their own, nor do they use any strange variety of dialect, nor practise an extraordinary kind of life. 3. This teaching of theirs has not been discovered by the intellect or thought of busy men, nor are they the advocates of any human doctrine as some men are. 4. Yet while living in Greek and barbarian cities, according as each obtained his lot, and following the local customs, both in clothing and food and in the rest of life, they show forth the wonderful and confessedly strange character of the constitution of their own citizenship. 5. They dwell in their own fatherlands, but as if sojourners in them; they share all things as citizens, and suffer
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πάντων ὣς πολίται, καὶ πάνθ' ὑπομένουσιν ὡς ξένοι. πᾶσα ξένη πατρίς ἐστιν αὐτῶν, καὶ πᾶσα πατρίς ξένη. 6. γαμοῦσιν ὡς πάντες, τεκνογονοῦσιν ἀλλ' οὖ ῥίπτουσι τὰ γεννώμενα. 7. τράπε-ζων κοινὴ παρατίθενται, ἀλλ' οὖ κόιτην. 8. ἐν σαρκὶ τυχάνουσιν, ἀλλ' οὖ κατὰ σάρκα ξύσιν. 9. ἔπι γῆς διατρίβουσιν, ἀλλ' ἐν οὐρανῷ πολι-τεύονται. 10. πείθονται τοῖς ὅρισμένοις νόμοις, καὶ τοῖς ἰδίοις βίοις νικᾶσι τοὺς νόμους. 11. ἀγα-πώσι πάντας, καὶ ὑπὸ πάντων διώκονται.


VI

1. Ἀπλῶς δ' εἰπεῖν, ὅπερ ἔστιν σῶματι ψυχή, τοῦτ' εἰσίν ἐν κόσμῳ Χριστιανοὶ. 2. ἔσπαρται κατὰ πάντων τῶν τοῦ σώματος μελῶν ἡ ψυχή, καὶ Χριστιανοὶ κατὰ τὰς τοῦ κόσμου πόλεις. 3. οἰκεῖ μὲν ἐν τῷ σῶματι ψυχή, οὐκ ἔστι δὲ ἐκ τοῦ σώματος· καὶ Χριστιανοὶ ἐν κόσμῳ οἰκούσιν, 360
THE EPISTLE TO DIOGNETUS, v. 5–vi. 3

all things as strangers. Every foreign country is their fatherland, and every fatherland is a foreign country. 6. They marry as all men, they bear children, but they do not expose their offspring. 7. They offer free hospitality, but guard their purity. 8. Their lot is cast "in the flesh," but they do not live "after the flesh." 9. They pass their time upon the earth, but they have their citizenship in heaven. 10. They obey the appointed laws, and they surpass the laws in their own lives. 11. They love all men and are persecuted by all men. 12. They are unknown and they are condemned. They are put to death and they gain life. 13. "They are poor and make many rich"; they lack all things and have all things in abundance. 14. They are dishonoured, and are glorified in their dishonour, they are spoken evil of and are justified. 15. "They are abused and give blessing," they are insulted and render honour. 16. When they do good they are buffeted as evil-doers, when they are buffeted they rejoice as men who receive life. 17. They are warred upon by the Jews as foreigners and are persecuted by the Greeks, and those who hate them cannot state the cause of their enmity.

VI.

1. To put it shortly what the soul is in the body, that the Christians are in the world. 2. The soul is spread through all members of the body, and Christians throughout the cities of the world. 3. The soul dwells in the body, but is not of the body, and Christians dwell in the world, but are not of the
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οὐκ εἰσὶ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου. 4. ἀόρατος ἡ ψυχὴ ἐν ὀρατῷ φρονεῖται τῷ σώματι καὶ Χριστιανοὶ γινώσκονται μὲν ὅτε ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ, ἀόρατος δὲ αὐτῶν ἡ θεοσέβεια μένει. 5. μυσεῖ τὴν ψυχὴν ἡ σάρξ καὶ πολεμεῖ μηδὲν ἀδικούμενη, διότι ταῖς ἱδοναῖς κωλύει τὸν Χριστιανὸν μυσεῖ καὶ Χριστιανοὺς ὁ κόσμος μηδὲν ἀδικούμενος, ὅτι ταῖς ἱδοναῖς ἀντιτάσσονται. 6. ἡ ψυχὴ τὴν μισοῦσαν ἀγαπᾶ σάρκα καὶ τὰ μέλη καὶ Χριστιανοὶ τοὺς μισοῦν- τας ἀγαπῶσιν. 7. ἐγκέκλεισται μὲν ἡ ψυχή τῷ σώματι, συνέχει δὲ αὐτὴ τὸ σῶμα καὶ Χρισ- τιανοὶ κατέχονται μὲν ὡς ἐν φρουρᾷ τῷ κόσμῳ, αὐτοὶ δὲ συνέχουσι τὸν κόσμον. 8. ἀθάνατος ἡ ψυχὴ ἐν θυετῷ σκηνώματι κατοικεῖ καὶ Χρισ- τιανοὶ παροικοῦσιν ἐν φθαρτοῖς, τὴν ἐν οὐρανοῖς ἀφθαρσίαν προσδεχόμενοι. 9. κακουργομένη σιτίος καὶ ποτὸς ἡ ψυχὴ βελτιοῦται καὶ Χριστιανοὶ κολαξόμενοι καθ’ ἰμέραν πλούσιον μᾶλλον. 10. εἰς τοσαύτην αὐτοῖς τάξιν ἔθετο ὁ θεός, ἵνα ὁ θεομετόν αὐτοῖς παρατήρησαθαί.

VII

1. Οὐ γὰρ ἐπιγείου, ὡς ἔφη, εὐρήμα τοῦτον αὐτοῖς παρεδόθη, οὐδὲ θυετὴν ἐπίνοιαν φυλάσσειν οὕτως ἀξιοῦσιν ἐπιμελῶς, οὐδὲ ἀνθρωπίνων οἰκονομίαν μυστηρίων πεπίστευται. 2. ἀλλ’ αὐτὸς ἀληθῶς ὁ παντοκράτωρ καὶ παντοκτίστης καὶ

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world. 4. The soul is invisible, and is guarded in a visible body, and Christians are recognised when they are in the world, but their religion remains invisible. 5. The flesh hates the soul, and wages war upon it, though it has suffered no evil, because it is prevented from gratifying its pleasures, and the world hates the Christians though it has suffered no evil, because they are opposed to its pleasures. 6. The soul loves the flesh which hates it and the limbs, and Christians love those that hate them. 7. The soul has been shut up in the body, but itself sustains the body; and Christians are confined in the world as in a prison, but themselves sustain the world.¹ 8. The soul dwells immortal in a mortal tabernacle, and Christians sojourn among corruptible things, waiting for the incorruptibility which is in heaven. 9. The soul when evil treated in food and drink becomes better, and Christians when buffeted day by day increase more. 10. God has appointed them to so great a post² and it is not right for them to decline it.

VII

1. For it is not, as I said, an earthly discovery which was given to them, nor do they take such pains to guard some mortal invention, nor have they been entrusted with the dispensation of human mysteries. 2. But in truth the Almighty and all-creating and invisible God himself founded among

¹ Cf. Aristides, Apology 16. 'I have no doubt but that the world stands through the intercession of Christians.'
² There is probably a recurrence of the idea of the church as the 'militia dei' (cf. note on Hermas, Sim. v. i. 1). 363
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άόρατος θεος, αυτός ἀπ’ οὐρανῶν τήν ἀλήθειαν καὶ τὸν λόγον τὸν ἁγιον καὶ ἀπεριώτητον ἀνθρώπους ἐνίδρυσε καὶ ἐγκατεστήριξε ταῖς καρδίαις αὐτῶν· οὐ, καθάπερ ἂν τις εἰκάσειν, ἀνθρώπους ὑπηρέτην τινὰ πέμψας ἢ ἀγγελον ἢ ἁρχοντα ἢ τινὰ τῶν διεπόντων τὰ ἐπίγεια ἢ τινα τῶν πεπιστευμένων τὰς ἐν οὐρανοῖς διοικήσεις, ἀλλ’ αὐτὸν τὸν τεχνήν καὶ δημούργου τῶν ὄλων, ὃ τοὺς οὐρανοὺς ἔκτισεν, ὃ τὴν θάλασσαν ἰδίοις ἐνεκλείσεν, οὐ τὰ μυστήρια πιστῶς πάντα φυλάσσει τὰ στοιχεῖα, παρ’ οὐ τὰ μέτρα τῶν τῆς ἡμέρας δρόμων ὁ ἡλιος εἰληφε φυλάσσειν, ὃ πειθαρχεῖ σελήνῃ νυκτὶ φαίνειν κελεύοντι, ὃ πειθαρχεῖ τὰ ἁστρά τῷ τῆς σελήνης ἀκολουθοῦντα δρόμω· ὃ πάντα διατέτακται καὶ διώρισται καὶ ὑποτέτακται, οὐρανοὶ καὶ τὰ ἐν οὐρανοῖς, γῆ καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ γῇ, θάλασσα καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ, πῦρ, ἄρη, ἅβυσσος, τὰ ἐν ψυχῇ, τὰ ἐν βάθοις, τὰ ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ τούτων πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀπέστειλεν.

3. ἢ ὁ Ὀρία γε, ὃς ἀνθρώπων ἄν τις λογίσαιτο, ἐπὶ τυραννίδι καὶ φόβῳ καὶ καταπλήξει; 4. οὐ μὲν οὖν ἀλλ’ ἐν ἐπιεικείᾳ καὶ πραῤῥητῇ ὡς βασιλεύς πέμπων νῦν βασιλέα ἐπεμψεν, ὡς θεὸν ἐπεμψεν, ὡς ἀνθρώπων πρὸς ἄνθρωπος ἐπεμψεν, ὡς σώζον ἐπεμψεν, ὡς πείθων, οὐ βιαζόμενος· βία γὰρ οὐ πρόσετι τῷ θεῷ. 5. ἐπεμψεν ὡς καλῶν, οὐ διώκων· ἐπεμψεν ὡς ἄγαπῶν, οὐ κρίνων. 6. πέμψει γὰρ αὐτὸν κρίνοντα· καὶ τίς αὐτοῦ τήν παρουσίαν ὑποστήσεται; . . . 7. . . . παραβαλλομένους θηρίοις,
men the truth from heaven, and the holy and incomprehensible word, and established it in their hearts, not, as one might suppose, by sending some minister to men, or an angel, or ruler, or one of those who direct earthly things, or one of those who are entrusted with the dispensations in heaven, but the very artificer and Creator of the universe himself, by whom he made the heavens, by whom he enclosed the sea in its own bounds, whose mysteries all the elements guard faithfully; from whom the sun received the measure of the courses of the day, to whose command the moon is obedient to give light by night, whom the stars obey, following the course of the moon, by whom all things were ordered, and ordained, and placed in subjection, the heavens and the things in the heavens, the earth and the things in the earth, the sea and the things in the sea, fire, air, abyss, the things in the heights, the things in the depths, the things between them—him he sent to them. 3. Yes, but did he send him, as a man might suppose, in sovereignty and fear and terror? 4. Not so, but in gentleness and meekness, as a king sending a son, he sent him as King, he sent him as God, he sent him as Man to men, he was saving and persuading when he sent him, not compelling, for compulsion is not an attribute of God. 5. When he sent him he was calling, not pursuing; when he sent him he was loving, not judging. 6. For he will send him as judge, and who shall endure his coming? 1 * * * * * 7. . . . they are thrown to wild beasts

1 There is here a lacuna in the MS. Probably the next sentence may be completed by prefixing "Do you not see that" before "they are thrown."
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Μαρία τῆς τούτου κυρίου, καὶ μὴ νικωμένους; 8. οὐχ ὀρᾶς, ὃς ἐπείθεσκε χειλικατιζομαι, τοσοῦτο θεοῦ. 9. ταύτα τοι ἀνθρώπου οὐ δοκεῖ τὰ ἐργά: ταύτα δύναμις ἐστὶ θεοῦ. ταύτα τῆς παρουσίας αὐτοῦ δεῖγματα.

VIII

1. Τὸ γάρ ὅλως ἀνθρώπων ἡπίστατο, τί ποτ' ἔστι θεὸς πρὶν αὐτὸν ἔλθεῖν; 2. ἡ τοῦς κενοὺς καὶ ληρώδεις ἔκεισιν λόγους ἀποδέχθη τῶν ἁξιοπίστων φιλοσόφων, ἄν οἱ μὲν τινες τῦρ τοῦ ἔφασαν εἶναι τὸν θεόν (οὐ μέλλουσι χωρῆσαι αὐτοῖς, τοῦτο καλοῦσι θεοῦ), οἱ δὲ ὑδόρ, οἱ ὅ ἄλλο τι τῶν στοιχείων τῶν ἐκτιμένων ὑπὸ θεοῦ; 3. καίτοι γε, εἰ τις τούτων τῶν λόγων ἀποδεκτὸς ἔστι, δύνατ' ἂν καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν κτισμάτων ἐν ἐκαστὸν ὁμοίως ἀποφαίνεσθαι θεοῦ. 4. ἄλλα ταύτα μὲν τερατεία καὶ πλάνη τῶν γοητῶν ἐστίν· 5. ἀνθρώπων δὲ οὐδεὶς οὕτω εἶδον οὕτω ἐγνώρισεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐαυτὸν ἐπέδειξεν. 6. ἐπέδειξε δὲ διὰ πίστεως, ἡ μόνη θεοῦ ἰδεῖν συγκεκριμένη. 7. ὁ γὰρ δεσπότης καὶ δημοψήφιστος τῶν ὡς θεός, ὁ ποιήσας τὰ πάντα καὶ κατὰ τὰξιν διακρίνας, οὐ μόνον φιλανθρωπός ἀγάπητος, ἄλλα καὶ μακρόθυμος. 8. ἄλλ' οὕτος ἦν μὲν ἂε τοιοῦτος καὶ ἐστι καὶ ἔσται, χρηστος καὶ ἀγαθὸς καὶ ἀδρόγγητος καὶ ἀκρηθής, καὶ μόνος ἀγαθός ἔστιν. 9. ἐνοχήσας δὲ μεγάλην καὶ ἀφαστὼν ἐνοικιαν ἀνεκοινόσατο μόνῳ τῷ παιδί. 10. ἐν ὅσῳ μὲν οὖν κατέχειν ἐν μοστήρῳ καὶ διετήρει τὴν σοφίαν αὐτοῦ βουλήν, ἀμελεῖν ἡμῶν καὶ ἀφροτιστείν 366.
that they may deny the lord, and are not overcome?
8. Do you not see that the more of them are punished, the more do others multiply? 9. These things do not seem to be the works of man; these things are a miracle of God, these things are the proofs of his coming.

VIII

1. For before he came what man had any knowledge at all of what God is? 2. Or do you accept the vain and foolish statements of those pretentious philosophers, of whom some said that God is fire (they give the name of God to that to which they shall go) and some water, and some one of the other elements which were created by God. 3. And yet if any of these arguments is acceptable it would be possible for each one of the other created things to be declared God. 4. Now these things are the miracle mongering and deceit of the magicians; 5. but of men there is none who has either seen him or known him, but he himself manifested himself. 6. Now he manifested himself through faith, by which alone it is given to see God. 7. For God the Master and Creator of the universe, who made all things and arranged them in order was not only kind to man, but also long-suffering. 8. Nay, he was ever so and is and will be, kindly and good and free from wrath and true, and he alone is good. 9. And having formed a great and unspeakable design he communicated it to his Child alone. 10. And so long as he kept it in a mystery and guarded his wise counsel, he seemed to neglect us and to be careless; 11. but
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ἐδόκει: 11. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπεκάλυψε διὰ τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ παιδὸς καὶ ἐφανέρωσε τὰ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ήτοιμασμένα, πάνθε ἄμα παρέσχεν ἡμῖν καὶ μετασχεῖν τῶν ἐνεργειῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἰδεῖν καὶ νοῆσαι, ἵνα τίς ἂν πώποτε προσεδόκησεν ἡμῶν;

IX

1. Πάντες οὖν ἡδὴ παρ᾽ ἑαυτῷ σὺν τῷ παιδὶ οἰκονομικῶς, μέχρι μὲν τοῦ πρόσθεν χρόνου εἰσαχθὲν ἡμᾶς, ὡς ἐβουλομέθα, ἀτάκτως φορᾶς φέρεσθαι, ἡδονᾶς καὶ ἐπιθυμίας ἀπαγορέυσαι. οὐ πάντως ἐφηδομένως τοῖς ἀμαρτήμασιν ἡμῶν, ἀλλὰ ἀνεχόμενος, οὐδὲ τῷ τότε τῆς ἄδικίας καὶ ρήμα συνεφό Almighty, οὐδὲ τὸν νῦν τῆς δικαιοσύνης δημιουργῶν, ἵνα ἐν τῷ τότε χρόνῳ ἐλεηθέντες ἐκ τῶν ἠδών ἔργων ἀνάξιου ζωῆς νῦν ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ χρηστότητος ἔξωθήμεν, καὶ τὸ καθ᾽ ἐαυτὸς φανερώσαντες ἀδύνατον εἰςελθέων εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ θεοῦ δυνατοὶ γεννηθῶμεν. 2. ἐπεὶ δὲ πεπλήρωτο μὲν ἡ ἡμετέρα ἄδικία καὶ τελείως πεφανέρωτο, ὅτι ὁ μισθὸς αὐτῆς κόλασις καὶ θάνατος προσεδόκατο, ἦλθε δὲ ὁ καιρὸς, ὅπως ὁ θεὸς προέθετο λοιπὸν φανερώσαι τὴν ἑαυτοῦ χρηστότητα καὶ δύναμιν (ὡ τῆς ὑπερβαλλούσης φιλανθρωπίας καὶ ἀγάπης τοῦ θεοῦ), οὐκ ἐμισήσας ἡμᾶς οὐδὲ ἀπώσατο οὐδὲ ἐμησικάκησεν, ἀλλὰ ἐμακροθύμησεν, ἡμέροις, ἔλεεν αὐτὸς τάς ἡμετέρας ἀμαρτίας ἀνεδέξατο, αὐτὸς τὸν ἄδιν νῦν ἀπέδοτο λύτρον ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, τὸν ἄγιον ὑπὲρ ἀνόμων, τὸν ἀκακὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν κακῶν, τὸν δίκαιον
when he revealed it through his beloved Child, and manifested the things prepared from the beginning, he gave us all things at once, both to share in his benefits and to see and understand, and which of us would ever have expected these things?

IX

1. Having thus planned everything by himself with his Child he suffered us up to the former time to be borne along by unruly impulses as we willed, carried away by pleasures and lust. Not at all because he delighted in our sins, but in forbearance; not in approval of the time of iniquity which was then, but fashioning the time of righteousness which is now, that we, who at that time were proved by our own deeds to be unworthy of life, may now be granted it by the goodness of God, and that when we had made it plain that it was impossible for us by ourselves to enter into the kingdom of God, we might be made able by the power of God. 2. But when our iniquity was fulfilled and it had become fully manifest, that its reward of punishment and death waited for it, and the time came which God had appointed to manifest henceforth his kindliness and power (O the excellence of the kindness and the love of God!) he did not hate us nor reject us nor remember us for evil, but was long-suffering, endured us, himself in pity took our sin, himself gave his own Son as ransom for us, the Holy for the wicked, the innocent for the
THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

υπέρ τῶν ἁδίκων, τῶν ἁφθαρτῶν υπέρ τῶν φθαρτῶν, τῶν ἀθάνατων υπέρ τῶν θνητῶν. 3. τί γὰρ ἂλλο τὰς ἀμαρτίας ἡμῶν ἠδυνήθη καλύψαι ἢ ἐκείνου δικαιοσύνη; 4. ἐν τίνι δικαιωθήναι δυνατόν τοὺς ἀνόμους ἡμᾶς καὶ ἀσεβεῖς ἢ ἐν μόνῳ τῷ νῖφ τοῦ θεοῦ; 5. ὃ τῆς γλυκείας ἀνταλλαγῆς, ὃ τῆς ἀνεξιχνιαστοῦ δημοσιαγίας, ὃ τῶν ἀπροσδοκήτων εὐεργεσιῶν ἢν ἀνομία μὲν πολλῶν ἐν δικαίῳ ἐνι κρυβῆ, δικαιοσύνη δὲ ἐνὸς πολλοὺς ἀνόμους δικαιώσῃ. 6. ἐλέγξας οὖν ἐν μὲν τῷ πρόσθεν χρόνῳ τὸ ἀδύνατον τῆς ἡμετέρας φύσεως εἰς τὸ τυχεῖν τῷ κατὰ τῶν σωτηρίας δείξεως δυνατόν σώζειν καὶ τὰ ἀδύνατα, ἐκ ἀμφοτέρων ἐβουλήθη πιστεύειν ἡμᾶς τῇ ἁγιοτότῃ αὐτοῦ, αὐτὸν ἤγεισθαι τροφέα, πατέρα, διδάσκαλον, σύμβουλον, ἰατρόν, νοῦν, φῶς, τιμήν, δόξαν, ἱσχύν, ζωὴν, περὶ ἐνδύσεως καὶ τροφῆς μὴ μεριμνᾶν.

Mt. 6, 25-31

X

1. Ταῦτην καὶ σὺ τὴν πίστιν ἐὰν ποθήσῃς, καὶ λάβῃς πρῶτον μὲν ἐπίγνωσιν πατρός. . . . 2. ὁ γὰρ θεὸς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἡγάπησε, δὲ οὐς ἐποίησε τὸν κόσμον, οἷς ὑπέταξε πάντα τὰ ἐν τῇ γῇ, οἷς λόγον ἐδωκεν, οἷς νοῦν, οἷς μόνον ἀνοί πρὸς αὐτὸν ὅραν ἐπετρεψεν, οἷς ἐκ τῆς ἱδίας εἰκόνος ἐπλασε, πρὸς οὗ ἀπέστειλε τὸν νῦν αὐτοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ, οἷς τὴν ἐν οὐρανῷ βασιλείαν ἐπηγγείλατο, καὶ δώσει τοῖς ἀγαπήσασιν αὐτὸν. 3. ἐπιγνοὺς δὲ τίνος οἷς
THE EPISTLE TO DIOGENETUS, ix. 2–x. 3

guilty, the just for the unjust, the incorruptible for the corruptible, the immortal for the mortal. 3. For what else could cover our sins but his righteousness? 4. In whom was it possible for us, in our wickedness and impiety, to be made just, except in the son of God alone? 5. O the sweet exchange, O the inscrutable creation, O the unexpected benefits, that the wickedness of many should be concealed in the one righteous, and the righteousness of the one should make righteous many wicked! 6. Having convinced us then of the inability of our nature to attain life in time past, and now having shown the Saviour who is able to save, even where it was impossible, it was his will for both reasons that we should believe on his goodness, and regard him as nurse, father, teacher, counsellor, physician, mind, light, honour, glory, strength, life, and to have no care for clothing and food.

X

1. If you also desire this faith, and receive first complete knowledge of the Father. . . . 1 2. For God loved mankind for whose sake he made the world, to whom he subjected all things which are in the earth, to whom he gave mind, on whom alone he enjoined that they should look upward to him, whom he made in his own image, to whom he sent his only-begotten Son, to whom he promised the kingdom in heaven,—and he will give it to them who loved him. 3. And when you

1 Here again there is apparently a lacuna in the text.

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B B 2
πληρωθήσεται χαράς; ἢ πῶς ἀγαπήσεις τὸν ὁὕτως προαγαπήσαντά σε; 4. ἀγαπήσας δὲ μιμητὴς ἐσῃ αὐτοῦ τῆς χρηστότητος. καὶ μὴ θαυμάσῃς, εἰ δύναται μιμητὴς ἀνθρώπος γεννέσθαι θεοῦ. δύναται θέλοντος αὐτοῦ. 5. οὐ γὰρ τὸ καταδυναστεύειν τῶν πλησίον οὔδὲ τὸ πλέον ἔχειν βούλεσθαι τῶν ἀσθενοστέρων οὔδὲ τὸ πλουτεῖν καὶ βιάζεσθαι τοὺς ὑποδειεστέρους εὐδαιμονεῖν ἔστιν, οὔδὲ ἐν τούτοις δύναται τις μιμήσασθαι θεοῦ, ἀλλὰ ταύτα ἐκτὸς τῆς ἐκείνου μεγαλειώτητος. 6. ἀλλ᾽ ὡστει τὸ τοῦ πλησίον ἀναδέχεται βάρος, δι᾽ ἐν φίλο κρείσσων ἔστιν ἔτερον τὸν ἐλαπτούμενον εὐφρενεῖς ἐθέλει, δι᾽ ἀ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ λαβῶν ἔχει ταύτα τοῖς ἐπιδεομένοις χρησῆς θεοῦ γίνεται τῶν λαμβανόντων, οὕτως μιμητὴς ἔστι θεοῦ. 7. τότε θεάσῃ τυγχάνον ἐπὶ γῆς, δι᾽ θεοῦ ἐν οὐρανοῖς πολυτελεῖται, τότε μυστήρια θεοῦ λαλεῖν ἀρξῆς, τότε τοὺς κολαζομένους ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ θέλειν ἀρνήσασθαι θεοῦ καὶ ἀγαπήσεις καὶ θαυμάσεις· τότε τῆς ἀπάτης τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τῆς πλάνης καταγραφόμης, διὰ τὸ ἄληθος ἐν οὐρανῷ ζῆν ἐπιγνώσῃ, διὰ τοῦ δοκοῦντος ἐνθάδε θανάτου καταφρονήσῃ, διὰ τὸν ὄντος θάνατον φοβηθῆς, διὰ φυλάσσεται τοῖς κατακριθησομένοις εἰς τὸ πῦρ τὸ αἰώνιον, δὶ τοὺς παραδοθέντας αὐτῷ μέχρι τέλους κολάσει. 8. τότε τοὺς ἐπιμένουντας ὑπὲρ δικαιοσύνης θαυμάσως τὸ πῦρ τὸ πρόσκαιρον καὶ μακαρίσεις, διὰτον ἐκείνο τὸ πῦρ ἐπιγνώσῃ.
have this full knowledge, with that joy do you think
that you will be filled, or how greatly will you love
him who thus first loved you? 4. But by your love
you will imitate the example of his goodness. And
do not wonder that it is possible for man to be the
imitator of God; it is possible when he will. 5. For
happiness consists not in domination over neighbours,
nor in wishing to have more than the weak, nor in
wealth, and power to compel those who are poorer, nor
can anyone be an imitator of God in doing these things,
but these things are outside his majesty. 6. But who-
ever takes up the burden of his neighbour, and wishes
to help another, who is worse off in that in which
he is the stronger, and by ministering to those in
need the things which he has received and holds from
God becomes a god to those who receive them,—this
man is an imitator of God. 7. Then, though your lot
be placed on earth you will see that God lives in
heaven, then you will begin to speak of the mysteries
of God, then you will both love and admire those who
are being punished because they will not deny God,
then you will condemn the deceit and error of the
world, when you know what is the true life of heaven,
when you despise the apparent death of this world,
when you fear the death which is real, which is kept
for those that shall be condemned to the everlasting
fire, which shall punish up to the end those that were
delivered to it. 8. Then you will marvel at those
who endure for the sake of righteousness the fire
which is for a season, and you will count them blessed
when you know that other fire.
THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

XI

1. Οὐ̣ ξένα ὁμιλῶ ὀυδὲ παραλόγως ξητῶ, ἀλλὰ ἀποστόλων γενόμενος μαθητὴς γίνομαι διδάσκαλος ἐθνῶν· τὰ παραδοθέντα ἄξιός ὑπηρετῶ γινομένοις ἀληθείας μαθηταῖς. 2. τίς γὰρ ὀρθῶς διδαχθεῖσι καὶ λόγῳ προσφιλῆς γεινθεῖσι οὐκ ἐπιζητεῖ σαφῶς μαθεῖν τὰ διὰ λόγου δεικθέντα φανερῶς μαθηταίς, οἳς ἐφανέρωσεν ὁ λόγος φανείς, παρρησίᾳ λαλῶν, ὕπο ἀπίστων μὴ νοούμενα, μαθηταῖς δὲ διηγοῦμένος, οἳ πιστοὶ λογισθέντες ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ ἔγνωσαν πατρὸς μυστηρία; 3. οὗ χάριν ἀπέστειλε λόγου, ἵνα κόσμῳ φανῇ, ὃς ὕπο λαοῦ ἀτιμασθεῖς, διὰ ἀποστόλων κηρυχθεῖς, ὕπο ἐθνῶν ἐπιστεύθη.

4. οὗτος ὁ ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς, ὁ καὶ νῦν φανείς καὶ παλαιὸς εὐρεθεὶς καὶ πάντως νέος ἐν ἀγίοις καρδίαις γεννώμενος. 5. οὗτος ὁ ἀεί, ὁ σήμερον νῦς λογισθεῖς, δι’ οὗ πλουτίζεται ἡ ἐκκλησία καὶ χάρις ἀπλοῦμεν ἐν ἀγίοις πληθύνεται, παρέχουσα νοῦν, φανεροῦσα μυστηρία, διαγγέλλουσα καιροῦς, χαιροῦσα ἐπὶ πιστῶν, ἐπιζητοῦσι δωρουμένη, οἳς ὀρκια

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XI

1. My speech is not strange, nor my inquiry unreasonable, but as a disciple of apostles I am becoming a teacher of the heathen. I administer worthily that which has been handed down to those who are becoming disciples of the truth. 2. For who that has been properly taught, and has become a lover of the word does not seek to learn plainly the things which have been clearly shown by the word to disciples, to whom the Word appeared and revealed them, speaking boldly, not being perceived by the unbelieving, but relating them to disciples, who were held by him to be faithful and gained knowledge of the mysteries of the Father? 3. And for his sake he sent the Word to appear to the world, who was dishonoured by the chosen people, was preached by apostles, was believed by the heathen. 4. He was from the beginning, and appeared new, and was proved to be old, and is ever young, as he is born in the hearts of the saints. 5. He is the eternal one, who to-day is accounted a Son, through whom the Church is enriched, and grace is unfolded and multiplied among the saints, who confers understanding, manifests mysteries, announces seasons, rejoices in the faithful, is given to them that seek, that is, to those by whom the pledges of faith are

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1 λαός is here, as frequently, the chosen people of Israel, in contrast with τὰ ἰδρύματα, the heathen nations.

2 This suggests that the homily belongs to a feast of the Nativity. In the time of Hippolytus this was probably not separated from the Epiphany or feast of the Baptism (see article on Christmas in Hastings Dictionary of Religion and Ethics.)
THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

πίστεως οὐ θραύσται οὐδὲ ὅρια πατέρων παροριζέται. 6. εἰτα φόβος νόμου άδεται, καὶ προφητῶν χάρις γινώσκεται, καὶ εὐαγγελίων πίστις ἱδρυται, καὶ ἀποστόλων παράδοσις φυλάσσεται, καὶ ἐκκλησίας χάρις σκιρτᾶ. 7. ἡν χάριν μὴ λυπῶν ἐπιγνώση, ἃ λόγος ὁμιλεῖ δι’ δι’ διν βούλεται, ὅτε θέλει. 8. ὑσα γὰρ θελήματι τοῦ κελεύοντος λόγου ἐκκυκάθημεν ἐξετείνυ μετὰ πόνου, ἐξ ἀγάπης τῶν ἀποκαλοφθέντων ἡμῖν γινόμεθα ἕμῖν κοινωνοῖ.
THE EPISTLE TO DIOGENETUS, xi. 5—xii. 5

not broken, nor the decrees of the Fathers trans-gressed. 6. Then is the fear of the Law sung, and the grace of the Prophets known, the faith of the Gospels is established, and the tradition of apostles is guarded, and the grace of the Church exults. 7. And if you do not grieve this grace you will understand what the word says through the agents of his choice, when he will. 8. For in all things which we were moved by the will of him who commands us to speak with pain, we become sharers with you through love of the things revealed to us.

XII

1. If you consider and listen with zeal to these truths you will know what things God bestows on those that love him rightly, who are become “a Para-dise of delight,” raising up in themselves a fertile tree with all manner of fruits, and are adorned with divers fruits. 2. For in this garden has been planted “the tree of knowledge and the tree of life,” but the tree of knowledge does not kill, but disobedience kills. 3. For that which was written is quite plain, that God in the beginning planted “a tree of knowledge and a tree of life in the midst of Paradise,” and showed that life is through knowl-edge. But those who did not use it in purity were in the beginning deprived of it by the deceit of the serpent; 4. for neither is there life without knowledge, nor sound knowledge without true life; wherefore both are planted together. 5. And when the apostle saw the force of this, he blamed the
THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

I Cor. 8, 1

προστάγματος εἰς ζωὴν ἀσκουμένην γνώσιν μεμφό-
μενος λέγει· Ἡ γνώσις φυσιοὶ, ἢ δὲ ἀγάπη οἰκο-
dομεί. 6. ὁ γὰρ νομίζων εἰδέναι τι ἂνευ γνώσεως
ἀληθοῦς καὶ μαρτυρομένης ὑπὸ τῆς ζωῆς οὐκ
ἔγνω, ὑπὸ τοῦ ὄφεως πλανᾶται, μὴ ἀγαπήσας τὸ
ξῆν. ὁ δὲ μετὰ φόβου ἐπτυγνοῦς καὶ ζωῆν ἐπι-
ζητῶν ἐπ’ ἐλπίδι φυτεύει, καρπὸν προσδοκῶν.
7. ἦτω σοι καρδία γνώσις, ζωὴ δὲ λόγος ἀληθῆς,
χωρούμενος. 8. οὐ δὲ ξύλον φέρων καὶ καρπὸν
αιρῶν τρυγήσεις ἀεὶ τὰ παρὰ θεῖο ποθοῦμενα, ὡς
ὁ φιλικὸς υἱὸς ἀπέτειαν ὑπὸ πλάνη συγχρωτίζεται.
οὐδὲ Εὐα φθείρεται, ἀλλὰ παρθένος πιστεύεται.
9. καὶ σωτήριον δείκνυται, καὶ ἀπόστολοι συνετί-
ζονται, καὶ τὸ κυρίον πάσχα προέρχεται, καὶ
καιρὸι συνάγονται καὶ μετὰ κόσμου ἀρμόζονται,
καὶ διδάσκων ἀγίοις ὁ λόγος εὐφραίνεται, δι’ οὐ
πατὴρ δοξάζεται· φ’ η δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰώνας.
ἀμήν.
knowledge which is exercised apart from the truth of the injunction which leads to life and said; "Knowledge puffeth up, but love edifieth." 6. For he who thinks that he knows anything without knowledge which is true and testified to by life, does not know, but is deceived by the serpent, not loving life. But he who has full knowledge with fear and seeks after life plants in hope, looking for fruit. 7. Let your heart be knowledge, and your life the true and comprehended word. 8. And if you bear the tree of this and pluck its fruit you will ever enjoy that which is desired by God, which the serpent does not touch, and deceit does not infect, and Eve is not corrupted but a virgin is trusted, 9. and salvation is set forth, and apostles are given understanding, and the Passover of the Lord advances, and the seasons are brought together, and are harmonised with the world, and the Word teaches the saints and rejoices, and through it the Father is glorified; to whom be glory for ever, Amen.
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